THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

APRIL 1814..... SEPT. 1814.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. XXIII.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by David Willison,

FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH:

AND WHITE, COCHRANE & CO. FLEET-STREET,

LONDON.

1814.

CONTENTS OF No. XLV.

CONTENTS OF No. XLVI.

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1814.

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ARTICLE I. *A Song of Triumph.* By W. SOTHEBY Esq. 8vo. London, 1814.

L'Acte Constitutionnel, en la Séance du 9 Avril, 1814. 8vo. Londres, 1814.

Of Bonaparte, the Bourbons, and the Necessity of rallying round our legitimate Princes, for the Happiness of France and of Europe. By F. A. CHATEAUBRIAND. 8vo. London, 1814.

It would be strange indeed, we think, if pages dedicated like ours to topics of present interest, and the discussions of the passing hour, should be ushered into the world at such a moment as this, without some stamp of that common joy and overwhelming emotion with which the wonderful events of the last three months are still filling all the regions of the earth. In such a situation, it must be difficult for any one who has the means of being heard, to refrain from giving utterance to his sentiments: But to us, whom it has assured, for the first time, of the entire sympathy of all our countrymen, the temptation, we own, is irresistible; and the good-natured part of our readers, we are persuaded, will rather smile at our simplicity, than fret at our presumption, when we add, that we have sometimes permitted ourselves to fancy that, if any copy of these our lucubrations should go down to another generation, it may be thought curious to trace in them *the first effects* of events that are probably destined to fix the fortune of succeeding centuries, and to observe the impressions which were made on the minds of contemporaries by those mighty transactions, which will appear of yet greater moment in the eyes of a distant posterity. We are still too near that great image of Deliverance and Reform which the Genius of Europe has just set up before us, to discern with certainty its just linea-

ments, or construe the true character of the aspect with which it looks onward to futurity. We see enough, however, to fill us with innumerable feelings, and the germs of many high and anxious speculations. The feelings, we are sure, are in unison with all that exists around us; and we reckon therefore on more than usual indulgence for the speculations into which they may expand.

The *first* and predominant feeling which rises on contemplating the scenes that have just burst on our view, is that of deep-felt gratitude, and unbounded delight,—for the liberation of so many oppressed nations,—for the cessation of bloodshed and fear and misery over the fairest portions of the civilized world,—and for the enchanting prospect of long peace and measureless improvement, which seems at last to be opening on the suffering kingdoms of Europe. The very novelty of such a state of things, which could be known only by description to the greater part of the existing generation—the suddenness of its arrival, and the contrast which it forms with the horrors and alarms to which it has so immediately succeeded, all concur most powerfully to enhance its vast intrinsic advantages. It has come upon the world like the balmy air and flushing verdure of a late spring, after the dreary chills of a long and interminable winter; and the refreshing sweetness with which it has visited the earth, feels like Elysium to those who have just escaped from the driving tempests it has banished.

We have reason to hope, too, that the riches of the harvest will correspond with the splendor of this early promise. All the periods in which human society and human intellect have ever been known to make great and memorable advances, have followed close upon periods of general agitation and disorder. Men's minds, it would appear, must be deeply and roughly stirred, before they become prolific of great conceptions, or vigorous resolves; and a vast and alarming fermentation must pervade and agitate the whole mass of society, to inform it with that kindly warmth, by which alone the seeds of genius and improvement can be expanded. The fact, at all events, is abundantly certain; and may be accounted for, we conceive, without mystery, and without metaphors.

A popular revolution in government or religion—or any thing else that gives rise to general and long-continued contention, naturally produces a prevailing disdain of authority, and boldness of thinking in the leaders of the fray,—together with a kindling of the imagination and development of intellect in a great multitude of persons, who, in ordinary times, would have vegetated stupidly on the places where fortune had fixed them. Power and distinction, and all the higher prizes in the lottery

of life, are brought within the reach of a far larger proportion of the community; and that vivifying spirit of ambition, which is the true source of all improvement, instead of burning at a few detached points on the summit of society, now pervades every portion of its frame. Much extravagance, and, in all probability, much guilt and much misery, result, in the first instance, from this sudden extrication of talent and enterprize, in places where they can have no legitimate issue, or points of application. But the contending elements at last find their spheres, and their balance. The disorder ceases; but the activity remains. The multitudes that had been raised into intellectual existence by dangerous passions and crazy illusions, do not all relapse into their original torpor when their passions are allayed and their illusions dispelled. There is a great permanent addition to the power and the enterprise of the community; and the talent and the activity which at first convulsed the state by their unmeasured and misdirected exertions, ultimately bless and adorn it, under a more enlightened and less intemperate guidance. If we may estimate the amount of this ultimate good by that of the disorder which preceded it, we cannot be too sanguine in our calculations of the happiness that awaits the rising generation. The fermentation, it will readily be admitted, has been long and violent enough to extract all the virtue of all the ingredients that have been submitted to its action; and enough of scum has boiled over, and enough of pestilent vapour been exhaled, to afford a reasonable assurance that the *residuum* will be both ample and pure.

If this delight in the spectacle and the prospect of boundless good, be *the first* feeling that is excited by the scene before us, the *second*, we do not hesitate to say, is a stern and vindictive joy at the downfal of the Tyrant and the tyranny by whom that good has been so long intercepted. We feel no compassion for that man's reverses of fortune, whose heart, in the days of his prosperity, was steeled against that, or any other humanizing emotion. He has fallen without the pity, as he rose without the love, of any portion of mankind; and the admiration which was excited by his talents and activity and success, having no solid stay in the magnanimity or generosity of his character, has been turned, perhaps rather too eagerly, into scorn and derision, now that he is deserted by fortune, and appears without extraordinary resources in the day of his calamity.—We do not think that an ambitious despot and sanguinary conqueror can be too much execrated, or too little respected by mankind; but the popular clamour, at this moment, seems to us to be carried too

far, even against this very hateful individual. It is now discovered, that he has neither genius nor common sense; and he is accused of cowardice for not killing himself, by the very persons who would infallibly have exclaimed against his suicide, as a clear proof of weakness and folly. History, we think, will not class him quite so low as the English newspapers of the present day. He is a creature to be dreaded and abhorred, but scarcely, we think, to be despised, by men of the ordinary standard. His catastrophe, so far as it is yet visible, seems unsuitable indeed, and incongruous with the part he has hitherto sustained; but we have perceived nothing in it materially to alter the estimate which we formed long ago of his character. He still seems to us a man of consummate conduct, valour, and decision in war, but without the virtues, or even the generous and social vices of a soldier of fortune;—of matchless activity indeed, and boundless ambition, but entirely without principle, feeling or affection;—suspicious, cruel and overbearing;—selfish and solitary in all his pursuits and gratifications;—proud and overweening, to the very borders of insanity;—and considering at last the laws of honour and the principles of morality, equally beneath his notice with the interests and feelings of other men.—Despising those who submitted to his pretensions, and pursuing, with implacable hatred, all who presumed to resist them, he seems to have gone on in a growing confidence in his own fortune, and contempt for mankind,—till a serious check from without showed him the error of his calculation, and betrayed the fatal insecurity of a career which reckoned only on prosperity.

Over the downfal of such a man, it is fitting that the world should rejoice; and his downfal, and the circumstances with which it has been attended, seem to us to hold out three several grounds of rejoicing.

In the *first* place, we think it has established for ever the utter impracticability of any scheme of universal dominion; and proved, that Europe possesses sufficient means to maintain and assert the independence of her several states, in despite of any power that can be brought against them. It might formerly have been doubted,—and many minds of no abject cast were depressed with more than doubts on the subject,—whether the undivided sway which Rome exercised of old, by means of superior skill and discipline, might not be revived in modern times by arrangement, activity, and intimidation,—and whether, in spite of the boasted intelligence of Europe at the present day, the ready communication between all its parts, and the supposed weight of its public opinion, the sovereign of one or two great kingdoms might not subdue all the rest, by rapidity of movement, and decision of conduct, and retain them in subjection by

a strict system of disarming and *espionage*—by a constant interchange of armies and stations—and, in short, by a dexterous and alert use of those means of extensive intelligence and communication, which their civilization seemed at first to hold out as their surest protection. The experiment, however, has now been tried; and the result is, that the nations of Europe can never be brought under the rule of one conquering sovereign. No individual, it may be fairly presumed, will ever try that fatal experiment again, with so many extraordinary advantages, and chances of success, as he in whose hands it has now finally miscarried. The different states, it is to be hoped, will never again be found so shamefully unprovided for defence—so long insensible to their danger—and, let us not scruple at last to speak the truth, so little worthy of being saved—as most of them were at the beginning of that awful period; while there is still less chance of any military sovereign again finding himself invested with the absolute disposal of so vast a population, at once habituated to war and victory by the energies of a popular revolution, and disposed to submit to any hardships and privations for a ruler who would protect them from a recurrence of revolutionary tumults. That ruler, however, and that population, reinforced by immense drafts from the countries he had already overrun, has now been fairly beaten down by the other nations of Europe, at length cordially united by the sense of their common danger. Henceforward, therefore, they know their strength, and the means and occasions of bringing it into action; and the very notoriety of that strength, and of the scenes in which it has been proved, will in all probability prevent the recurrence of any necessity for proving it again.

The *second* ground of rejoicing in the downfal of Bonaparte is on account of the impressive lesson it has read to Ambition, and the striking illustration it has afforded, of the inevitable tendency of that passion to bring to ruin the power and the greatness which it seeks so madly to increase. No human being, perhaps, ever stood on so proud a pinnacle of worldly grandeur, as this insatiable conqueror at the beginning of his Russian campaign. He had done more—he had acquired more—and he possessed more, as to actual power, influence, and authority, than any individual that ever figured on the scene of European story. He had visited, with a victorious army, almost every capital of the Continent; and dictated the terms of peace to their astonished princes. He had consolidated under his immediate dominion, a territory and population apparently sufficient to meet the combination of all that it did not include; and interwoven himself with the government of almost all that was left. He had cast down and erected thrones at his pleasure;

and surrounded himself with tributary kings and principalities of his own creation. He had connected himself by marriage with the proudest of the ancient sovereigns; and was at the head of the largest and the finest army that was ever assembled to desolate or dispose of the world. Had he known when to stop in his aggressions upon the peace and independence of mankind, it seems as if this terrific sovereignty might have been permanently established in his person. But the demon by whom he was possessed urged him on to his fate. He could not bear that any power should exist which did not confess its dependence on him. Without a pretext for quarrel, he attacked Russia—insulted Austria—trod contemptuously on the fallen fortunes of Prussia—and by new aggressions, and the menace of more intolerable evils, drove them into that league which rolled back the tide of ruin on himself, and ultimately hurled him into the insignificance from which he originally sprung.

It is for this reason, chiefly, that we join in the feeling, which we think universal in this country, of joy and satisfaction at the utter destruction of this victim of Ambition,—and at the failure of those negociations, which would have left him, though humbled, in possession of a sovereign state, and of great actual power and authority. We say nothing at present of the policy or the necessity, that may have dictated those propositions; but the actual result is far more satisfactory, than any condition of their acceptance. Without this, the lesson to Ambition would have been imperfect, and the retribution of Eternal Justice apparently incomplete. It was fitting, that the world should see it again demonstrated by this great example, that the appetite of conquest is in its own nature insatiable;—and that a being, once abandoned to that bloody career, is fated to pursue it to the end; and must persist in the work of desolation and murder, till the accumulated wrongs and resentments of the harassed world sweep him from its face. The knowledge of this may deter some dangerous spirits from entering on a course, which will infallibly bear them on to destruction;—and at all events should induce the sufferers to cut short the measure of its errors and miseries, by accomplishing their doom at the beginning. Sanguinary conquerors, we do not hesitate to say, should be devoted by a perpetual proscription, in mercy to the rest of the world.

Our *last* cause of rejoicing over this grand catastrophe, arises from the discredit, and even the derision, which it has so opportunely thrown upon the character of conquerors in general. The thinking part of mankind did not perhaps need to be disabused upon this subject;—but no illusion was ever so strong, or so pernicious with the multitude, as that which invested

heroes of this description with a sort of supernatural grandeur and dignity, and bent the spirits of men before them, as beings intrinsically entitled to the homage and submission of inferior natures. It is above all things fortunate, therefore, when this spell can be broken, by merely reversing the operation by which it had been imposed; when the idols that success had tricked out in the mock attributes of divinity, are stripped of their disguise by the rough hand of misfortune, and exhibited before the indignant and wondering eyes of their admirers, in the naked littleness of humbled and helpless men,—begging life and subsistence from the pity of their human conquerors,—and spared with safety, in consequence of their insignificance.—Such an exhibition, we would fain hope, will rescue men for ever from that most humiliating devotion, which has hitherto so often tempted the ambition, and facilitated the progress of conquerors.—It is not in our days, at least, that it will be forgotten, that Bonaparte turned out a mere mortal in the end;—and neither in our days, nor in those of our children, is it at all likely, that any other adventurer will arise to efface the impressions connected with that recollection, by more splendid achievements, than distinguished the greater part of his career. The kind of shame, too, that is felt by those who have been the victims and the instruments of a being so mean, will make it difficult for any successor to his ambition, so to overawe the minds of the world again; and will consequently diminish the dread, while it exasperates the hatred, with which presumptuous oppression ought always to be regarded.

If the downfal of Bonaparte teach this lesson, and fix this feeling in the minds of men, we should almost be tempted to say that the miseries he has inflicted are atoned for; and that his life, on the whole, will have been useful to mankind. Undoubtedly there is no other single source of wretchedness so prolific as that strange fascination by which atrocious guilt is converted into an object of admiration, and the honours due to the benefactors of the human race lavished most profusely on their destroyers.—A sovereign who pursues schemes of conquest for the gratification of his personal ambition, is neither more nor less than a being who inflicts violent death upon thousands, and miseries still more agonizing on millions of innocent individuals, to relieve his own *ennui*, and divert the languors of a base and worthless existence:—and if it be true that the chief excitement to such exploits is found in the false glory with which the madness of mankind has surrounded their successful performance, it will not be easy to calculate how much we are indebted to him whose history has contributed to dispel it.

Next to our delight at the overthrow of Bonaparte, is our

exultation at the glory of England.—It is a proud and honourable distinction to be able to say, in the end of such a contest, that we belong to the only nation that has never been conquered;—to the nation that set the first example of successful resistance to the power that was desolating the world,—and who always stood erect, though she sometimes stood alone, before it. From England alone, that power, to which all the rest have successively bowed, has won no trophies, and extorted no submission; on the contrary, she has been constantly baffled and disgraced whenever she has grappled directly with the might and the energy of England. During the proudest part of her continental career, England drove her ships from the ocean, and annihilated her colonies and her commerce. The first French army that capitulated, capitulated to the English forces in Egypt; and Lord Wellington is the only commander against whom six French Marshals have successively tried in vain to procure any advantage.

The efforts of England have not always been well directed,—nor her endeavous to rouse the other nations of Europe very wisely timed;—but she has set a magnificent example of unconquerable fortitude and unalterable constancy, and may claim the proud distinction of having kept alive the sacred flame of liberty and the spirit of national independence, when the chill of general apprehension, and the rushing whirlwind of conquest, had apparently extinguished them for ever, in the other nations of the earth. No course of prosperity indeed, and no harvest of ultimate success, can ever extinguish the regret of all the true friends of our national glory and happiness, for the many preposterous, and the occasional disreputable expeditions, in which English blood was more than unprofitably wasted, and English character more than imprudently involved; nor can the delightful assurance of our actual deliverance from danger efface the remembrance of the tremendous hazard to which we were so long exposed by the obstinate misgovernment of Ireland. These, however, were the sins of the Government,—and do not at all detract from the excellent spirit of the people, to which, in its main bearings, it was necessary for the government to conform. That spirit was always, and we believe universally, a spirit of strong attachment to the country, and of stern resolution to do all things, and to suffer all things in its cause;—mingled with more or less confidence, or more or less anxiety, according to the temper or the information of individuals,—but sound, steady and erect we believe upon the whole,—and equally determined to risk all for independence, whether it was believed to be in great or in little danger.

Of our own sentiments and professions, and of the consistency of our avowed principles from the first to the last of this mo-

mentous period, it would be impertinent to speak at large, in discussing so great a theme as the honour of our common country. None of our readers, and none of our censors, can be more persuaded than we are of the extreme insignificance of such a discussion—and not many of them can feel more completely indifferent about the aspersions with which we have been distinguished, or more fully convinced of the ultimate justice of public opinion. We shall make no answer therefore to the sneers and calumnies of which it has been thought worth while to make us the subject, except just to say, that if any man can read what we have written on public affairs, and entertain any serious doubt of our zeal for the safety, the honour, and the freedom of England, he must attach a different meaning to all these phrases from that which we have most sincerely believed to belong to them; and that, though we do not pretend to have either foreseen or foretold the happy events that have so lately astonished the world, we cannot fail to see in them the most gratifying confirmation of the very doctrines we have been the longest and the most loudly abused for asserting.

The most important of these doctrines was, that France could not now be successfully resisted, unless all the other great powers were united against her,—and that it was playing her game, therefore, and casting away the last hope of the world, to excite one or two of them to the contest, till the cooperation of the rest could be secured. The fate of all former campaigns, and the fate of the last, have equally illustrated this observation. France rose more audaciously triumphant from the result of all these minor coalitions—and she fell before the first impulse of that great one which we had always recommended. Europe sunk into deeper despondency and humiliation from the impotent and premature attempts which we had ventured to deprecate; and she was restored at once by that united effort, from which alone we had always said that her salvation was to be expected.

Our other leading doctrine was, that there was but little hope of an effectual resistance to France till the body of the people in the different nations of Europe could be made to take part heartily with their governments in the cause;—and here, too, the event has corresponded with our prediction. The greater part of the late wars against France were undertaken by the respective courts who were engaged in them, without any regard to the disposition of their people; who were long indifferent, and in many instances disaffected to the cause. Their success accordingly was such as might have been expected. But after repeated shocks of national misfortune had thrown the sovereigns more entirely on the attachment of their people, and especially after these people had successively tasted

of the bitterness of French dominion, and learned by experience the miserable fate that awaited the victims of such a foe, the war assumed a different complexion, and was waged with a different spirit; campaigns became obstinate, and supplies inexhaustible. The ardour of the troops encouraged their leaders to be enterprising; and it soon appeared that thrones might be overturned, while nations remained unconquered.

These, we think, were the chief of our heresies; and we really cannot perceive that the events of the last six months should bring shame to their supporters; and least of all in a country where the war against France has always been successful, precisely because it has been the war of the people, and because the people are free. Of Spain, we think as we have always thought. Of Russia, we are most willing to believe that we have spoken somewhat rashly;—though its condition under Paul must have resembled nothing so little as its condition under Alexander.

The last sentiment in which we think all candid observers of the late great events must cordially agree, is that of admiration and pure and unmingled approbation of the magnanimity, the prudence, the dignity and forbearance of the Allies. There has been something in the manner of these extraordinary transactions as valuable as the substance of what has been achieved,—and, if possible, still more meritorious. History records no instance of union so faithful and complete—of councils so firm—of gallantry so generous—of moderation so dignified and wise. In reading the addresses of the Allied Sovereigns to the people of Europe and of France; and, above all, in tracing every step of their demeanour after they got possession of the metropolis, we seem to be transported from the vulgar and disgusting realities of actual story, to the beautiful imaginations and exalted fictions of poetry and romance. The proclamation of the Emperor Alexander to the military men who might be in Paris on his arrival—his address to the Senate—the terms in which he has always spoken of his fallen adversary, are all conceived in the very hightest strain of nobleness and wisdom. They have all the spirit, the courtesy, the generosity, of the age of chivalry; and all the liberality and mildness of that of philosophy. The disciple of Fenelon could not have conducted himself with more perfect amiableness and grandeur; and the fabulous hero of the most sublime and philanthropic of all moralists, has been equalled, if not outdone, by a Russian monarch, in the first flush and tumult of his victory. The sublimity of the scene indeed, and the merit of the actors, will not be fairly appreciated, if we do not recollect that they were arbitrary sovereigns, who had been trained rather to consult their own feelings than the rights of mankind—who had been disturbed on their hereditary thrones by

the wanton aggression of the man who now lay at their mercy —and had seen their territories wasted, their people butchered, and their capitals pillaged, by him they had at last chased to his den, and upon whose capital, and whose people, they might now repay the insults that had been offered to theirs. They judged more magnanimously, however; and they judged more wisely— for their own glory, for the objects they had in view, and for the general interests of humanity. By their generous forbearance, and singular moderation, they not only put their adversary in the wrong in the eyes of all Europe, but they made him appear little and ferocious in comparison; and, while overbearing all opposition by superior force, and heroic resolution they paid due honour to the valour by which they had been resisted, and gave no offence to that national pride which might have presented the greatest of all obstacles to their success. From the beginning to the end of their hostile operations, they avoided naming the name of the antient family; and not in words merely, but in the whole strain and tenor of their conduct, respected the inherent right of the nation to choose its own government, and stipulated for nothing but what was indispensable for the safety of its neighbours. Born, as they were, to unlimited thrones, and accustomed in their own persons to the exercise of power that admitted but little controul, they did not scruple to declare publicly, that France, at least, was entitled to a larger measure of freedom; and that the intelligence of its population entitled it to a share in its own government. They exerted themselves sincerely to mediate between the different parties that might be supposed to exist in the state; and treated each with a respect that taught its opponents that they might coalesce without being dishonoured. In this way the seeds of civil discord, which such a crisis could scarcely have failed to quicken, have, we trust, been almost entirely destroyed; and if France escapes the visitation of internal dissention, it will be chiefly owing to the considerate and magnanimous prudence of those very persons to whom Europe has been indebted for her deliverance.

In this high and unqualified praise, it is a singular satisfaction to us to be able to say, that our own Government seems fully entitled to participate. In the whole of those most important proceedings, the Ministry of England appears to have conducted itself with wisdom, moderation, and propriety. In spite of the vehement clamours of their own party, and the repugnance which was said to exist in higher quarters to any negociation with Bonaparte, they are understood to have adhered with laudable firmness to the clear policy of not disjoining their country from that great confederacy, through which alone, either peace, or victory, was rationally to be expected:—and, going heartily

along with their allies, both in their unrivalled efforts and in their heroic forbearance, they too refrained from recognizing the antient family, till they were invited to return by the spontaneous voice of their own nation; and thus gave them the glory of being recalled by affection, instead of being replaced by force; while the nation, which force would either have divided, or disgusted entire, did all that was wanted, as the free act of their own patriotism and wisdom. Considering the temper that had long been fostered, and the tone that had been maintained among their warmest supporters at home, we think this conduct of the ministry entitled to the highest credit; and we give it our praise now, with the same freedom and sincerity with which we pledge ourselves to bestow our censure, whenever they do any thing that seems to call for that less grateful exercise of our duty.

Having now indulged ourselves, by expressing a few of the sentiments that are irresistibly suggested by the events that lie before us, we turn to our more laborious and appropriate vocation, of speculating on the nature and consequences of those events. Is the restoration of the Bourbons the best possible issue of the long struggle that has preceded? Will it lead to the establishment of a free government in France? Will it be favourable to the general interests of liberty in England and the rest of the world? These are great and momentous questions,—which we are far from presuming to think we can answer explicitly, without the assistance of that great expositor—time. Yet we should think the man unworthy of the great felicity of having lived to the present day, who could help asking them of himself; and we seem to stand in the particular predicament of being obliged to try at least for an answer.

The first, we think, is the easiest; and we scarcely scruple to answer it positively in the affirmative. We know, indeed, that there are many who think, that a permanent change of dynasty might have afforded a better guarantee against the return of those antient prejudices and abuses which first gave rise to the revolution, and may again reproduce all its disasters; and that France, reduced within moderate limits, would, under such a dynasty, both have served better as a permanent warning to other states of the danger of such abuses, and been less likely to unite itself with any of the old corrupt governments, in schemes against the internal liberty or national independence of the great European commonwealth. And we are far from underrating the value of these suggestions. But there are considerations of more urgent and immediate importance, that seem to leave no room for hesitation in the present position of affairs.

In the first place, the restoration of the Bourbons seems the natural and only certain *end* of that series of revolutionary movements, and that long and disastrous experiment which has so awfully overshadowed the freedom and happiness of the world. It naturally figures as the final completion of a cycle of convulsions and miseries, and presents itself to the imagination as the point at which the tempest-shaken vessel of the state again reaches the haven of tranquillity from the stormy ocean of revolution. Nor is it merely to the imagination, or through the mediation of such figures, that this truth presents itself. To the coldest reason it is manifest, that by the restoration of the old line, the whole tremendous evils of a disputed title to the crown are at once obviated: for when the dynasty of Napoleon has once lost *possession*, it has lost *all* upon which its pretensions could ever have been founded, and may fairly be considered as annihilated and extinguished for ever. The novelty of a government is in all cases a prodigious inconvenience—but if it be substantially unpopular, and the remnants of an old government at hand, its insecurity becomes obviously alarming; and nothing but great severity and great success can give it even the appearance of stability. Now, the government of Napoleon was not only new and oppressive, and consequently insecure, but it was absolutely dissolved and at an end, before the period had arrived at which alone the restoration of the Bourbons could be made a subject of deliberation.

The chains of the Continent, in fact, were broken at Leipsic; and the despotic sceptre of the great nation cast down to the earth, as soon as the allies set foot as conquerors on its antient territory. If the Bourbons were not then to be restored, there were only three other ways of settling the government—To leave Bonaparte at the head of a limited and reduced monarchy—to vest the sovereignty in his infant son—or to call or permit some new adventurer to preside over an entire new constitution, republican or monarchical, as might be most agreeable to his supporters. The first would have been fraught with measureless evils to France, and dangers to all her neighbours—but, fortunately, though it was tried, it was in its own nature impracticable: and Napoleon knew this well enough, when he rejected the propositions made to him at Chatillon. He knew well enough what stuff his Parisians and his Senators were made of, and what were the only terms upon which the nation would submit to his dominion. He knew that he had no hold of the affections of the people, and ruled but in their fears and their vanity—that he held his throne only because he had identified his own greatness with the glory of France, and surrounded himself with a vast army,

drawn from all the nations of Europe, and so posted and divided as to be secured against any general spirit of revolt. The moment this army was ruined therefore, and he came back a beaten and humbled sovereign, he felt that his sovereignty was at an end. To rule at all, it was necessary that he should rule with glory, and with full possession of the means of intimidation. As soon as these left him, his throne must have tottered to its fall. Royalist factions and Republican factions would have arisen in every part of the nation—discontent and insurrection would have multiplied in the capital and in the provinces—and if not cut off by the arm of some new competitor, he must soon have been overwhelmed in the tempest of civil commotion. The second plan would have been less dangerous to other states, but still more impracticable with a view to France itself. The nerveless arm of an infant could never have wielded the iron sceptre of Napoleon—and his weakness, and the utter want of native power or influence in the members of his family, would have invited all sorts of pretensions, and called forth to open day all the wild and terrific factions which the terror of his father's power had chased for a season to their dens of darkness. Jealousy of the influence of Austria, too, would have facilitated the deposition of the baby despot;—and even if his state could have been upheld, it is plain that it could have been only by the faithful energy of his predecessor's ministers of oppression,—and that the dynasty of Napoleon could only have maintained itself by the arts and the crimes of its founder. The third expedient must plainly have been the most inexpedient and unmerciful of all: since, after the experience of the last twenty years, we may venture to say with confidence, it could only have led, through a repetition of those monstrous disorders over which reason has blushed and humanity sickened so long, to the dead repose of another military despotism.

The restoration of the Bourbons, therefore, we conceive, was an act, not merely of wisdom, but of necessity,—or of that strong and obvious expediency, with a view either to peace or security, which in politics amounts to necessity. It is a separate, however, or at least an ulterior question, whether this restoration is likely to give a free government to France, or to bring it back to the condition of its old arbitrary monarchy? a question certainly of great interest and curiosity,—and upon which it does not appear to us that the politicians of this country are by any means agreed.

There are many, we think, who cannot be brought to understand that the restoration of the ancient line can mean any thing else but the restoration of the ancient constitution of the

monarchy,—who take it for granted, that they must return to the substantial exercise of all their former functions, and conceive, that all restraints upon the sovereign authority, and all stipulations in favour of public liberty, must be looked upon with contempt and aversion, and be speedily swept away as vestiges of that tremendous revolution, the whole brood and progeny of which must be held in abhorrence at the Court of the new Monarch:—And truly, when we remember what Mr Fox has said, with so much solemnity, upon this subject, and call to mind the occasion, with reference to which, he has declared, that 'a 'Restoration is for the most part the most pernicious of all Re-'volutions,'—it is not easy to divest ourselves of apprehensions, that such may in some degree be the consequence of the events over which we are rejoicing. Yet the circumstances of the present case, we will confess, do not seem to us to warrant such apprehensions in their full extent; and our augury, upon the whole, is favourable upon this branch of the question also.

They who think differently, and who hope, or fear, that things are to go back exactly to the state in which they were in 1788; and that all the sufferings, and all the sacrifices, of the intermediate period, are to be in vain, look only, as it appears to us, to the naked fact, that the old line of kings is restored, and the ancient nobility reestablished in their honours. They consider the case, as it would have been, if this restoration had been effected by the triumphant return of the emigrants from Coblentz in 1792—by the success of the Royalist arms in La Vendee—or by the general prevalence of a Royalist party, spontaneously regenerated over the kingdom;—forgetting that the ancient family has only been recalled in a crisis brought on by foreign successes, when the actual government was virtually dissolved, and no alternative left to the nation, but those which we have just enumerated;—forgetting that it is not restored unconditionally, and as a matter of right, but rather called anew to the throne, upon terms and stipulations, propounded in the name of a nation, free to receive or to reject it;—forgetting, that an interval of twenty-five long years has separated the subjects from the Sovereign; and broken all those ties of habitual loyalty, by which a people is most effectually bound to an hereditary monarch; and that these years, filled with ideas of democratic license, or despotic oppression, cannot have tended to foster associations favourable to royalty, or to propagate kindly conceptions of the connexion of subject and king;—forgetting, above all, that along with her ancient monarchy, a new legislative body is associated in the government of France,—that a constitution has been actually adopted, by which the powers of those mo-

narchs may be effectually controuled; and that the illustrious person who has ascended the throne, has already bound himself to govern according to that constitution, and to assume no power with which it does not expressly invest him.

If Louis XVIII, then, trained in the school of misfortune, and seeing and feeling all the permanent changes that these twenty five eventful years have wrought in the condition of his people;—if this monarch, mild, honourable and unambitious as he is understood to be in his character, is but faithful to his oath, grateful to his deliverers, and observant of the counsels of his most prudent and magnanimous Allies, he will feel, that he is *not* the lawful inheritor of the powers that belonged to his predecessor; that his crown is not the crown of Louis XVI; and that to assert *his* privileges, would be to provoke his fate. By this time, he probably knows enough of the nature of his countrymen, perhaps we should say of mankind in general, not to rely too much on those warm expressions of love and loyalty, with which his accession has been hailed, and which would probably have been lavished with equal profusion on his antagonist, if victory had again attended his arms in this last and decisive contest. We do not doubt, that he is more acceptable to the body of the nation, than the despot he has supplanted; and that some recollections or traditions of a more generous loyalty than the sullen nature of that ungracious ruler either invited or admitted, have mingled themselves with the hopes of peace and of liberty, which must be the chief solid ingredients in his welcome; and acting upon the constitutional vivacity of the people, and the servility of mobs, always ready to lackey the heels of the successful, have taken the form of ardent affection, and the most sincere devotedness and attachment. But we think it is very apparent, that there is no great love or spontaneous zeal for the Bourbons in the body of the French nation; that the joy so tardily manifested for their return, is grounded upon the hope of great consequential benefits to themselves, and that there is no personal attachment, which will lead them to submit to any thing that may be supposed to be encroaching, or felt to be oppressive. It will probably require great temper and great management in the new sovereigns to exercise, without offence, the powers with which they are legitimately invested; but their danger will be great indeed, if they suddenly attempt to go beyond them. With temper and circumspection, they may in time establish the solid foundations of a splendid, though limited throne; if they aspire again to be absolute, they will soon cease to reign.

The restoration of the old nobility seems, at first sight, a more hazardous operation than that of the ancient monarchs;—but the danger is more apparent than real. The various inclemen-

cies of a 25 years exile have sadly thinned the ranks of those rash and sanguine spirits that assembled at Coblentz in 1792, and may be presumed to have tamed the pride and lowered the pretensions of the few that remain. A great multitude of families have become extinct,—a still greater number had reconciled themselves to the Imperial Government,—and the small remnant that have continued faithful to the fortunes of their Royal Master, will probably be satisfied with the conditions of his return. Thus dwindled in number,—decayed in fortune,—and divided by diversities of conduct that will not be speedily forgotten, we do not think that there is any great hazard of their attempting either to assert those privileges, or to assume that tone, by which they formerly revolted the inferior classes of the state, and would now be considered as invading the just rights and constitutional dignity of the other citizens.

We do not see any thing, therefore, in the restoration itself, either of the Prince or of his nobles, that seems to us very dangerous to the freedom of the people, or very likely to pervert those constitutional provisions by which it is understood that their freedom is to be secured. Yet we did not need the example that France herself has so often afforded, to make us distrustful of constitutions on paper;—and are not only far from feeling assured of the practical benefits that are to result from this new experiment, but are perfectly convinced that all the benefit that does result must be ascribed, not to the wisdom of the actual institutions, but to the continued operation of those circumstances in point of fact, by which these institutions have been suggested, and by the permanent pressure of which alone their operation can yet be secured. The bases of the new constitution sound well certainly; and may be advantageously contrasted with the famous declaration of the rights of man, which initiated the labours of the Constituent Assembly. But the truth is, that the bases of most paper constitutions sound well; and that principles not much less wise and liberal than those which we now hope to see reduced into practice, have been laid down in most of the constitutions which have proved utterly ineffectual within the last 25 years, to repress popular disorder or despotic usurpation in this very country. The constitution now adopted by Louis XVIII. is not very unlike that which was imposed on his unfortunate predecessor in the Champs de Mars in 1790; and it certainly leaves less power to the crown than was conceded by that first arrangement. Yet the power vested in Louis XVI. was found quite inadequate to protect the regal office against the encroachments of an insane democracy; and the throne was overthrown by the sudden irruption of the popular part of the go-

vernment. On the other hand, it is still more remarkable that the constitution now about to be put on its trial, is yet more like the constitution adopted by Bonaparte on his accession to the sovereign authority. He too had a Senate and a Legislative Body,—and trial by jury,—and universal eligibility,—and what was pretended to be liberty of printing. The freedom of the people, in short, was as well guarded in most respects by the words and the forms of that constitution, as they are by those of this which is now under consideration; and yet those words and forms were found to be no obstacle at all to the practical exercise and systematic establishment of the most atrocious despotism that Europe has ever witnessed.

What then shall we say? Since the same institutions, and the same sort of balance of power, give at one time too much weight to the Crown, and at another too much indulgence to popular feeling, shall we conclude that all sorts of institutions and balances are indifferent or nugatory? or only, that their efficacy depends greatly on the circumstances to which they are applied, and on the actual balance and relation in which the different orders of the state previously stood to each other? The last, we think, is the only sane conclusion; and it is by attending to the conditions which it involves, that we shall be enabled to conjecture, whether an experiment, that has twice failed already in so signal a manner, is now likely to be attended with success.

When a limited monarchy was proposed for France in 1790, the whole body of the nation had just emancipated itself by force from a state of political vassalage, and had begun to feel the delight and intoxication of that consciousness of power which tempts at first to so many experiments on its reality and extent. New to the exercise of this power, and jealous of its security so long as any of those institutions remained which had so long repressed or withheld it, they first improvidently subverted all that was left of their antient establishments; and then, from the same impetuosity of inexperience, they split into factions that began with abuse, and ended in bloodshed; and, setting out with an extreme zeal for reason and humanity, plunged themselves very speedily in the very abyss of atrocity and folly. In such a violent state of the public mind, no institutions had any chance of being permanent. The root of the evil was in the suddenness of the extrication of such a volume of political energy,—or rather, perhaps, in the arrangements by which it had been so long pent up and compressed. The only true policy would have been for those, whose interest or judgment enabled them to see the hazards upon which the new-sprung enthusiasts

were rushing—to have thrown themselves into their ranks;—to have united cordially with those who were least insane or intemperate; and, by going along with them at all hazards, to have retarded the impetuosity of their movements, and watched the first opportunity to bring them back to sobriety and reason. Instead of this, they abandoned them, with demonstrations of contempt and hostility, to the career upon which they had entered—they emigrated from the territory—and thus threw the mass of the population at once into the hands of the incendiaries of the capital. Twenty-five years have nearly elapsed since the period of that terrible explosion. A great part of its force has been wasted and finally dissipated in that long interval; and though its natural flow has been again repressed in the latter part of it, there is no hazard of such another eruption, now that those obstructions are again thrown off. That was produced by the accumulation of all the energy, intelligence and discontent, that had been generated among a people deprived of political rights, during a full century of peaceful pursuits and growing intelligence, without any experience or warning of the perils of its sudden expansion. This can be but the collection of a few years of a very different description, and with all the dreadful consequences of its untempered and undirected energy still glaring in view. We do not think, therefore, that the attempt to establish a limited monarchy is now in very great danger of misgiving in the same way as in 1790; and conceive, that the conduits of an ordinary representative assembly, if instantly prepared and diligently watched, may now be quite sufficient to carry off and direct all the popular energy that is generated in the nation—though the quantity was then so great as to tear all the machinery to pieces, and blow the antient monarchy into the clouds, with the fragments of the new constitution.

With regard to the late experiment under Bonaparte, it is almost enough to observe, that it seems to us to have been from the beginning a mere piece of mockery and delusion. The government was substantially despotic and military, or, at all events, a government of undisguised force, ever since the time of the triumvirs,—perhaps we might say, since that of Robespierre; and when Bonaparte assumed the supreme power, the nation willingly gave up its liberty for the chance of tranquillity and protection. Wearied out with the perpetual succession of sanguinary factions, each establishing itself by bloody proscriptions, deportations, and confiscations, it gladly threw itself into the arms of a ruler who seemed sufficiently strong to keep all lesser ants in subjection, and, despairing of freedom, was thankful an interval of repose. In such a situation, the constitution

was dictated by the master of the state for his own glory and convenience,—not imposed upon him by the nation for his direction and controul; and, with whatever names or pretences of liberty and popular prerogative the members of it might be adorned, it was sufficiently known to all parties that it was intended substantially as an instrument of command,—that the only effective power that was meant to be exercised or recognized in the government, was the power of the Emperor, abetted by his army; and that all the other functionaries were in reality to be dependent upon him. That the Senate and Legislative Body, therefore, did not convert the military despotism upon which they were engrafted into a free government, is no considerable presumption against the fitness of such institutions to maintain the principles of freedom under a different constitution; nor can the fact be justly regarded as a new example of their inefficiency for that purpose. In this instance they were never intended to minister to the interests of liberty; nor instituted with any expectation that they would have that effect. Here, therefore, there was no failure, and no disappointment. They actually answered all the ends of their establishment, by facilitating the execution of the Imperial will, and disguising, to those who chose to look no farther, the naked oppression of the government. It does not seem to us, therefore, that this instance more than the other, should materially discourage our expectations of now seeing something like a system of regulated freedom in that country. The people of France have lived long enough under the capricious atrocities of a crazy democracy, to be aware of the dangers of that form of government,—to feel the necessity of contriving some retarding machinery to break the impulse of the general will, and providing some apparatus for purifying, concentrating and cooling the first fiery runnings of popular spirit and enthusiasm; while they have also felt enough of the oppressions and miseries of arbitrary power, to instruct them in the value of some regular and efficient controul. In such a situation, therefore, when a scheme of government that has been found to answer both these purposes in other countries, is offered by the nation as the accompaniment and condition of the monarchy, and is freely accepted by the Sovereign on his accession, there seems to be a reasonable hope that the issue will at length be fortunate;—and that a free and stable constitution may succeed to the calamitous experiments which have been suggested by the imperfections of that which was originally established.

All this, however, we readily admit, is but problematical, and affords ground for nothing more than expectation and con-

jecture. There are grounds certainly for doubting, whether the French are even yet capable of a regulated freedom;—and for believing, at all events, that they will for a good while be but awkward in discharging the ordinary offices of citizens of a limited monarchy. They have probably learned, by this time, that for a nation to be free, something more is necessary than that it should will it. To be practically and tranquilly free, a great deal more is necessary; and though we do not ascribe much to positive institutions, we ascribe almost every thing to temper and habit.—A genuine system of national representation, for example, can neither be devised, nor carried into operation in a day. The practical benefits of such a system depend in a great measure upon the internal arrangements of the society in which it exists, by means of which the sentiments and opinions of the people may be peacefully and safely transmitted from their first small and elementary gatherings, to the great public depositories of national energy and wisdom. The structure, which answers those purposes, however, is in all cases more the work of time, than of contrivance; and can never be impressed at once upon a society, which is aiming for the first time at these objects.—Without some such previous and internal arrangement, however—and without the familiar existence of a long gradation of virtual and unelected representatives, no pure or fair representation can ever be obtained. Instead of the cream of the society, we shall have the froth only in the legislature—or, it may be, the scum, and the fiery spirit, instead of the rich extract of all its strength and its virtues. But even independent of the common hazards and disadvantages of novelty, there are strong grounds of apprehension in the character and habits of the French nation. The very vivacity of that accomplished people, and the raised imagination which they are too apt to carry with them into projects of every description, are all against them in those political adventures. They are too impatient we fear—too ambitious of perfection—too studious of effect, to be satisfied with the attainable excellence or vulgar comforts of an English constitution. If it captivate them in the theory, it will be sure to disappoint them in the working;—from endeavouring universally, each in his own department, to top their parts, they will be very apt to go beyond them;—and will run the risk, not only of encroaching upon each other, but, generally, of missing the substantial advantages of the plan, through disdain of that sobriety of effort, and calm mediocrity of principle, to which alone it is adapted.

The project of giving them a free constitution, therefore, may certainly miscarry,—and it may miscarry in two ways. If the

Court can effectually attach to itself the Marshals and Military Senators of Bonaparte, in addition to the old Nobility;—and if, through their means, the vanity and ambition of the turbulent and aspiring spirits of the nation, should be turned either towards military advancement, or to offices and distinction about the Court, the legislative bodies may be gradually made subservient in most things to the will of the Government;—and by skilful management, may be rendered almost as tractable and insignificant, as they have actually been in the previous stages of their existence. On the other hand, if the discordant materials, out of which the higher branch of the legislature is to be composed, should ultimately arrange it into two hostile parties,—of the old Noblesse on the one hand, and the active individuals, who have fought their way to distinction through scenes of democratic and of imperial tyranny, on the other, it is greatly to be feared, that the body of the nation will soon be divided into the same factions; and that while the Court throws all its influence into the scale of the former, the latter will in time unite the far more formidable weight of the military body—the old republicans, and all who are either discontented at their lot, or impatient of peaceful times. By their assistance, and that of the national vehemence and love of change, it will most probably get the command of the legislative body and the capital;—and then, unless the Prince play his part with singular skill, as well as temper, there will be imminent hazard of a revolution,—not less disastrous perhaps than that which has just been completed.

Of these two catastrophes, the first, which would be the least lamentable or hopeless, seems, in the present temper of the times, to be rather the most likely to happen;—and, even though it should occur, the government would most probably be considerably more advanced toward freedom than it has ever yet been in that country—and the organization would remain entire, into which the breath of liberty might be breathed, as soon as the growing spirit of patriotism and intelligence had again removed the shackles of authority. Against the second and more dreadful catastrophe, and in some considerable degree against both, there seems to exist a reasonable security in the small numbers and general weakness of that part of the old aristocracy which has survived to reclaim its privileges. One of the bases of the new constitution, and perhaps the most important of them all, is, that every subject of the kingdom shall be equally capable of all honours or employments. Had the Sovereign, however, who is the fountain of honour and the giver of employment, returned with that great train of nobility which waited in the court

of his predecessor, this vital regulation we fear might have proved a mere dead letter; and the same unjust monopoly of power and distinction that originally overthrew the throne, might again have sapped its foundations.—As things now are, however, there are far too few of that order to sustain such a monopoly; and the prince must of necessity employ subjects of all ranks and degrees in situations of the greatest dignity and emolument. A real equality of rights will thus be practically recognized; and a fair and intelligent distribution of power and consideration will go far to satisfy the wishes of every party in the state, or at least to disarm those who would foment discontents and disaffection, of their most plausible topics and pretexts.

On the whole then, we think France has now a tolerable prospect of obtaining a free government—and, without extraordinary mismanagement, is almost sure of many great improvements on her antient system. Her great security and *panacea* must be a spirit of general mildness, and mutual indulgence and toleration. All parties have something to forgive, and something to be forgiven; and there is much in the history of the last twenty-five years, which it would be for the general interest, and the general credit of the country, to consign to eternal oblivion. The scene has opened, we think, under the happiest auguries in this respect. The manner of the abdication, and the manner of the restoration, are ominous, we think, of forbearance and conciliation in all the quarters from which intractable feelings were most to be apprehended; and the commanding example of the Emperor Alexander, will go farther to diffuse and confirm this spirit, than the professions or exhortations of any of the parties concerned. The blood of the Bourbons too, we believe to be mild and temperate; and the adversity by which their illustrious Chief has so long been tried, we are persuaded has not altered its sweetness. He is more anxious, we make no doubt, to relieve the sufferings, than to punish the offences of any part of his subjects—and returns, we trust, to the impoverished cities and wasted population of his country, with feelings, not of vengeance, but of pity. If to the philanthropy which belongs to his race, he could but join the firmness and activity in which they have been supposed to be wanting, he might be the most glorious king of the happiest people that ever escaped from tyranny; and, we fondly hope, that fortune and prudence will combine to render the era of his accession for ever celebrated in the grateful memory of his people. In the mean time, his most dangerous enemies are the Royalists; and the only deadly error he can commit, is to rely on his own popularity or personal authority.

If we are at all right in this prognostication, there should be little doubt on the only remaining subject of discussion. It must be favourable to the general interests of freedom, that a free government is established in France; and the principles of liberty, both here and elsewhere, must be strengthened by this large accession to her domains. There are persons among us, however, who think otherwise,—or profess at least to see, in the great drama which has just been completed, no other moral than this—that rebellion against a lawful sovereign, is uniformly followed with great disasters, and ends with the complete demolition and exposure of the insurgents, and the triumphal restoration of the rightful Prince. These reasoners find it convenient to take a very compendious and summary view indeed of the great transactions of which they thus extract the essence—and positively refuse to look at any other points in the eventful history before them, but that the line of the Bourbons was expelled, and that great atrocities and great miseries ensued—that the nation then fell under a cruel despotism, and that all things are set to rights again by the restoration of the Bourbons. The comfortable conclusion which they draw, or wish at least to be drawn, from these premises, is, that if the lesson have its proper effect, this restoration will make every king on the Continent more absolute than ever, and confirm every old government in an attachment to its most inveterate abuses.

It is not worth while, perhaps, to combat these extravagances by reasoning;—yet, in their spirit, they come so near certain opinions that seem to have obtained no slight currency in this country, that it is necessary to say a word or two with regard to them. We shall merely observe, therefore, that the Bourbons were expelled, on account of great faults and abuses in the old system of the government; and that they have only been restored upon condition that these abuses shall be abolished. They were expelled, in short, because they were arbitrary monarchs; and they are only restored, upon paction and security that they shall be arbitrary no longer. This is the true summary of the great transaction that has just been completed; and the correct result of the principles that regulated its beginning and its ending. The intermediate proceedings too, bear the very same character. After the abolition of royalty, the nation fell no doubt into great disorders and disasters,—not however, for want of the old abuses,—or even of the old line of sovereigns,—but in consequence of new abuses, crimes and usurpations. These they strove to rectify and repress as they best could, by expelling or cutting off the delinquents, and making provision against the recurrence of the tyranny;—at last, they fell under the arbitrary

rule of a great military commander, and for some time rejoiced in the subjection which ensured their tranquility. By and by, however, the evils of this tyranny were found far to outweigh its advantages; and when the destruction of his military force gave them an opportunity of expressing their sentiments, the nation rose against him as one man, and expelled him also, for his tyranny, from that throne, from which, for a much smaller degree of the same fault, they had formerly expelled the Bourbons.—Awaking then to the advantages of an undisputed title to the crown, and recovered from the intoxication of their first burst into political independence, they ask the antient line of their kings, whether they will renounce the arbitrary powers which had been claimed by their predecessors, and submit to a constitutional controul from the representatives of the people; and upon their solemn consent and cordial acquiescence in those conditions, they recal them to the throne, and enrol themselves as their free and loyal subjects.

The lesson, then, which is taught by the whole history is, that oppressive governments must always be insecure; and that, after nations have attained to a certain measure of intelligence, the liberty of the people is necessary to the stability of the throne. We may dispute for ever about the immediate or accidental causes of the French revolution; but no man of reflection can now doubt, that its true and efficient cause, was the undue limitation of the rights and privileges of the great body of the people, after their wealth and intelligence had virtually entitled them to greater consequence. Embarrassments in finance, or ambition in particular individuals, may have determined the time and the manner of the explosion; but it was the system which withheld all honours and distinctions from the mass of the people, after nature had made them capable of them, which laid the train, and filled the mine that produced it. Had the government of France been free in 1788, the throne of its monarch might have bid a proud defiance to *deficits* in the treasury, or disorderly ambition in a thousand Mirabeaus. Had the people enjoyed their due weight in the administration of the government, and their due share in the distribution of its patronage, there would have been no democratic insurrection, and no materials indeed for such a catastrophe as ensued. That movement, like all great national movements, was produced by a sense of injustice and oppression; and though its immediate consequences were far more disastrous than the evils by which it had been provoked, it should never be forgotten, that those evils were the necessary and lamented causes of the whole. The same principle, indeed, of the necessary connexion of oppression and insecurity, may be traced

through all the horrors of the revolutionary period. What, after all, was it but their tyranny that supplanted Marat and Robespierre, and overthrew the tremendous power of the wretches for whom they made way? Or, to come to its last and most conspicuous application, does any one imagine, that if Bonaparte had been a just, mild, and equitable sovereign, under whom the people enjoyed equal rights and impartial protection, he would ever have been hurled from his throne, or the Bourbons invited to replace him? He, too, fell ultimately a victim to his tyranny:—and his fall, and their restoration on the terms that have been stated, concur to show, that there is but one condition by which, in an enlightened age, the loyalty of nations can be secured—the condition of their being treated with kindness; and but one bulwark by which thrones can now be protected—the attachment and conscious interest of a free and intelligent people.

This is the lesson which the French revolution reads aloud to mankind; and which, in its origin, in its progress, and in its termination, it tends equally to impress. It shows also, no doubt, the dangers of popular insurrection, and the dreadful excesses into which a people will be hurried, who rush at once from a condition of servitude to one of unbounded licentiousness. But the state of servitude leads *necessarily* to resistance and insurrection, when the measure of wrong and of intelligence is full; and though the history before us holds out most awful warnings as to the reluctance and the precautions with which resistance should be attempted, it is so far from showing that it either can or ought to be repressed, that it is the very moral of the whole tragedy, and of each of its separate acts, that resistance is as inevitably the effect, as it is immediately the cure and the punishment of oppression. The crimes and excesses with which the revolution may be attended, will be more or less violent in proportion to the severity of the preceding tyranny, and the degree of ignorance and degradation in which it has kept the body of the people. The rebellion of West India slaves is more atrocious than the insurrection of a Parisian populace;—and that again far more fierce and sanguinary than the movements of an English revolution. But in all cases, the radical guilt is in the tyranny which compels the resistance; and they who are the authors of the misery and the degradation, are also responsible for the acts of passion and debasement to which they naturally lead. If the natural course of a stream be obstructed, the pent up waters will, to a certainty, sooner or later bear down the bulwarks by which they are confined. The devastation which may ensue, however, is not to be ascribed to the weakness of those bul-

warks, but to the fundamental folly of their erection. The stronger they had been made, the more dreadful, and not the less certain, would have been the ultimate eruption: and the only practical lesson to be learned from the catastrophe is, that the great agents and elementary energies of nature are never dangerous but when they are repressed; and that the way to guide and disarm them, is to provide a safe and ample channel for their natural operation. The laws of the physical world, however, are not more absolute than those of the moral; nor is the principle of the rebound of elastic bodies more strictly demonstrated, than the reaction of rebellion and tyranny.

If there ever was a time, however, when it might be permitted to doubt of this principle, it certainly is *not* the time when the tyranny of Napoleon has just overthrown the mightiest empire that pride and ambition ever erected on the ruins of justice and freedom. Protected as he was by the vast military system he had drawn up before him, and still more, perhaps, by the dread of that chaotic and devouring gulph of Revolution which still yawned behind him, and threatened to swallow up all who might drive him from his place, he was yet unable to maintain a dominion which stood openly arrayed against the rights and liberties of mankind. But if tyranny and oppression, and the abuse of imperial power has cast down the throne of Bonaparte, guarded as it was with force and terror, and all that art could devise to embarrass, or glory furnish to dazzle and overawe, what tyrannical throne can be expected to stand hereafter? or what contrivances can secure an oppressive sovereign from the vengeance of an insurgent people? Looking only to the extent of his resources, and the skill and vigour of his arrangements, no sovereign on the Continent seemed half so firm in his place as Bonaparte did but two years ago. There was the canker of tyranny, however, in the full blown flower of his greatness. With all the external signs of power and prosperity, he was weak, because he was unjust—he was insecure, because he was oppressive--and his state was assailed from without, and deserted from within, for no other reason than that his ambitious and injurious proceedings had alienated the affection of his people, and alarmed the fears of his neighbours.

The moral, then, of the grand drama which has occupied the scene of civilized Europe for upwards of twenty years, is, we think, at last sufficiently unfolded;—and strange indeed and deplorable it certainly were, if all that labour should have been without fruit, and all that suffering in vain. Something, surely, for our own guidance, and for that of our posterity, we ought at last to learn, from so painful and so costly an experiment. We

have lived ages in these twenty years; and have seen condensed, into the period of one short life, the experience of eventful centuries. All the moral and all the political elements that engender or diversify great revolutions, have been set in action, and made to produce their full effect before us; and all the results of misgovernment, in all its forms and in all its extremes, have been exhibited, on the grandest scale, in our view. Whatever quiescent indolence or empiric rashness, individual ambition or popular fury, unrectified enthusiasm or brutal profligacy, could do to disorder the counsels and embroil the affairs of a mighty nation, has been tried, without fear, and without moderation. We have witnessed the full operation of every sort of guilt, and of every sort of energy—the errors of strength and the errors of weakness—and the mingling or contrasting effects of terror and vanity, and wild speculations and antiquated prejudices, on the whole population of Europe. There has been an excitement and a conflict to which there is nothing parallel in the history of all past generations; and it may be said, perhaps without any great extravagance, that during the few years that have elapsed since the breaking out of the French revolution, men have thought and acted, and sinned and suffered more, than in all the ages that have passed since their creation. In that short period, every thing has been questioned—every thing has been suggested—and every thing has been tried. There is scarcely any conceivable combination of circumstances under which men have not been obliged to act, and to anticipate and to suffer the consequences of their acting. The most insane imaginations—the most fantastic theories—the most horrible abominations, have all been reduced to practice, and taken seriously upon trial. Nothing is now left, it would appear, to be projected or attempted in government. We have ascertained experimentally the consequences of all extremes; and exhausted, in the real history of twenty-five years, all the problems that can be supplied by the whole science of politics.

Something *must* have been learned from this great condensation of experience;—some leading propositions, either positive or negative, must have been established in the course of it:—And although *we* perhaps are as yet too near the tumult and agitation of the catastrophe, to be able to judge with precision of their positive value and amount, we can hardly be mistaken as to their general tendency and import. The clearest and most indisputable result is, that the prodigious advances made by the body of the people, throughout the better part of Europe, in wealth, consideration and intelligence, had rendered the antient institutions and exclusions of the old continental governments altogether unsuitable to their actual condition; that

public opinion had tacitly acquired a commanding and uncontroulable power in every enlightened community; and that, to render its operation in any degree safe, or consistent with a regular plan of administration, it was absolutely necessary to contrive some means for letting it act directly on the machine of government, and for bringing it regularly and openly to bear on the public counsels of the country. This was not necessary while the bulk of the people were poor, abject, and brutish,—and the nobles alone had either education, property, or acquaintance with affairs; and it was during that period that the institutions were adopted which were maintained too long for the peace and the credit of the world. Public opinion overthrew those in France; and the shock was felt in every feudal monarchy in Europe. But this sudden extrication of a noble and beneficent principle, produced, at first, far greater evils than those which had proceeded from its repression. "Th' extravagant and erring spirit" was not yet enshrined in any fitting organization; and, acting without balance or controul, threw the whole mass of society into wilder and more terrible disorder than had ever been experienced before its disclosure. It was then tried to compress it again into inactivity by violence and intimidation; but it could not be so over-mastered—nor laid to rest, by all the powerful conjurations of the reign of terror; and, after a long and painful struggle under the pressure of a military despotism, it has again broken loose, and pointed at last to the natural and appropriate remedy, of embodying it in a free representative constitution, through the mediation of which it may diffuse life and vigour through every member of society.

The true theory of that great revolution therefore is, that it was produced by the repression or practical disregard of public opinion, and that the evils with which it was attended, were occasioned by the want of any institution to controul and regulate the application of that opinion to the actual management of affairs:—And the grand moral that may be gathered from the whole eventful history, seems therefore to be, that in an enlightened period of society, no government can be either prosperous or secure, which does not provide for expressing and giving effect to the general sense of the community.

This, it must be owned, is a lesson worth buying at some cost:—and, looking back on the enormous price we have paid for it, it is no slight gratification to perceive, that it seems not only to have been emphatically taught, but effectually learned. In every corner of Europe, principles of moderation and liberality are at last not only professed, but acted upon; and doctrines equally fa-

vourable to the liberty of individuals, and the independence of nations, are universally promulgated, in quarters where some little jealousy of their influence might have been both expected and excused. If any one doubts of the progress which the principles of liberty have made since the beginning of the French revolution, and of the efficacy of that lesson which its events have impressed on every court of the Continent, let him compare the conduct of the Allies at this moment, with that which they held in 1790—let him contrast the treaty of Pilnitz with the declaration of Frankfort—and set on one hand the proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, upon entering the French territories in 1792, and that of the Emperor of Russia on the same occasion in 1814;—let him think how La Fayette and Dumourier were treated at the former period, and what honours have been lavished on Moreau and Bernadotte in the latter—or, without dwelling on particulars, let him ask himself, whether it would have been tolerated among the loyal Antigallicans of that day, to have proposed, in a moment of victory, that a representative assembly should share the powers of legislation with the sovereign—that the noblesse should renounce all their privileges, except such as were purely honorary—that citizens of all ranks should be equally eligible to all employments—that all the officers and dignitaries of the revolutionary government, should retain their rank—that the nation should be taxed only by its representatives—that all sorts of national property should be ratified, and that perfect toleration in religion, liberty of the press, and trial by jury, should be established. Such, however, are the chief *bases* of that constitution, which was cordially approved of by the Allied Sovereigns, after they were in possession of Paris; and, with reference to which, their August Chief made that remarkable declaration, in the face of Europe, 'That France stood in need 'of strong institutions, and such as were suited to the intelli-'gence of the age.'

Such is the improved creed of modern courts, as to civil liberty and the rights of individuals. With regard to national justice and independence again,—is there any one so romantic as to believe, that if the Allied Sovereigns had dissipated the armies of the republic, and entered the metropolis as conquerors in 1792, they would have left to France all her antient territories,—or religiously abstained from interfering in the settlement of her government,—or treated her baffled warriors and statesmen with honourable courtesies, and her humbled and guilty Chief with magnanimous forbearance and clemency? The conduct we have just witnessed, in all these particulars, is wise and prudent, no doubt, as well as magnanimous;—and

the splendid successes which have crowned the arms of the present Deliverers of Europe, may be ascribed even more to the temper than to the force with which they have been wielded;—certainly more to the plain justice and rationality of the cause in which they were raised, than to either. Yet those very successes exclude all supposition of this justice and liberality being assumed out of fear or necessity;—and establish the sincerity of those professions, which it would no doubt have been the best of all policy at any rate to have made. It is equally decisive, however, of the merit of the agents and of the principles, that the most liberal maxims were held out by the most decided victors; and the greatest honours paid to civil and to national freedom, when it was most in their power to have crushed the one, and invaded the other. Nothing, in short, can account for the altered tone, and altered policy of the great Sovereigns of the Continent, but their growing conviction of the necessity of regulated freedom to the peace and prosperity of the world,—but their feeling that, in the more enlightened parts of Europe, men could no longer be governed but by their reason, and that justice and moderation were the only true safeguards of a polished throne. By this high testimony, we think, the cause of Liberty is at length set up above all hazard of calumny or discountenance;—and its interests, we make no doubt, will be more substantially advanced, by being thus freely and deliberately recognized, in the face of Europe, by its mightiest and most absolute princes, than they could otherwise have been by all the reasonings of philosophy, and the toils of patriotism, for many successive generations.

While this is the universal feeling among those who have the best opportunity, and the strongest interest to form a just opinion on the subject, it is not a little strange and mortifying, that there should still be a party in this country, who consider those great transactions under a very different aspect;—who look with jealousy and grudging upon all that has been done for the advancement of freedom, and think the splendour of the late events considerably tarnished by those stipulations for national liberty, which form to other eyes their most glorious and happy feature. We do not say this invidiously, nor out of any spirit of faction: But the fact is unquestionable;—and it is worth while both to record, and to try to account for it. An arrangement, which satisfies all the arbitrary Sovereigns of Europe, and is cordially adopted by the Monarch who is immediately affected by it,—is objected to as too democratical, by a party in this free country! The Autocrator of all the [illegible]s—the Imperial Chief of the Germanic principalities—

the Military Sovereign of Prussia,—are all agreed, that France should have a free government; nay, the King of France himself is thoroughly persuaded of the same great truth;—and all the world rejoices at its ultimate acknowledgment—except only the Tories of England! *They* cannot conceal their mortification at this final triumph of the popular cause; and while they rejoice at the restoration of the King to the throne of his ancestors, and the recal of his loyal nobility to their ancient honours, are evidently not a little hurt at the advantages which have been at the same time secured to the people. They are very glad, certainly, to see Louis XVIII. on the throne of Napoleon,—but they would have liked him better if he had not spoken so graciously to the Marshals of the revolution,—if he had not so freely accepted the constitution which restrained his prerogative,—nor so cordially held out the hand of conciliation to all descriptions of his subjects;—if he had been less magnanimous in short, less prudent, and less amiable. It would have answered better to their ideas of a glorious restoration, if it could have been accomplished without any condition; and if the Prince had thrown himself entirely into the hands of those bigotted emigrants, who affect to be displeased with his acceptance of a limited crown. In their eyes, the thing would have been more complete, if the noblesse had been restored at once to all their feudal privileges, and the church to its ancient endowments. And we cannot help suspecting, that they think the loss of those vain and oppressive trappings, but ill compensated by the increased dignity and worth of the whole population, by the equalization of essential rights, and the provision made for the free enjoyment of life, property and conscience.

Perhaps we exaggerate a little in our representation of sentiments in which we do not at all concur:—But, certainly, in conversation and in common newspapers—those light straws that best show how the wind sits—one hears and sees, every day, things that approach at least to the spirit we have attempted to delineate,—and afford no slight presumption of the prevalence of such opinions as we lament. In lamenting them, however, we would not indiscriminately blame.—They are not all to be ascribed to a spirit of servility, or a disregard of the happiness of mankind. Here, as in other heresies, there is an intermixture of errors that are to be pardoned, and principles that are to be loved. There are patriotic prejudices, and illusions of the imagination, and misconceptions from ignorance, at the bottom of this unnatural antipathy to freedom in the citizens of a free land, as well as more sordid interests, and more wilful perversions. Some sturdy Englishmen are staunch for our monopoly of liber-

ty; and feel as if it was an insolent invasion of British privileges, for any other nation to set up a free constitution.—Others apprehend serious dangers to our greatness, if this mainspring and fountain of our prosperity be communicated to other lands. —A still greater proportion, we believe, are influenced by considerations yet more fantastical.—They have been so long used to consider the old government of France as the perfect model of a feudal monarchy, softened and adorned by the refinements of modern society, that they are quite sorry to part with so fine a specimen of chivalrous manners and institutions; and look upon it, with all its characteristic and imposing accompaniments of a brilliant and warlike nobility,—a gallant court,—a gorgeous hierarchy,—a gay and familiar vassallage, with the same sort of feelings with which they would be apt to regard the sumptuous pageantry and splendid solemnities of the Romish ritual. They are very good Protestants themselves, and know too well the value of religious truth and liberty, to wish for any less simple, or more imposing system at home; but they have no objection that it should exist among their neighbours, that their taste may be gratified by the magnificent spectacles it affords, and their imaginations warmed with the ideas of venerable and pompous antiquity, which it is so well fitted to suggest. The case is nearly the same with their ideas of the old French monarchy. They have read Burke, till their fancies are somewhat heated with the picturesque image of tempered royalty and polished aristocracy, which he has held out in his splendid pictures of France as it was before the revolution; and have been so long accustomed to contrast those comparatively happy and prosperous days, with the horrors and vulgar atrocities that ensued, that they forget the many real evils and oppressions of which that brilliant monarchy was productive, and think that the succeeding abominations cannot be completely expiated till it be restored as it originally existed.

All these, and we believe many other illusions of a similar nature, slight and fanciful as they may appear, contribute largely, we have no doubt, to that pardonable feeling of dislike to the limitation of the old monarchy, which we conceive to be very discernible in a certain part of our population. The great source of that feeling, however, and that which gives root and nourishment to all the rest, is *the ignorance* which prevails in this country, both of the evils of arbitrary government, and of the radical change in the feelings and opinions of the Continent, which has rendered it no longer practicable in its more enlightened quarters. Our insular situation, and the measure of freedom we enjoy, have done us this injury, along with the infinite good of

which they have been the occasions. We do not know either the extent of the misery and weakness produced by tyranny, or the force and prevalence of the conviction which has recently arisen, where they are best known, that they are no longer to be tolerated. On the Continent, experience has at last done far more to enlighten public opinion upon these subjects, than reflection and reasoning in this Island. There, nations have been found irresistible, when the popular feeling was consulted; and absolutely impotent and indefensible where it had been outraged and disregarded: And this necessity of consulting the general opinion, has led, on both sides, to a great relaxation of many of the principles on which they originally went to issue.

Of this change in the terms of the question—and especially of the great abatement which it had been found necessary to make in the pretensions of the old governments, we were generally but little aware in this country. Spectators as we have been of the distant and protracted contest between antient institutions and authorities on the one hand, and democratical innovation on the other, we still look upon the parties to that contest, as occupying nearly the same positions, and maintaining the same principles that they did at the beginning; while those, who are nearer to the scene of action, or themselves partakers of the toil, are aware that, in the course of that long conflict, each party has been obliged to recede from some of its pretensions, and to admit, in some degree, the justice of those that are made against it. Here, where we have been but too apt to consider the mighty game which has been playing in our sight, and partly at our expense, as an occasion for exercising our own party animosities, or seeking illustrations for our peculiar theories of government, we are still as diametrically opposed, and as keen in our hostilities, as ever. The controversy with us being in a great measure speculative, would lose its interest and attraction, if any thing like a compromise were admitted; and we chuse, therefore, to shut our eyes to the great and visible approximation into which time, and experience, and necessity, have forced the actual combatants. We verily believe, that, except in the imaginations of English politicians, there no longer exist in the world any such aristocrats and democrats as actually divided all Europe in the early days of the French revolution. In this country, however, we still speak and feel as if they existed; and the champions of aristocracy in particular, continue, with very few exceptions, both to maintain pretensions that their principals have long ago abandoned, and to impute to their adversaries, absurdities with which they have long ceased to be chargeable. To them, therefore, no other alternative has yet presented itself but the absolute triumph of one or other of two op-

posite and irreconcileable extremes. Whatever is taken from the sovereign, they consider as being given to crazy republicans; and very naturally dislike all limitations of the royal power, because they are unable to distinguish them from usurpations by the avowed enemies of all subordination. That the real state of things has long been extremely different, men of reflection might have concluded from the known principles of human nature, and men of information must have learned from sources of undoubted authority: But no small proportion of our zealous politicians belong to neither of those classes; and we ought not, perhaps, to wonder, if they are slow in admitting truths which a predominating party has so long thought it for its interest to misrepresent or disguise. The time, however, seems almost come, when conviction must be forced even upon their reluctant understandings,—and by the sort of evidence best suited to their capacity. They would probably be little moved by the best arguments that could be addressed to them, and might distrust the testimony of ordinary observers; but they cannot well refuse to yield to the opinions of the great Sovereigns of the Continent, and must give faith to their professions, when they find them confirmed at all points by their actions. If the establishment of a limited monarchy in France would be dangerous to sovereign authority in all the adjoining regions, it is not easy to conceive that it should have met with the cordial approbation of the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, in the day of their most brilliant success; or that that moment of triumph on the part of the old princes of Europe should have been selected as the period when the thrones of France, and Spain, and Holland, were to be surrounded with permanent limitations,—imposed with their cordial assent, and we might almost say, by their hands. Compared with acts so unequivocal, all declarations may justly be regarded as insignificant; but there are declarations also to the same purpose;—made freely and deliberately on occasions of unparalleled importance,—and for no other intelligible purpose but solemnly to announce to mankind the generous principle on which those mighty actions had been performed.

But while these authorities and these considerations may be expected, in due time, to overcome that pardonable dislike to continental liberty which arises from ignorance or natural prejudices, we will confess that we by no means reckon on the total disappearance of this illiberal jealousy. There is, and we fear there will always be, among us, a set of persons who conceive it to be for their interest to decry every thing that is favourable to liberty,—and who are guided only by a regard to their interest. In a government constituted like ours, the Court must almost

always be more or less jealous, and perhaps justly, of the encroachment of popular principles, and disposed to show favour to those who diminish their influence and authority. Without intending or wishing to render the British crown altogether arbitrary, it still seems to them to be in favour of its constitutional privileges, that arbitrary monarchies should, to a certain extent, be defended; and an artful apology for tyranny is gratefully received as an argument *à fortiori* in support of a vigorous prerogative. The leaders of the party, therefore, lean that way; and their baser followers rush clamorously along it, to the very brink of servile sedition and treason against the constitution. Such men no arguments will silence, and no authorities convert. It is their *profession* to discredit and oppose all that tends to promote the freedom of mankind; and in that vocation they will infallibly labour, so long as it yields them a profit. At the present moment too, we have no doubt that their zeal is quickened by their alarm; since, independent of the general damage which the cause of arbitrary government must sustain from the events of which we have been speaking, their immediate consequences in this country are likely to be eminently favourable to the interests of regulated liberty and temperate reform. Next to the actual cessation of bloodshed and suffering, indeed, we consider *this* to be the greatest domestic benefit that we are likely to reap from the peace,—and the circumstance, in our new situation, which calls the loudest for our congratulation. We are perfectly aware, that it is a subject of regret to many patriotic individuals, that the brilliant successes at which we all rejoice, should have occurred under an administration which has not manifested any extraordinary dislike to abuses, nor any very cordial attachment to the rights and liberties of the people; and we know, that it has been an opinion pretty current, both with them and their antagonists, that these successes will fix them so firmly in power, that they will be enabled, if they should be so inclined, to deal more largely in abuses, and to press more closely on our liberties than any of their predecessors. For our own part, however, we have never been able to see things in this inauspicious light;—and having no personal or factious quarrel with our present ministers, are easily comforted for the increased chance of their continuance in office, by a consideration of those circumstances that must infallibly, and under any ministry, operate to facilitate reform, to diminish the power of the Crown, and to consolidate the liberties of the nation. If our readers agree with us in our estimate of the importance of these circumstances, we can scarcely doubt that they will concur in our general conclusion.

In the *first* place then, it is obvious, that the direct patron-

age and indirect influence of the Crown, must be most seriously and effectually abridged by the reduction of our army and navy, the diminution of our taxes, and, generally speaking, of all our establishments, upon the ratification of peace. We have thought it a great deal gained for the constitution of late years, when we could strike off a few hundred thousand pounds of offices in the gift of the Crown, that had become useless, or might be consolidated;—and now the peace will at one blow strike off probably thirty or forty millions of government expenditure. This alone might restore the balance of the constitution.

In the *next* place, a continuance of peace and prosperity will naturally produce a greater diffusion of wealth, and consequently a greater spirit of independence in the body of the people; which, co-operating with the diminished power of the government to provide for its baser adherents, must speedily thin the ranks of its regular supporters, and expose it far more effectually to the controul of a more impartial public opinion.

In the *third* place, the events to which we have alluded, and the situation in which they will leave us, will take away almost all those pretexts for resisting inquiry into abuses, and proposals for reform, by the help of which, rather than of any serious dispute on the principle, these important discussions have been waved for these last twenty years. We shall no longer be stopped with the plea of its being no fit time to quarrel about the little faults of our constitution, when we are struggling with a ferocious enemy for its very existence. It will not now do to tell us, that it is both dangerous and disgraceful to show ourselves disunited in a season of such imminent peril—or that all great and patriotic minds should be entirely engrossed with the care of our safety, and can have neither leisure nor energy to bestow upon concerns less urgent or vital. The restoration of peace, on the contrary, will soon leave us little else to do:—and when we have no invasions nor expeditions—nor coalitions nor campaigns—nor even any loans and budgets to fill the minds of our statesmen, and the ears of our idle politicians, we think it almost certain that questions of reform will rise into paramount importance, and the redress of abuses become the most interesting of public pursuits. We shall be once more entitled, too, to make a fair and natural appeal to the analogous acts or institutions of other nations, without being met with the cry of revolution and democracy, or the imputation of abetting the proceedings of a sanguinary despot. We shall again see the abuses of old hereditary power, and the evils of maladministration in legitimate hands; and be permitted to argue from them, without the reproach of disaffection to the general cause of mankind. Men and things, in short, we trust,

will again receive their true names, on a fair consideration of their merits; and our notions of political desert be no longer confounded by indiscriminate praise of all who are with us, and intolerant abuse of all who are against us, in a struggle that touches the sources of so many passions. When we plead for the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, we shall no longer be told, that the Pope is a mere puppet in the hands of an inveterate foe,—nor be deterred from protesting against the conflagration of a friendly capital, by the suggestion, that no other means were left to prevent that same foe from possessing himself of its fleet. Exceptions and extreme cases, in short, will no longer furnish the ordinary rules of our conduct; and it will be impossible, by extraneous arguments, to baffle every attempt at a fair estimate of our public principles and proceedings.

These, we think, are among the necessary consequences of a peace concluded in such circumstances as we have now been considering; and they are but a specimen of the kindred consequences to which it must infallibly lead. If these ensue, however, and are allowed to produce their natural effects, it is a matter of indifference to us whether Lord Castlereagh and Lord Liverpool, or Lord Grey and Lord Grenville are at the head of the government. The former, indeed, would probably be a little uneasy in so new a posture of affairs; but they will either conform to it, or abandon their posts in despair. To control or alter it, will assuredly be beyond their power.

With these pleasing anticipations, we would willingly close this long review of the State and Prospects of the European commonwealth, in its present great crisis of restoration, or of new revolutions. But cheering and beautiful as it is, and disposed as we think we have shown ourselves to look hopefully upon it, it is impossible to shut our eyes on two dark stains that appear on the bright horizon, and seem already to tarnish the glories with which they are so sadly contrasted. One is of longer standing, and perhaps of deeper dye.—But both are most painful deformities on the face of so fair a prospect; and may be mentioned with less scruple and greater hope, from the consideration, that those who have the power of effacing them can scarcely be charged with the guilt of their production, and have given strong indications of dispositions that must lead them to wish for their removal. We need scarcely give the key to these observations, by naming the names of *Poland* and of *Norway*. Nor do we propose, on the present occasion, to do much more than to name them. Of the latter, we shall probably contrive to speak fully in a subsequent part of this Number. Of the former, many of our readers may think we said enough in our last. Our zeal in that cause, we know, has been made mat-

ter of wonder, and even of derision, among certain persons who value themselves on the character of *practical* politicians and men of the world; and we have had the satisfaction of listening to various witty sneers on the mixed simplicity and extravagance of supposing, that the kingdom of the Poles was to be reestablished by a dissertation in an English journal. It would perhaps be enough to state, that independent of any view to an immediate or practical result in other regions, it is of some consequence to keep the observation of England alive, and its feeling awake, upon a subject of this importance; but we must beg leave to observe, that such dissertations are humbly conceived to be among the legitimate means by which the English public both instructs and expresses itself; and that the opinion of the English public is still allowed to have weight with its government, which again cannot well be supposed to be altogether without influence in the councils of its allies. Whatever becomes of Poland, it is most material, we think, that the people of this country should judge soundly, and feel rightly, on a matter that touches on principles of such general application. But every thing that has passed since the publication of our former remarks, combines to justify what we then stated; and to encourage us to make louder and more energetic appeals to the justice and prudence and magnanimity of the parties concerned in this transaction. The words and the deeds of Alexander that have, since that period, passed into the page of history—the principles he has solemnly professed, and the acts by which he has sealed that profession—entitle us to expect from him a strain of justice and generosity, which vulgar politicians may call romantic if they please, but which all men of high principles and enlarged understandings will feel to be not more heroic than judicious. While Poland remains oppressed and discontented, the peace of Europe will always be at the mercy of any ambitious or intriguing power that may think fit to rouse its vast and warlike population with the vain promise of independence; while it is perfectly manifest that those, by whom alone that promise could be effectually kept, would gain prodigiously, both in security and in substantial influence, by its faithful performance. It is not, however, for the mere name of independence, nor for the lost glories of an antient and honourable existence, that the people of Poland are thus eager to array themselves in any desperate strife of which this may be proclaimed as the prize. We have shown, in our last Number, the substantial and intolerable evils which this extinction of their national dignity—this sore and unmerited wound to their national pride, has necessarily occasioned: And thinking, as we do, that a people, without the feelings of national pride and public duty, must be a people

without energy and without enjoyments, we apprehend it to be at any rate indisputable, in the present instance, that the circumstances which have dissolved their political being, have struck also at the root of their individual happiness and prosperity; and that it is not merely the unjust destruction of an antient kingdom that we lament, but the condemnation of fifteen millions of human beings to unprofitable and unparalleled misery. But though these are the considerations by which the feelings of private individuals are most naturally affected, it should never be forgotten, that all the principles on which the great fabric of national independence confessedly rests in Europe, are involved in the decision of this question; and that no one nation can be secure in its separate existence, if all the rest do not concur in disavowing the maxims which were acted upon in the partition of Poland. It is not only mournful to see the scattered and bleeding members of that unhappy state still palpitating and agonizing on the spot where it lately stood erect in youthful vigour and beauty; but it is unsafe to breathe the noxious vapours which this melancholy spectacle exhales. The wholesome neighbourhood is poisoned by their diffusion; and every independence within their range, sickens, and is endangered by the contagion.

5. *May* 1814.

ART. II. *Voyages and Travels in the Years* 1809, 1810, *and* 1811, *containing Statistical, Commercial and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo and Turkey.* By JOHN GALT. 4to. pp. 451. Cadell and Davies, London, 1812.

THE value of the matter contained in this volume, is not exactly proportioned to its bulk and pretensions. It presents, however, a considerable portion of information and amusement; and if the more unassuming form of publication, adopted by Mr Semple and a few others, had been followed, we should have had scarcely any occasion to preface an account of the book with a general censure.

Mr Galt, like the authors just alluded to, travelled with commercial views, for about two years, in the interesting countries of the Mediterranean; and his work consists of the remarks, little arranged or digested, which his tour suggested; frequently in the shape of hints or memoranda for further inquiry, and never thrown together with any pretensions to regular disquisition. He describes himself as a Scotchman; which indeed his language

would in very many places have disclosed. With a few exceptions, his opinions are liberal and unprejudiced; and he exercises his privilege of thinking for himself, with a boldness which does not always attend the public exhibitions of our worthy countrymen, who are justly famed over the whole world for the more valuable quality of discretion.

The work begins with some details respecting Gibraltar, which will not detain us long. He maintains the necessity of our holding possession of Ceuta, in order to give our trade the benefit of protection against the enemy's privateers; and with such a change, he conceives the value of the rock, in a merely commercial view, to be fully adequate to the cost of the establishment and works. This charge, he says, amounts to about fifty thousand a year; and he adds rather a sly, or, as the modish phrase is, an indelicate remark—'There are several noble families,' saith he, 'which *perhaps* cost the public as much.' Perhaps a good deal more, if we take into the account all the different ways in which these nobles are chargeable to their much loved country; but certainly not much less in the single article of money had and received, which may very possibly be the lowest item in the account. However, these are sacred subjects; such emoluments are vested interests, never to be touched, nor even to be spoken of, without caution and respect; the established principle, it seems, being, that no abuse, however glaring and intolerable, is to be put down, if any one has an interest in its continuance. It may no doubt be thought invidious in Mr Galt to make such allusions; and in truth, the subject is not a pleasing one. Why should he run away from his point to handle it? Why could he not speak of the rock of Gibraltar, without taking occasion to speak of sinecures and pensions, thereby giving pain to many persons truly *dear* to their country?

There is a doctrine hinted at in the remarks on Gibraltar, but afterwards repeated more explicitly, which we notice as early as possible, in order to protest against it. Mr Galt proposes that we should levy a toll here, in the same manner as Denmark does at the Sound. If he means, that we should make all ships passing the Straights pay duty to us, because we have Gibraltar, and may eventually have Ceuta also, we must be allowed to say, that it is a monstrous pretension, wholly unfounded in right, and contrary to the very principles for which we have been long contending at so vast a cost. *We* never refused to pay the Sound duty, says he. But that impost has been universally submitted to for ages, and is founded upon the same long possession which sanctifies so many national rights, in their origin not the most indisputable. The acquiescence in that case, (and it is a solitary instance), cannot surely justify a new claim, and in circum-

stances so very different. But our author is of that school, which hold, that the sea, and all islands and peninsulas, belong of right to England. We meet with this doctrine everywhere in his work; and it is the very counterpart of the French principle, happily now exploded, that all the Continent belongs to France.

Sardinia furnishes materials for some very interesting observations. The island is extensive, and very little known in this country. Mr Galt has given several curious particulars;—but leaves us to regret, that he did not extend this part of his plan at the expense of leaving out perhaps a good deal of the information upon more trite subjects. The people in the country, and the villages, are in a very rude state. The baronial power of the nobles is very considerable, though daily decreasing; and violent feuds between districts, for a length of time, are not uncommon. It is pleasing, however, to observe, even in this secluded corner, the progress of improvement, arising out of the great events of the last twenty-five years. Steps have been taken towards abolishing the independent privileges of the barons;—the country has been divided into prefectures;—at the head of each is a magistrate, and a military commander to back his authority. The small stipends of the judges, and their consequent dependence upon fees and gifts, is a serious impediment to the administration of justice, which will probably soon force itself upon the attention of the government. There is an admirable institution in Cagliari, which deserves to be noticed.—The children of the peasants are invited to come into the city, where they serve in families for their food and lodging, upon condition of being allowed to attend the schools of the society. They are called *Majoli*, and wear a sort of uniform. As may naturally be imagined, some of them exhibit talents, and rise to distinction; many, returning to their uncivilized districts, relapse into barbarism. But our author remarks, that frequently—'in 'remote and obscure valleys, the traveller meets with a peasant, 'who, in the uncouth and savage garb of the country, shows a 'tincture of the polish and intelligence of the town.'

The exportable articles in Sardinia, are chiefly wheat, and some wine of a good quality, with cheese, and a little wool. The regulations of the government respecting trade, are of the narrowest and most injudicious description; but it is to be hoped, that by a prudent and temperate use of our influence there, we may obtain a more free trade with the natives, which would confer inestimable benefits on them, as well as considerably promote our own interests. In opposition to the political doctrine of Mr Galt, already noticed, we beg to set up a commercial one, indubitable and important at the present moment,—that the influence of England should be all used in one direction, wherever

she has any footing,—namely, in promoting an open intercourse between each nation, and all the rest of the world. The progress of such a plan would infallibly conduce more to her interest, than to that of any other country, *upon the whole*—whatever superior advantages any one given nation might reap from it in one or two particular places, from local facilities—France might profit somewhat more by the abolition of restrictions in the Mediterranean; Holland, in the North of Germany; and the United States, in South America:—But England would benefit incalculably in the result and sum—for she would gain somewhat in *all* these quarters. She would gain more than others, where her local superiority gave her the advantage;—and she would make her profit also, by the benefits which each of these rivals was gaining in his several neighbourhood.

Mr Galt dwells much longer upon Sicily, in which he made some stay. He appears to have been over the greater part of the island; and he has scarcely landed, before he gives an earnest of the independent tone of his mind, and his resolution to think for himself, by undervaluing the remains of antiquity near Girgenti; and affirming, that the town itself is worse than the worst parts of Edinburgh, in point of filth and meanness, notwithstanding the show of convents, and fine situation, when viewed from a distance. In his journey to Palermo, he is equally dissatisfied, notwithstanding the country is 'what a 'painter would probably call, very beautiful; and a young la- 'dy, romantic.' The beautiful appearance of the capital, he admits; and only, excepts to the descriptions given of it, that they notice the fine and magnificent objects, without making any mention of, the mean and offensive sights, which everywhere surround them.

It is highly gratifying to perceive, that, go where you will, improvement is rapidly on the march. Mr Galt has scarcely begun his remarks on Sicily, when we find him engaged in describing the most important and beneficial changes. The diminution, or rather the downfal of clerical influence, is the first that meets us;—and to any one, contemplating the state of society in Sicily, a mightier revolution, or one more fruitful, both of present good, and extensive consequences to human happiness, cannot be conceived.

'THE CLERGY.

'In Sicily, as in other countries, the hierarchy has certainly seen the best of its days. The youth no longer consider the service of the altar as the apprenticeship of fortune, nor the livery of the church as the garb of honour. They shrink at the ridiculous appearance of gowns, cowls, and shaven crowns, compared with the elegancies of worldly men; and the indolence of the monastic life

is no longer a sufficient recompense for submitting to its restraints. The Church, having ceased to be regarded as venerable, is looked upon as ridiculous. This change has arisen from causes different from those which led to the reformation in Luther's time. That reformation originated in the exposure of doctrinal corruptions; and it was more because the monastic institutions were not found to be authorized by Scripture, that they were abolished in the countries which embraced Protestantism, than on account of the flagitious lives of their members. But the doctrinal corruptions are not thought of; nor do even considerations of morality much contribute to the increasing contempt with which the ecclesiastical profession throughout this province of the Papal empire is regarded. The institutions of the Church are now generally estimated by their temporal utility; and, being found without value in this respect, are of course deemed oppressive.' p. 25.

In former times, but little regard used to be shown among us for the abuses of the Romish Church; and the destruction of its pernicious influence, political and moral, would always have been viewed as an unmingled good. But by a strange perversion of reasoning, ever since the French Revolution, our own privileged orders, whose care for the church and religion, at home, forthwith took a wonderful start, extended it also to the hierarchies of the Continent. The alarmists saw, with almost equal horror, the downfal of Papal establishments, and of civil government; and acquired a preposterous veneration for the grossest parts of a superstition, which they fancied was connected with the cause of social order, because the revolutionists had happily destroyed almost all the bad with some of the good institutions of the state. Now, however, that every kind of alarm is at an end, we trust that these absurd predilections will no longer keep the eyes of men shut to the unspeakable advantages which have been derived from the emancipation of the species, in those fine countries where priestcraft had especially established its dominion. '*Fari quæ sentias*' can no longer be attended with danger; and we may, without any fear of misconstruction, at length openly rejoice in the destruction of spiritual tyranny—the sure forerunner of secular freedom.

Our author, in the following passage, would seem to give an instance of one bad effect having followed the decline of the Church; but his remarks are sound; and the evil in Sicily, as formerly in this country at the suppression of the monasteries, is only apparent, and, under proper management, may be rendered merely temporary.

'THE POOR.

'Among the most striking proofs of the decline of clerical wealth and power in Sicily, is the falling off in the customary largesses to

the poor at the gates of the convents. The effect of this in the first instance is melancholy. The state of the poor is gradually become worse, and in Palermo the number of mendicants has visibly increased within the last twenty years. Some time since, their distresses attracted the attention of the government; and a large and extensive establishment, in imitation of our English workhouses, was instituted to remedy the evil. The building, though not yet completed to the extent of the design, would do honour to any state. The interior regulations are, I am told, efficient and judicious. The inmates amount to several hundreds, and their employment is chiefly in the different processes of the manufactories of silk. But however well intended, this institution is found entirely inadequate to remove the distresses of the poor; and in proportion as the Church continues to decline, the number of beggars must increase, until that salutary change in the habits of the lower orders, of which the cessation of their gratuitous supply is the necessary forerunner, shall have taken place. The Sicilian gentry, particularly the females, have the reputation of being very charitable. The whole nation, indeed, seems to have a great share of benevolence. He must be strongly prejudiced, indeed, who would not allow the conduct of this people, to one another, notwithstanding the general distrust that *individualizes* them so much, to be both respectable and kindly.' p. 26.

The charities of monastic institutions were in truth none of their lightest evils. They encouraged idleness, and the vices to which it gives rise, among the flock as well as among the pastors. All the accounts of these establishments in the southern parts of Europe, but especially of Spain, concur in presenting a picture equally disfigured by the extortions practised upon the industry, and the contributions levied on the wealth, of some classes, and the bounty heedlessly lavished to the encouragement of idleness, and perpetuating of poverty, in the other orders of the community. The excellent work of Mr Townsend, is peculiarly copious in its details upon this subject, and distinguished by the soundness of the author's reflections. The remark of Mr Galt, upon the charitable disposition of the Sicilians, is applicable to the Neapolitans also, as we had an opportunity of showing in the account of Mr Eustace's travels. We are unwilling to give invidious explanations of a propensity always amiable, whatever be its origin; yet we cannot avoid observing that much of the munificence exhibited towards objects of distress in those countries, resolves itself into the same motive which leads to the payment of money for masses and indulgences, and the compliance with all the other requisitions of the church. It is easier to pay well, than to act well: A man is very willing to purchase forgiveness of sins without amendment of life; and he thinks that, by bestowing money in alms, he sets off a

good action against his faults, if he does not actually acquire a right to commit them. The church, indeed, grants no absolution, without the condition of repentance and reformation; whence the Romanists argue, that no danger can arise to the sense of moral duty, from the practice of absolving and confessing, because the condition being involved, the sinner knows that it depends on his subsequent conduct to make the ceremony which has been performed a mere empty form, or a passport to salvation. This argument, however, only proves, (even admitting that no *mistakes* are practically committed by the ignorant flock), that absolution does not give a *carte blanche* to sin anew; for its effects may have been to produce the first sin, by holding out the promise of security, though coupled with the condition. But, be this as it may, the money expended in charities, is invested upon a more refined view of ultimate gain; for the virtue of such deeds in redeeming from the penal consequences of transgression, is considered as undeniable by many whom the notions of indulgencies and absolutions cannot blind. It is to be feared that a little of this spirit has of late years got in amongst us, even in this Protestant country. The reformation of morals in the upper ranks of society, we fear, has not kept pace with the extraordinary increase of our charitable exertions. A sort of enthusiasm has in many quarters sprung up in the stead of more sober religion, with little visible effect upon the demeanour of its professors. It is an observance, we fear, substituted for good works; and comes under the general description of cheap and easy commutations of which we have been speaking. There is no wholesomeness in the moral constitution of persons who hold that either by paying their money to charities, or spending their time in the outward offices of religion, or absorbing their faculties in trances and rhapsodies, they can purchase a right to devote the rest of their wealth, or days or gifts, in a way inconsistent with plain, honest, upright principles. It is sometimes a little provoking to see the perfect self-satisfaction of such persons; and to be desired to believe them innocent, because they seem so happy and cheerful, and enjoy minds so much at ease. This is exactly what we complain of; they are more easy and happy than they have any right to be. They have formed a substitute for self-controul, and plain dealing; and the lives of indulgence, which they lead in themselves, and of shuffling towards their neighbours, sufficient to awaken the consciences of any unsophistocated man, never give *them* a moment's concern, in the happy state of delusion into which they have contrived to reason or intoxicate themselves. But to return from this sermon.—

The population of Sicily is proved by the parochial registers to be greatly on the increase; and there are plain indications, says our author, of something like the formation, in Palermo, of that comfortable middle class which is the best proof of a prosperous and free community. The difficulties of the nobles have reduced their influence in a prodigious degree, and occasioned frequent changes of property. From these, Mr Galt infers, that the condition of the peasantry is improved,—a proposition to our minds extremely doubtful. When an estate is sold, he thinks that the cultivators, no longer labouring for those who had an hereditary dominion over them, acquire something more of independence and comfort. Now, we should have drawn the very opposite conclusion; and argued that, the legal privileges remaining the same, (as he admits they do), the exchange of an hereditary and ancient connexion of lord and vassal, for the yoke of a stranger, was a transition from a mild and parental influence, to a harsh and alien dominion. Indeed, our author admits, that the peasantry having recourse to clandestine shifts, in order to elude the exactions of their lords, are 'of necessity 'a cunning and equivocating race.' The abolition of those seignorial privileges, is clearly an event not far distant, if indeed steps have not already been taken to accomplish it.

Of these nobles a very unfavourable account is given. Their time is for the most part spent in idleness and unprofitable amusement; most of them are in debt; many in absolute beggary. An adventure of our author may serve to illustrate the last observation.

'One evening, as I happened to be returning home, I fell in with a procession of monks and soldiers bearing an image of St Francis; and, not having seen any thing of the kind before, I went with the crowd into a church towards which the procession was moving. While reckoning the number of the friars as they entered, and having reached a hundred and seventy, all excellent subjects for soldiers, a well-dressed gentleman came up to me, and, bowing, pointed to some of the ornaments as objects worthy of a stranger's curiosity; but, perceiving me shy of entering into conversation with him, and the procession entering the church at the same time, he walked, or was forced by the current of the crowd, away.

'The idol being placed near the high altar, the crowd began to chaunt a hymn. As they all fell on their knees, and my tight prejudices and small clothes would not permit me to do the same, I turned into one of the side chapels, and, leaning against the railing of the altar, began to speculate on the spectacle before me, when the stranger again accosted me. Somewhat disconcerted by the interruption, and by the forwardness of the man, I abruptly quitted my place. But, before I had moved two steps, he approached, and,

bowing, said, I am the Baron M——, and my palace is just opposite. At this instant the worshippers rose, and the procession turning to go out at one of the side doors near where we were standing, before I could retreat, I found myself involved in the crowd, and obliged to go with the stream. When I reached the street, I found the stranger again at my side. This is very extraordinary, thought I; and, without seeming to notice him, walked away. He followed; and when we had got out of the nucleus of the throng, he seized me firmly by the arm, and drew me aside. Enraged and alarmed at this mysterious treatment, I shook him fiercely from me. For about the time that one might count twenty, he seemed to hesitate; and then, suddenly coming back, repeated, in Italian, with considerable energy, "I, I am the Baron M——. This is my palace; but I have nothing to eat!" I looked at the building, near the gate of which we were then standing: it was old and ruinous: there was no lamp in the court-yard, and only a faint light glimmering in one of the windows.

'Mistaking my silence and astonishment, he pulled out his watch, and, placing it in my hand, entreated me to give him some money. As I had no disposition to become a pawnbroker, I returned it with some expressions of surprise, and took out my purse with the intention of giving it to him, for it only contained two or three small pieces. But here all the solemnity of the adventure terminated. He snatched it out of my hand, and, emptying the contents into his own, returned it; and, wishing me good night, ran into the gateway.' p. 37, 38.

In all probability, the poverty of many of the nobility, and the increasing trade of the towns, which foreigners are sure to push when the peace has rendered all men anxious to find new channels for their capital and skill, will, before many years have elapsed, bring about such a reduction of the aristocracy, as cannot fail to benefit the lower orders; and, by the reaction of increased cultivation, again to augment the commerce of the island.

The account given of the Court is considerably more favourable to the royal family than we fear the facts warrant. Mr Galt seems filled with pity for the queen, and good will towards the king, and tenderness to the princes. No recollections appear to obtrude themselves, of those atrocious scenes too deeply engraven in the memory of Englishmen ever to be forgotten, as long as any regard is left for national character;—scenes not the less painful to reflect upon, that they involved in their guilt one of our greatest heroes. With all his prepossessions, however, in favour of this family, he roundly enough admits the Court to have been a very pretty scene of intrigue. 'Every thing about 'it,' he says, 'was managed with the dexterity and provi'dence of intrigue and conspiracy. All was in masque; and

'truth and honour and justice, when they appeared in their 'native fairness, were regarded, like every thing else, only as 'painted artifices, and treated as such.'

Our author left Palermo, and made a tour in the Val di Mazzara, the western district of the island. Mont Realè is the first stage; and he mentions it as a place 'grievously infested with 'clergy.' He derives wonderful satisfaction, however, from the consideration, that though 'they have had the assurance 'lately to begin the construction of another large church, it is 'not likely they will have the felicity to finish it.' The want of roads from Palermo through the interior, had been a serious impediment to commerce and agriculture; but it seems they are now going on with some activity. He concurs with all other writers in describing the agriculture as in a very low state. He saw in one field eleven ploughs, driven by as many men, all in a line one after another, and scarcely, by their united efforts, making more impression than an English harrow would have done. The instrument used, however, is the good old plough of their ancestors; consecrated in the hearts of their children by its venerable antiquity; embellished by every endearing association; and not to be rashly touched by the profane hands of daring innovators. This noble monument of the wisdom of past times, which has stood the test of so many centuries, not being, from its construction, able to penetrate the ground, and being in truth incapable of ploughing, whatever its other qualities may be, the harvest, in the most fertile district of Europe, scarcely supplies a scanty population; although it might easily, says Mr Galt, and he speaks much within bounds, feed three times the number.

At Trapani Mr Galt enters into some details respecting certain wonderful artists now living there. Their merits have, however, not reached these northern regions. Erranti is at the head of them; and is described as a first-rate painter. He likewise celebrates a sculptor called Tipa; and an architect called Amico. With respect to singers, he happened to mention, among the natives, that Catalani received a salary of 5000*l.* a winter—and found them all utterly incredulous. The *prima donna* of the theatre of Trepani has, it seems, 30*l.* a-year, and a benefit,—by which she may clear half as much more. Mr Galt is always rather free in his remarks on artists: and here he takes [illegible]igh against the bad taste of those in our [illegible] [illegible]igns for sculpture; and objects, especial[illegible] [illegible] allegorical and angelical personages. [illegible] [illegible]vels to think of the impression which our 'Britannias, Fames, 'and other horrible images,' will make on posterity; and is

particularly severe on 'two cheesemongers with wings, in St. 'Paul's, exhibiting a couple of double glos'ters, on which 'strange drawings of two naval officers have been scratched.'

Before leaving Sicily, Mr Galt gives a general sketch, not destitute of spirit, of the character of the people.

'The Sicilians are rather a sly, than a cunning race; perhaps no nation in Europe possesses so much *naiveté*. Loquacious and ingenious, they make more use of persuasion in their dealings than any other people. It is not enough that a Sicilian objects the high price of what he desires to purchase; he expatiates on the inferiority of the quality; recalls to recollection how long he has been a customer; enumerates, one by one, counting them on his fingers, the circumstances of unlucky bargains that he has had; flatteringly contrasts the opulence of the English with the poverty of the Sicilians; animadverts on the politics of the Government; magnifies the value of his ready-money; insinuates that he may change his merchant; and often retires, and returns several times, before he offers his ultimatum. Nor in selling does he practise less address. There is not a single point of his wares that does not possess something extraordinary, or beautiful: no other shop in the town has any thing like them; so cheap, or so excellent. If the price be high, What will you give?—and it is seldom that a Sicilian refuses the offer of an Englishman.

'The inhabitants of this island are, in the proper sense of the term, highly superstitious; but the *dicta* of ignorance are so interwoven with the creeds of Popery, that many notions of vulgar superstition are regarded as essentials of religion. The only exception is a belief in the effects of the influence of evil eyes; and even over this, the priesthood have acquired jurisdiction. For they persuade the people to buy bits of blessed rags and paper, which, when worn suspended round the neck, have the effect, as they pretend, of neutralizing the malignancy. The influence of an evil look is instantaneous; and the person who happens to glance it, may be unconscious of what he does: it smites the subject with sudden malady, or impresses his mind with lugubrious images, and unfits him for the prosecution of premeditated intentions. It is useless to speculate on the fantasies of the human mind; but, in this case, the constant flickering of electricity in this climate, and the occasional breathing of pestiferous exhalations, from the vegetable corruption in the bottoms of the valleys, afford a plausible reason for the sudden distempers and dejections which are ascribed to the aspect of ungracious eyes. The same superstition is well known in Scotland; but it is more generally prevalent among the Sicilians than the Scotch. Whether it is, among us, an imported or indigenous belief, cannot now be ascertained. Over all the ancient extent of the papal empire, there is a great similarity in the topics of vulgar credulity.

'The Sicilians have, certainly, a very keen relish of humour;

and, now and then, one may perceive in them a strong trait of peculiarity, not individual but national, which, notwithstanding their ancient proficiency, is an assurance to think that they may yet attain some literary superiority which shall be regarded as original. A description of manners and customs, by a genuine Sicilian, otherwise properly qualified, would equally surprize and delight. p. 114, 115.

From Sicily our author proceeded to Malta; a place now so well known in this country that we should not stop to notice his details upon it, were they much more copious and interesting. Mr Galt is far from happy, when he attempts any thing light and humorous. We are favoured with a specimen of this vein, in the observations upon the population of the island. It has reached that point, he is pleased to observe, 'which to a wrong-headed disciple of Malthus would be apt to afford the most melancholy subject of reflection.' The reason, it seems, is, that every inch is tilled, and yet the produce has long been inadequate to the maintenance of the inhabitants; notwithstanding which (says this witty man), the very labouring classes of the people are still so inconsiderate as to marry and beget children as merrily as if they all had sinecures.' If it were not ridiculous to reason with such folly, we might observe, that Mr Malthus never maintained such a proposition, as that any given spot of country was in a state of misery, when its population exceeded the numbers which its *produce* could support. But if he contends, that the multiplication of people beyond the *means of subsistence* is an evil, we really do not see any answer to the doctine in Mr Galt's statement, nor any possibility of giving it an answer at all: It is indeed a position at all times admitted in the practice, as well as in the reasonings of mankind. However, our sturdy wit goes on in his vocation. 'Cows,' says he, were long ago expelled, and the frugal-feeding goat supplied a competency of milk, till the English came; but these epicures had again recalled those huge vegetable-devouring creatures; and in the year 1809, I was told that there were no fewer than three milch cows in the island of Malta.' Really, if the reader won't laugh, it is his own fault. It is reasonable good wit, we think—and right merry.

The island of Serigo, the ancient Catherá, was the next point to which Mr Galt directed his course; and, as it is very little known in this country, the information communicated will be acceptable, though it is not very full. This spot is about fifty miles in circumference, containing one town and forty villages, and a population of eight thousand, of whom twelve hundred inhabit the chief town. The soil is stony; but whatever is

arable has been brought into tillage. It produces some good oil; but the wine is very bad, apparently from mismanagement. The revenue is about twelve hundred pounds a year, arising from an impost on cattle; and the expenditure eight hundred. There are two indifferent harbours, and very little trade. Among the few remains of antiquity, our author mentions a marble lion. Of the natural productions, he barely names, without any details, some rocks containing animal bones. There is likewise a deep cave, into which he penetrated with some difficulty by torch-light, and found that it contained nothing to reward the labour of the excursion. The scorpions of the island are, it seems, very large, sometimes five inches long; and a story is told of their battles with mice, in which the latter prevail.

Our author went from Serigo to the Morea, landing in the country of the Maniots, a part of the Spartan territory. They are a people of robbers and pirates, living in perpetual hostility with others, and among themselves. They enjoy a considerable degree of independence, the Turkish government being bound to nominate as their governor, one of their own nation, and to send no Turks into their territory; in return for which exemption, they pay a small tribute. While Mr Galt was there, an attempt had been made to infringe these conditions, and the country was much convulsed in consequence. Perhaps we cannot convey a better idea of the manners of these tribes, than by extracting the account of Mr Galt's reception at the residence of Antonbey, one of their most considerable chiefs. It affords another kind of picture than those which are familiar to Lord Byron's readers.

'We were met on the brow of the hill by a scout, who had been sent to inquire what we were: and conducted by him into the castle. In the gateway, a number of retainers were slumbering away the tedium of unoccupied time. The court was dirty with rubbish, offal, and excrements. Hogs were confined in a corner; but the poultry and ducks enjoyed the range of its whole extent. We ascended into the keep by a zigzag stair on the outside, evidently so contrived as to be defended. The landing place was moveable, and served for a drawbridge. The door, narrow, opened into a hall, where a number of long-haired soldiers were sitting. They rose, as we entered, in order to make way for us to ascend the stairs which led to the apartment of the prince. The walls of the presence chamber were hung with bundles of arms, clokes, and petticoats. A bed occupied the farthest corner, under which I perceived a large, antique, carved coffer; but my eye searched in vain for a more common utensil. Along the sides of the room were benches, covered with cushions; and, on a shelf, I saw several inverted coffee-cups, two or three bottles, and other articles of the cupboard. Antonbey, a strong, hale

carle, was sitting near the bed when we entered, and beside him an old priest. I think he appeared to be about sixty. The first glance of him, with what had been passing in my mind before, suggested the figure of Hardyknute. Opposite sat his lady, with large rings on her fingers, but otherwise slovenly dressed On her one side was a warlike relation, with a snuff-box in his hand; and, on the other, she had also her ghostly comforter. She was younger than the prince, and still possessed the remains of beauty. They all rose up as we entered; and the old chieftain received us with a kind of honest gladness—that military frankness, which gains at once the esteem of strangers. He expressed himself highly gratified by a visit from British subjects, having only once before enjoyed that pleasure. Like the governor of Marathonesi, he told us how much all the inhabitants desired the arrival of a Christian power. By the vicinity of Idra, they have learnt the benefits of commerce, and have acquired such a knowledge of the world, as to desire the termination of their predatory practices. Antonbey himself was, in his youth, a courageous and famous pirate. He told us that he had visited Venice, Trieste, and Ancona. When we had conversed with him some time, he took us to see a statue which he had lately found. He said it was generally considered to be the effigy of Lycurgus; but I think it is a Neptune. The worship of that deity, and of Venus, continued in this country five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. He told us, also, that, if it would be acceptable, he would send it to London, to the King; and was not a little diverted, when we assured him that Neptune was one of his Majesty's favourite gods.

'On returning to his room, we found the curtains of the bed down, and perceived, through them, the princess asleep.' p. 154-156.

Mr Galt's contempt and dislike of the Greeks, carries him to the extreme of intolerance in every thing that concerns them. Indeed there is no such thing as pleasing him where a Greek is concerned. If they treat him roughly, he is indignant, and sometimes has recourse to force;—if they are civil, he is out of all patience with their servility. Thus, on arriving at a Greek house at Mispa, *very late at night*, he says, that 'if sycophancy and obsequiousness were meat and drink, we might have supped most heartily.' (p. 161.) If he returned to England through Germany, he probably found many a house where, on arriving but an hour too late, he obtained just as little to eat and drink, with none of the obsequiousness he here complains of. At Argos we have a scene of a different character. The Primate, to whose house they went, again too late, under an order to the Governor, would not admit them; but very civilly (or, as Mr Galt has it, 'with all the habitual and fraudulent sycophancy of his nation') directed them to a house which he said was pre-

pared for their reception. The inhabitants refused to let them in;—the Primate, again pressed to admit them, refused also; and, 'in a rude manner, told them to force the door of the other house.'—At this they were 'exceedingly exasperated,' and went to the Governor, to see if a Turk would be more accommodating than this 'execrable Christian.' All the town were asleep; but the Turk sent a file of men, whom our travellers would fain have employed in breaking open the Bishop's palace;—they had only authority, however, to storm private houses;—and, accordingly, they forced their way into one where 'there were only women;'—and into this they gallantly entered, 'like other triumphant heroes, 'amidst the cries and lamentations of terrified helpless women.' They succeeded, partly by apologizing, and partly by 'their 'national name,' in calming the fears of these poor people. At Corinth they again arrived too late; and used nearly the same violent means of obtaining an hospitable reception. They did not actually storm the house, but they forced the inhabitants to 'quit their beds, and find other lodgings.' And does Mr Galt really wonder at finding an unhappy people deceitful, who are obliged to submit to such treatment as this? But what right has he to speak so vehemently against them, when he so readily joined in such 'gross and shameful outrages' as he admits the first mentioned adventure to have been? There is a certain coarseness about all this, which is unpleasant. We had much rather that a sense of propriety prevented a person from publishing anecdotes of this kind;—next to the share he had in them, the openly detailing it, is an offensive piece of frankness;—to have suppressed the narrative, would have been some little sacrifice to decorum;—but perhaps the trifling deviations from good taste that occur here and there in the extracts already given, have prepared the reader for finding a considerable want of delicacy in the author of this book.

The approach to Constantinople is strikingly described—by a far more remarkable characteristic than its magnificent aspect, and the fantastic shapes of its mosques and minarets,—the listless and gloomy stillness of despotism, which forms such a contrast with the bustle of our capitals. 'The domes (says he) of the chief mosques, were the first things that the eye detached from the mass of objects;—then the grim castle of the Seven Towers;—and, finally, the innumerable minarets, interspersed among shapely cypresses, and other trees of more cheerful foliage. But, unlike the approach to London, where the gay variety of villas and gardens, and the lively emulation of innumerable chariots and horsemen, exhilarate the spirits, the

'traveller passes on to the very gates of Constantinople, irresistibly disposed to moralize on the vanity of human affairs. He hears nothing like that continuous sound, the voice of London, which is heard so far off; but all is melancholy and solemn. The road lies through fields of sepulchres;—the walls are covered with ivy,—the towers are nodding to their fall;—and the great upas tree, of Ottoman despotism, is approached with sadness and awe.' p. 2. 2.

In bringing down the exaggerations of former writers, respecting the size and population of this famous city, Mr Galt exercises his accustomed sagacity and indifference towards authorities. Instead of twenty miles in circuit, he doubts if it be twelve. If the Bosphorus were no larger than the Thames, the city, including Galata, Pera and Scutari, would not be two-thirds of London; and villages in the neighbourhood there are none. He grounds his estimate on an actual survey by his own perambulation; and though this cannot be supposed to have pretensions to a minute accuracy, we doubt not that it is sufficiently correct to refute the common notion. The opinion of great population is ascribed to those who examine the town, generally confining themselves to the Bazars, and also to the circumstance of handicraftsmen of all kinds working so much in the open air. He estimates the people to be about half the number of the inhabitants of London and its suburbs. He enlarges on the miserable contrast, which the ill-built and ruinous houses, and the narrow and filthy streets present, to the fine exterior of the city viewed from a distance, especially from the sea.

After some remarks on the restraints supposed to be imposed on the sex, and the really considerable room for licentiousness which the manners of the people allow, our author remarks generally, that, in profligacy of public and private life, the Constantinopolitans exceed all other nations. Of this general censure he affords scarcely any detailed illustration, except in the statement of the venality which prevails, as is well known, in all the public departments of the state. The ministers are in constant communication with merchants, to whom, for a share in the gain, they disclose the secrets of the government. All offices are sold, to which the appointment is not obtained through the personal predilections of the sovereign.—We shudder at such a picture of corruption.—Yet let us not be too sure that none of its traits are to be met with in a scene nearer home. Perhaps in strictness of classification the moralist would find it difficult to rank under different heads the acts of conferring a pashalick upon the man who offered most money towards the support of his Imperial Majesty's government, and that of heap-

ing honours and places of trust upon him who contributed most votes to the support of a party in Parliament. Nay, something might even be said in favour of the open and avowed venality of the former plan, which cannot be urged for the hypocritical and false system with which the latter is connected. The votes are *supposed* to be conscientiously given, and the honours and high trusts to be bestowed upon merit; while every one must feel how often the preferment forms the sole motive of the vote, and the vote the only merit of the favoured candidate for office. In Turkey he who has money buys a place; and if he gets it because he is rich and not because he deserves it, at least the payment of the price is an innocent act compared with the barter of a vote. Mr Galt notices, as a circumstance which seems to surprise him, the impunity with which the Greek subjects of the Sultan, even those employed in state departments, utter daily the most seditious sentiments,—sentiments which in England would be severely visited. But this is the natural consequence of a state of absolute slavery:—the government having no struggle with the people, and nothing to fear from them, can safely allow such ebullitions as in a free state might, because of its freedom, be highly dangerous. A domestic slave will always, for the same reason, be allowed greater latitude by his master, than a servant who has rights independent of his superior's will or caprice.

The account given of the present Sultan, Mahmoud, is rather interesting, and conveys an impression of that monarch much more favourable than those which the observation of many more civilized sovereigns have of late times created. It is not every country of Europe that would make a bad bargain by exchanging its reigning prince for such a one as the Grand Signor—Turk and Mussulman though he be. He is described as 'possessing an inflexible mind;'—and though young, (he is about thirty), as 'displaying practical talent and knowledge of mankind' equal to that of 'his counsellors;'—which to be sure, in Turkey, as elsewhere, might be rather an equivocal praise. He is a man of activity, however, and employs himself in attempting 'to cure the 'corruptions of the government.' He is constitutionally 'reli'gious.'—'His complexion is pale, his eye thoughtful and pe'netrating, and his physiognomy indicates a reserved nature; 'but there is a melancholy cast in the general expression of his 'countenance, that is interesting, and rather conciliating.' Mr Galt adds some anecdotes which are creditable to this prince, and confirm the favourable impressions excited by his appearance. When about to be inaugurated, the chief of the Janizaries, according to his official duty, advanced to hold the stirrup. 'Let it alone,' said the Sultan, 'I ought rather to hold your's.'

There was a murmuring among this dreaded body, which created fears of a mutiny.—Mahmoud went secretly in the night to the quarters of the officers; told them he was aware of their mutinous spirit, and warned them to let him hear no more of it. This timely rebuke produced the desired effect. When the fleet returned unexpectedly from the Black Sea in 1809, he was fearful that there had been a battle; and he went on board in his barge at midnight to satisfy himself. It seems very inconsistent with these traits, that he should employ such means of restoring discipline among his troops, as a system of spies, and prompt execution or exile. We must however allow somewhat for the inveterate customs of an Oriental court; and at any rate, he is not accused of using spies in order to destroy the security of private society, or obtain by such interference the gratification of his tyrannical caprices. Neither do we hear of an effeminate care about dress, and other personal decorations; nor, devoted as he is to the improvement of his army, is any thing said of his attention to the patterns of their uniforms, and cut of their hair. How he stands among princes in point of fat, paint, stays and whiskers, our author has not given us the means of estimating.

The following remarks upon the British Legation at Constantinople are deserving of peculiar attention at a moment when our foreign policy has assumed a superior degree of importance, and is on the point of being once more established upon a regular basis.

'Constantinople possesses one curiosity, interesting, above all others, to the British traveller; and that is, the British Legation. In venturing to state my opinion of an institution that has existed so long, and which has been subject to the scrutiny of men, deservedly esteemed for their talents and public spirit, it is necessary to mention, plainly, that I hate the interference of foreigners of all descriptions and classes whatsoever, in any of those national affairs, which affect the national character. In matters of policy, connected with other states, it is necessary to consult the ministers of those states, but only to consult. To submit any part of the British means to their controul and guidance, without some reason, by which an important local advantage is gained, is an absurdity, so great, in my opinion, that I but feebly express my feeling, when I say that I view it with hatred.

'The British Legation at the Sublime Porte consists of two departments, which may be called the Deliberative, and the Executive. The Deliberative is composed of the minister and the secretaries, who come from England; and the Executive is formed of the interpreters, who are natives of the country, and subjects of the sultan. The former consists of persons, almost, necessarily, ignorant of the usages of the Ottoman government; the latter, of persons both the

oretically and practically ignorant of the British government; and, what is of more consequence, of the British spirit. There never was an interpreter employed by the British nation in Constantinople, that knew even what is meant by the term. From the time of the first mission, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, down to the period of the last appointment, possibly there may have been exceptions, in the qualifications of the ministers, to the full amount of what I have said about the Deliberative branch of the Legation. To this extent the statement may be qualified, but no farther.

'With the ministers of the Sultan, the British minister can hold no direct intercourse. He cannot utter one syllable of representation, nor write one word of remonstrance; and the interpreters, in fact, explain it as we will, are the representatives of the British nation in Constantinople. These interpreters belong to that inferior class of the Ottoman subjects who consider themselves as slaves. Their political condition is so vile, that we have not, in all the three kingdoms, any class of persons in the same degree of degradation. But names are nothing in business, and we should consider the matter practically.

'It is true, that neither the grand signor, nor the grand vizier, will probably ever be so unpolite as to strike off the head of our principal interpreter, for presenting to him the sense only of any remonstrance which our Deliberative may have occasion to make; and also, it is true, that a man so highly trusted as the head of our Executive in Constantinople, may be so well rewarded, that the insolence of property will overcome the pusillanimity of slavery: All this may be true, but what is the fact? The principal interpreter, that is, the operative representative of the king, had not, till lately, the income of the ambassador's valet. To Mr Adair, the interpreters owe the improvement of their circumstances; and a motive is now furnished, in the emoluments, to students of our own nation, to aspire to the situation, if they be not, at present, systematically excluded.' p. 289–291.

Mr Galt made several excursions from Constantinople to some distance, both on the Asiatic and European sides. The most considerable was to Widdin; and in the course of it, he saw something both of the military and civil life of the Turks. He also became acquainted with several characters of distinction. In visiting Sophia, he saw the Bishop Theophanes, whom he describes as a very learned and accomplished man, although rather a humourist. One trait, by the way, is a little unfortunate. He says, 'I found a volume of the new Eloisa, with one of a 'new French translation of Clarissa Harlowe, on his table,— 'two very fit parlour companions for a bishop!'—Perhaps he is not aware of the unbounded praise of by far the most exceptionable of the 'two companions,' the *Nouvelle Eloise*, expressed by one English bishop in his correspondence with another, (see

Warburton's Letters to Hurd), in which the great delight experienced by these eminent prelates, from a careful and eager study of the Eloise, is very touchingly recorded. The Greek bishop appears to have discussed theological and moral subjects very freely with our author. After informing him of the principal difference between the Greek and Russian churches, that the former admits of secular controul, not only in doctrinal questions, but in appointments of bishop and clergy, while the latter confines it to ecclesiastical matters entirely, he thus characterized, very frankly it must be admitted, the influence of his religion. 'One half of the Greek church,' said he, 'has no religion at 'all;—and those who have any, are worse than the others.' We were a little startled at coming to the following notice of a character, who once made so much noise in the world. 'The 'former governor of this district, was one Passwan Oglou, whose 'name I recollected to have seen some time ago, coupled in the 'newspapers, with a great deal of nonsense, as there commonly 'is, about Turkish affairs.' It is surely impossible that this can be a correct representation of the insignificance of the subject.

Having returned to Constantinople, Mr Galt soon afterwards set sail for Scio and Smyrna. In the course of this passage, he is pleased to be very severe upon the expedition to the Dardanelles in 1807, the whole facts of which he has *forgotten* in the course of four years, as completely as the treasury journals are in the practice of doing in as many hours, throwing the blame upon the government at home, as if their plans had been minutely detailed and strictly executed. The direct British trade with Smyrna, it seems, is reduced to little more than a sixth of its former amount, since the occupation of Malta. The general trade of the Levant, for the supply of British goods to the East, particularly Persia, has been completely undermined by the compulsory exportations of the East India Company, which supply, by the most roundabout means, and to the regular loss of the sellers, the Persian market far cheaper than it used to be furnished directly. The cloths, both of France and England, have been undersold by those of Germany, though inferior in every thing, but cheapness. But our cotton goods are rising in demand, so much so, that near two hundred thousand pounds worth are annually sold in Smyrna alone. To push the Levant trade as far as possible, Mr Galt has his usual longings after 'an insular establishment' in the Archipelago;—and he throws out a pretty intelligible hint for the benefit of that enlightened and disinterested body, the shipping interest, that the bulk of the vessels employed since we have had Malta, are Greek.

Mr Galt visited several of the islands, which are little noticed by travellers in general; and the observations which he has recorded are interesting,—especially his account of the Idriots. They are the descendants of a colony from the Morea, which fled to Idra, to avoid the tyranny of the Turks. They acquired the reputation of possessing greater integrity than the other Greeks; and they were the best navigators in the Archipelago. At the commencement of the French Revolution, they gained great profits from a speculation in grain during the scarcity in France. They were thus enabled to increase their shipping; and they now possess eighty vessels of above two hundred and fifty tons, beside several hundreds of small craft. They have two or three ships equal in size and strength to frigates. The neighbouring islands of Specia, Paros, Myconi and Ipsera, resemble Idra in their institutions; and the shipping and seamen belonging to them generally pass by the name of Idriots in the western parts of the Mediterranean. The following passage, with which we close our extracts from the work before us, contains some curious particulars respecting these islands.

'In paying their sailors, Idra and its sister islands have a peculiar custom. The whole amount of the freight is considered as a common stock, from which the charges of victualling the ship are deducted. The remainder is then divided into two equal parts: one is allotted to the crew, and equally shared among them, without reference to age or rank; the other part is appropriated to the ship and the captain.

'The capital of the cargo is a trust, given to the captain and the crew on certain fixed conditions. For all voyages to the Levant, a profit of twenty *per cent.* on their respective shares, is allowed to the contributors of the capital, and the same in voyages which do not extend to the westward beyond Malta and Sicily; but in voyages to France and Spain, within the Straits, thirty *per cent.* is given. All the profit, after paying the capitalists, is divided on the same principle, and by the same rule, as a freight earned by charter. Losses, by accidents of navigation, are sustained by the capitalists; but those arising from bad sales, fall on the captain and the crew, who are obliged to make good the deficiency. The first time that I visited this island, there was a vessel in the port, which, by an unsuccessful voyage, had incurred a loss of no less than four thousand pounds sterling: and this sum the crew and captain were then making good to the capitalists.

'The Idriots never insure their ships or cargoes. The vessels, generally, belong to a great number of persons; and some of the capitalists have only five or ten pounds sterling embarked in one bottom. The value of their several shares is not of sufficient importance to induce the owners to think of insuring them. In the early period of their history, to purchase a cargo of grain, (for it is

chiefly by their trade in that article that the Idriots have acquired their wealth), was, in some sort, a public undertaking. The whole community was concerned in it.

'The character and manners of the common Idriot sailors, from the moral effect of these customs, is much superior, in regularity, to the ideas that we are apt to entertain of sailors. They are sedate, well dressed, well bred, shrewd, informed, and speculative. They seem to form a class, in the orders of mankind, which has no existence among us. By their voyages, they acquire a liberality of notion, which we expect only among gentlemen; while, in their domestic circumstances, their conduct is suitable to their condition. The Greeks are all traditionary historians, and possess much of that kind of knowledge to which the term "learning" is usually applied. This, mingled with the other information of the Idriots, gives them that advantageous character of mind, which, I think, they possess.' p. 377-379.

Mr Galt's book concludes with an essay, entitled 'Political Reflections,' and an Appendix. The former does not merit very great attention; but it deserves the praise of sagacity in one particular; it describes the influence of France as everywhere on the decline, from the violence of the rule which her government had so long exercised over all subject nations. The panacea of an Insular Balance is dwelt upon largely, and sometimes in language of a very extraordinary kind. Our author desiderates in this country 'a bolder demeanour both of defiance and resolution.' The Continent, it seems, having adopted its system, 'let the islands proclaim theirs.' But it speedily turns out, that '*the islands*' means England, which ought forthwith to 'drive from the islands, and chase from the seas, all who retain any connexion with the Continent.'—'Let those nations,' he exclaims, 'who yet pretend to claim insular possessions, know, that they hold them only by our forbearance;' and so forth. Wherefore he desires, that all islands should staightway be occupied by 'a smaller force than our *gratuitous* army in the Peninsula.' From this scheme he anticipates prodigious *commercial* outlets; for all resolves itself into trade with such politicians; and as a proof of their sound views of mercantile policy, we may add the position which immediately succeeds, that the Mediterranean islands, being old and well-peopled countries, (which we presume he means by 'matured and settled communities'), are 'not like those which we have colonized ourselves, and which have never ceased to drain the means of the mother country.' Fired with the theme, his fancy spurns all controul; and he becomes eloquent almost to poesy. Having pervaded the Mediterranean; planted a flag or a fort on every rock large enough to hold it; gained a coast

here, and a harbour there; he commands the shores of Italy, France and Spain; seizes on the overland trade to India, 'ab-'breviating the route no less than one half;' and seals up the entrance of the Black Sea. We suppose the peninsula of Africa is omitted through inadvertency. But the course of this mighty flight carries him much farther. In the paroxysm of mercantile enthusiasm, he makes a trip to fairy regions; and thus winds up his song after a manner equally surprising and affecting. 'I mention Gibraltar only to say (qu. *sing?*), that by 'displaying the Herculean energies of the British nation, with 'a more frank and masterly arrogance, against the chimeras 'and hydras of Europe, the possession will become less the 'sentinel of a pass, than the guardian of a rich Hesperides.' It is painful to observe, that the printer has, by an absurd blunder, printed these verses as if they were prose. We should have been less surprised, had he committed the same mistake upon the 'Eclogue' at p. 414, entitled 'The Spanish Dollar,' beginning 'Behold a street in a Sicilian town,' which scans upon the fingers,—and ending with 'Seeks the refectory and sa-'voury feast,' which does not.

The Appendix contains some very useful information of a mercantile kind:—A list of the productions of Sicily, and the places where they are to be had;—a statement of the British cottons suitable to the Sicilian market, with particular hints as to this branch of trade in detail;—a table of Sicilian weights, measures, &c.;—a full account of the various processes used in Greece, Persia, Germany, and elsewhere, for dyeing Turkey-red;—some documents illustrative of the projects of France in the Mediterranean and Levant;—and a list of the imports into Smyrna during a year and a half, ending August 1810, in 117 vessels, from Christendom and America. All these details are highly useful to the merchant, especially at the present moment, when new channels of trade are so eagerly looked after by our capitalists, likely to be pressed upon by foreign competition, and deprived, by the cessation of Government expenditure, of many large channels of employment. Mercantile men are not indeed likely to commence speculations, merely upon the faith of information and suggestions which they may find in any work, from how practical a quarter soever it may proceed. But such communications set them upon other inquiries; and by the result of these, they can safely regulate their proceedings. Such travellers as Mr Galt, therefore, confer a real favour on their countrymen, and not the less liberally, when we reflect that they are engaged in trade themselves.

Before closing our account of this volume, and respecting our

general praise of it, we may remark, that it is not quite in the cheap, unassuming form, which we have sometimes had occasion to commend in similar publications;—it is a quarto, handsomely and expensively printed. It contains two plates, also, of little interest, and which serve rather to increase the price, than to illustrate the contents of the work. One is a neat drawing enough of the ruins of Agrigentum—the other a view of Bathi Castle in the Morea. The style of the book, as the reader may already have perceived from our extracts, is somewhat careless, and frequently rather coarse; but, upon the whole, vigorous and unaffected. The inaccuracies and provincialisms we pass over, as Mr Galt is not a professed literary man; and is above the folly of concealing his northern origin. But these circumstances only aggravate another charge which we feel compelled to bring against him,—that of coining base words with little scruple. In p. 92. he speaks of the '*aspectable* grandeur' of Ætna, instead of *visible*, we presume. In 94. we read of 'a 'Thames flowing through a *multitudinous* city;' and the same passage terminates with 'the turbulence of a *Trafalgarian* battle.' '*Stampery*,' for press, or printing-office, is frequently used, as p. 125; and '*Scafiating*,' and *Scafiator* or *Scafier*, passim, for digging up marbles, we suppose,—though this is rather an inference from the context, than from any knowledge we pretend to have of the word. In one place, p. 210, he is talking of the emotions produced by visiting the spot where 'great actions have been performed,' (he is at Thermopylæ); and he is pleased to make mention of 'the *whereabout* of an event which posterity,' &c. &c.

But after making due allowance for these and such other exceptions as we have been obliged to admit in our praise of Mr Galt, we believe the course of this article may have satisfied the reader, that the general commendation originally offered, was justly bestowed; and we cannot conclude without again noticing, generally, the bold and independent tone of his observations, even upon pretty delicate topics.

Art. III. *Petralogy: A Treatise on Rocks*. By J. Pinkerton. In 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 1240. White, Cochrane & Co. London, 1811.

The accidents which prevented us from noticing this incredible preformance before, have probably doubled the term of its natural existence; by enabling us now to recal the public attention to a work which, to use the author's own impressive

phraseology on another occasion, 'exhibits a vast and hetero-'geneous farrago of words which have been attempted to be in-'troduced by writers of an usurped and meteoric reputation, 'and which have been already effaced by the sponge of obli-'vion.'

When we last met with him, in the ecstasy of his Parisian Recollections, we really had no idea that 'the impassioned eyes' of the ladies, and the attractions of *entre-mets* and *hors d'œuvres* could have left him any leisure for mineralogical investigations; or that his admirable essays on the solubility of oysters in 'vin de Chablis,' and the 'iatrical arrangement of dishes,' should have been so speedily succeeded by two ponderous volumes on Gluterites and Intrites; on Klaprothite, Pottatite, Boylite, Baconite, and Luttite. We ask pardon of our readers for these horrible sounds—and indeed the gnashing of teeth produced by reading through this petralogical performance, is more deservedly the due of him who has thus, without a wedding garment, intruded into a scene for which he was so eminently disqualified by all his previous habits and acquisitions. Lore of various sorts, we readily admit,—archæological, geographical, poetical, and medallic,—has at different times occupied his redoubted pen; as it has those of the Truslers, the Mavors, and the 'hoc genus omne' by whom that excellent economical maxim of the division of labour has been so often abused. But the line of the bookmaker is drawn; and woe to him who trespasses beyond its bounds, and, without a knowledge of the raw material, presumes to weave the scientific web. 'The child may rue that is unborn' the system of bookmaking, if future Pinkertons shall, from the writings of De la Chapelle, De l'Hôpital, De Gua, Simson and Hamilton, compose delicate treatises on the Conic Sections for the edification of his youth; or from the experiments and reasonings of Newton, Wollaston, Young, Brewster, Herschel, Malus, and Saumarez, patch up a dissertation on the properties of light.

The learned author, however, is of a different opinion;—and as he has very fairly undertaken to reason the point, in an Introduction, which is in itself a most delectable performance, it is proper that the reader should see what he makes of it. 'Yet 'some ingenious men who have made a tour of a few hundred 'miles, aspire to the study of geology; and speak of their observa-'tions with all the pride of ignorance, and all the vaunts of enter-'prise, while one simple perusal of Saussure's work would teach 'them that they knew nothing. In the momentary duration of 'human life—as man writes with *his hand on the table*, and *his foot* '*in the grave!* infinitely more knowledge must be acquired by the

'study of former authors, than by trifling observations, which 'would probably not even have been made, if the fugitive traveller had previously studied the subject, or had even once revisited 'the spot, as Ferrara has remarked of Dolomieu. While an author in his cabinet studies the whole globe, and the collective 'labours of two thousand years, these little journeys only impress him as puerile excursions,' &c. &c.

After this modest statement of the comparative merits of the bookmaker and the man of observation, we are presented with a facetious story about Dr Meara,—showing how he mistook a stray piece of burnt lime for a portion of some unnoticed stratum, and thereupon constructed a theory as to the cause of the heat of Bath waters. Then comes a gentle remark on Dolomieu and Faujas, whose 'vagueness of ideas' is such, 'that nothing can be learned;' with an insinuation that, from the new, 'rich and precise 'nomenclature' of the author himself, a world is again about to arise from Chaos. The remainder of his claims on petralogical immortality, is contained in a page, of which the following extracts must suffice. 'In the present work, it is hoped that the 'want of attention, care or labour, will not be *accused.* The 'author has sedulously employed the intervals of ten years in 'this production,—particularly three which he passed at Paris, 'where he had constant opportunities of seeing the most opulent cabinets, and of conversing with men most eminent in 'the science, as Patrin, Gillet, Laumont, Daubuisson and others; not to mention interviews with Haüy, and with Werner, during his short stay in that capital. It was resumed at 'intervals of other studies, the change of labour being itself an 'amusement.'—'It must also be remembered, that mosaic is 'even more difficult than painting, and *of incomparably longer 'duration!'*

Next ensueth a verbose, and, we admit, not altogether a groundless lamentation, over the confusion and uncertainty which pervade the works of most writers on Mineralogy—faults arising naturally from the novelty of the subject, the want of sufficient materials on which to build a system, the deficiency of mineralogical nomenclature, and the confusion which has unavoidably arisen from the unconnected labours and observations of authors who have undertaken to elucidate particular departments of this science, and who have not, for want of a definite language, been enabled to compare their own observations with those of others. We have felt these defects as severely at least as the author of Petralogy; but we are at the same time convinced, that they can only be remedied by the gradual progress and increase of accurate knowledge. Assuredly they will never

be removed by such attempts at arrangement as the one before us.

One judicious remark occurs on systems of nomenclature—that they should be 'conformable to the simplicity and harmo- 'ny of nature; and free from affectation, as even the novelty it- 'self is apt to displease.' Nothing can be truer than this,—nor any thing much more ridiculous than to find it prefixed to a work, in which we are assailed, at every step, by *domains, structures, nomes, hyponomes, micronomes, fumavols, accidentialities*, and all the ineffable appellations, in which he has impaled the names of beings so ill associated as Democritus and Dr Black, Hermes and Sir Humphry Davy.

The grand secret of Mr Pinkerton's system, however, consists in considering Mineralogy as 'A KINGDOM,'—a notion certainly not altogether original—but leading, in the hands of this great geographer, to conclusions that undoubtedly are so—as the reader, if he is lucky enough to understand it, may perceive from the following luminous passage. 'For as a Kingdom may be regard- 'ed as either vivified with animal and vegetable life, or as an 'inert tract of country with certain geographical, chorographical, 'and topographical divisions; so the latter point of view can 'alone apply to mineralogy, while the former belongs to zoolo- 'gy and botany.' And again—'In the' animal and vegetable, 'the Kingdom consists of living subjects, who of course 'may be well considered as divided into classes, orders, genera 'and species; but in the mineral kingdom, *the territory alone* 'constitutes the subject of discussion. It must therefore be re- 'ceived as a fundamental truth or axiom, that the mineral king- 'dom, being wholly inert, cannot admit distinctions which be- 'long to vital energy; and that an identity of appellations can- 'not therefore be allowed either in a grammatical or philoso- 'phical view.' It is then proposed that the mineral kingdom should be divided into three provinces—Petralogy, Lithology, and Metallogy—each of which, it seems, is so important, and offers such numerous objects of disquisition, that in the course of no long period, we are assured, a 'professor of each will ap- 'pear in universities.' One of the chief causes of the slow progress of the science, we are then told, is its great extent; and therefore, as zoology has been divided into ornithology, ichthyology, entomology, &c. 'so mineralogy, to be duly studied, 'should have *grand subdivisions*.' We should be sorry to throw any obstructions in the way of Mr Pinkerton's academical ambition; but we cannot help observing, that the connexion between the several departments of these predicted teachers is so intimate, that we will venture to pronounce on the fate of the first professor of Petralogy who shall attempt to teach his

art, without a radical and fundamental knowledge of both the others. As a specimen indeed of the practical advantages to be derived from this subdivision of labour, we need go no farther than the next page of the Introduction,—where the author gravely informs us, that the topaz and sapphire only differ in colour; or to a paragraph a little farther on, where we are told that the 'neglected plains, as being nearer the centre of the earth, must 'afford more topics than the lofty rocks and the mountains.' If our author had studied Saussure or Patrin with due attention for ten minutes, instead of ten years, he would have discovered, that geological 'proximity to the centre' was not always to be measured by mathematical proximity.

We shall never be able to give our readers an idea of the design of the work, if we adhere to the lofty language of the author. We shall venture therefore to inform them, in our own humble style, that the Petralogical kingdom of Mr Pinkerton is divided into twelve Domains; of which the first six, being distinguished by the substances themselves, are called *Substantial*; and the last, being distinguished by circumstances or accidences of various kinds, are denoted by the ingenious appellation of *Accidential.* The Siderous, Siliceous, Argillaceous, Talcous, Calcareous, and Carbonaceous, are the substantial domains; and the Composite, Diamictonic, Anomalous, Transilient, Decomposed and Volcanic, are the accidential. Of these, the first six are again split into the further subordinate divisions, of Structures and Aspects, with the minuter ramifications of Variety, Diversity, and Lineament; while the last six are, we suppose, on account of their 'accidentiality,' subdivided into Nomes, Hyponomes, and Micronomes. The singular propriety of these three last denominations, is demonstrated by showing, in the following eloquent passage, that the provinces of Egypt were termed Nomes, and that Chemistry was invented in Egypt—which, it must be owned, settles the thing in a most satisfactory manner.

'But while the term Domain still seemed unobjectionable, it became necessary to abandon the other subdivisions, which, being derived from the substances and their qualities, could have no place here. Instead of denominations strictly arising from the very essence of the subject discussed, the subdivisions themselves became, so to speak, accidential and arbitrary. The only idea that arose, was to select terms that might indicate subdivisions of *the Domains,* and still, if possible, preserve *some relation with Chemistry,* upon which the whole science of mineralogy ultimately depends. *In Egypt,* universally known to have been the parent country of Chemistry, the small provinces or districts were distinguished by an ap-

pellation which the Greeks have translated Nomes, from a word simply implying divisions. But the word may be said to have remained sacred to Egypt, not having been transferred to the provinces of any other country. This word had also the advantage of subdivisions, easy to the memory, in Hyponome and Micronome, implying greater and lesser subdivisions of the Nome.'

Such is 'the natural relation' between Nome and Mineralogy; and such is a faithful sketch of the 'present system, the result of the reflections and meditations of many years.'

Incomprehensible as this arrangement is in its principle, and invulnerable as it may fairly boast of being to all logical investigation, there is a more vulgar test to which it may be subjected—and from which we are afraid it may not escape so well. Does it enable us to discriminate minerals—or has it even enabled its learned and laborious author to discriminate them? Does it put things that are different into different places—or class together those that are actually allied? All those questions we fear must be answered in the negative; for, after a painful perusal of the whole book, we take upon us to testify, that we have constantly found the same substance described under different Domains—substances, of which the affinity can scarcely be distinguished, separated to the greatest distance from each other—and minerals, of the most discordant essential character, huddled into one place, on account of their casual agreement in some unimportant accident. Thus basalt and its varieties are dispersed through three or four of the grand divisions; while 'granitels,' Lydian slate, or siliceous schist, verde antico, and actinotite, are assembled into the Talcous domain; and oxidulous iron ore forms a rock in the 19th Nome of the Anomalous division:—anomalous indeed.

But to proceed more regularly and methodically, let us take a substance in one of the learned author's Domains, and after seeing it exhausted there, let us endeavour to ascertain whether it ever reappears in any other region—And to avoid all suspicion of invidious selection, let us take the first with which he has presented us, denominated, as we have already intimated, the *Siderous.*

'The enunciation of this division consists in the somewhat novel expedient of considering iron *as an earth*, by the new name of Sidegea. The divisions, of course, contain such minerals (rocks) as are distinguished by having notable proportions of this metal in their composition.

The first Mode under this head consists of Siderite, as it is called. If we can discover any thing from the quotations and extracts of which this article is compounded, it is meant to include hornblende rock, and hornblende slate, besides certain *basalts* and primitive greenstones not easily comprehended. The

various Structures and Aspects which form the subdivision, comprise a variety of rocks of the greenstone tribe, of which the author knowing little, is unable to tell much to his readers. But the next Mode consists of *basalt also*;—a superfœtation in arrangement, of which we do not comprehend the advantages. This is followed by a third Mode, yclepèd Basaltin, which is subdivided, like the preceding, into Amorphous and Columnar. A variety of Structures and Aspects is marshalled under these two heads; and the author again falls into a puzzle of quotations, from contradictory authorities, about porphyrschiefer grünstein, roche de corne, saxum trapezium, and lava, till the words dance before our eyes. At length, after thirty-three continuous pages of quotation, we are left to shift for ourselves among the volcanoes of the Vicentin, without having been able to discover how we got there; and with no more knowledge of basaltin, than that it means a little basalt.

The harmony of the author's arrangements naturally exciting in his mind other harmonies, we are next treated with the Mode Basal*ton*; the *violone*, we presume, or double bass of the little Basal*tino* which preceded it. Here again we are treated with the greenstone, and the greenstone slate, besides which there is a learned disquisition on Ophites; and a long string of porphyries is given, among which, as a variety of basalt, we find one whose base is primitive petrosilex!—In the same list of Aspects, an amusing instance occurs of the superior advantages to be derived from writing about objects which the writer has not seen. He is anxious to excite further inquiry concerning a 'beautiful and uncommon rock' described by Professor Jameson. This is 'Indigo blue porphyry, with crystals of yel-'low felspar, from Raasa.' We have seen the rock in question; and can assure Mr Pinkerton that it has no claim on his admiration on account of its complexion;—Indigo blue, by a sort of metalepsis not uncommon among the followers of Werner, meaning nothing less than the colour of the object of comparison.

The sixth and seventh Modes, founded on the same analogy, are called Porphy*rin* and Porphy*ron*, to which is subjoined Porphyroid. These, however, seem to be but 'otiose' divisions; as no substances are arranged under them.

The ninth Mode is Amygdalite, a modification of the Trap family, well known to mineralogists. The author has divided it into three Structures;—with agates—with calcareous spar—and with open pores; being unacquainted, we must suppose, with the equally common rocks of this division which contain steatite, chlorite, and zeolites. It is surprising that his reading

should not have furnished him with some quotations on these varieties; since he appears to have been acquainted with the authors who have described them. Possibly the sheet of commonplaces has been mislaid, and forgotten in the final arrangement of the matter.

Ironstone forms the tenth Mode, of which we have a most meagre and incorrect account; since, as the author says, it has not been 'identified in books of mineralogy.' It is really unfortunate that this rare and extraordinary Mode should not yet have been *identified*, after the thousands of tons which are annually consumed in our founderies. Under the eleventh Mode is arranged Jasper, with some subdivisions as to colour, offering nothing either very wrong or very right.

The twelfth Mode consists of Slate, divided into common and massive. It is evident, that the author has formed no distinct idea on this division of his subject; since he confounds the primitive slates, which are associated with gneiss, with those which contain animal and vegetable remains. He speaks also of Massive slate as a substance, which will 'probably be often discovered in the vicinity of slate quarries!'—a substance of prime rarity doubtless! Yet this remark follows a quotation of fourteen pages, from Patrin and others, in which this massive slate, which 'will probably be found in the vicinity of slate quarries,' is naturally mentioned as one of the most common of mineral productions.—Are we to conclude, that the author quotes by deputy?

For the unprincipled confusion which pervades the thirteenth Mode, we shall charitably give our readers the Author's own apology,—'That arrangement is best which is most lax.' To which we can only answer, in the words of a well known line,—

"*Then 'twould be better—were there none at all.*"

—The Author, however, has certainly acted up to the spirit of this maxim in the division now before us; which, besides the common forms of mica-slate, 'regular,' 'irregular,' and 'mixed,' contains a 'gneiss composed of jad and siderite,' from Saussure, whom he very kindly corrects, by telling us that his jad is 'probably compact felspar.' A curious reason is also assigned for bestowing the name of Linnite on the *hornberg* of the Swedes—'because Linnæus contributed but little to the mineralogy of Sweden.'

The fourteenth Mode comprises the Sidero-magnesian rocks—associating the discordant substance, chlorite, with actinote or actinotite, (a variety of hornblende); and attaching to them one solitary mountain of serpentine, because Humboldt found that it affected the magnetic needle,—which mountain by the

by, meets us again at full length in its own proper Talcous domain.

In the fifteenth Mode, we find a class of rocks, which he has distinguished by the new term of *Intrites.* By this appellation, he intends to designate rocks, consisting of particles or crystals imbedded in a paste,—a class which he distinguishes from his next division of *Glutenites*, in which ' the particles coalesce together with little or no visible cement.' Firstly, of the first—These intrites are by the ' Germans styled porphyries, from a ' similarity of structure; but the interspersion of a few crystals, ' especially of felspar or felsite, substances as common as mica, ' can hardly be said to alter the nature of the rock; and such ' substances ought in geology to be classed with their parent ' base; for while all these kinds of pretended porphyries are ' classed under one head by Werner and his disciples, great con- ' fusion arises from their totally different natures.' We perfectly agree with our author, in lamenting the confusion which has arisen from the abuse of the term Porphyry, and should be sincerely glad to see that confusion rectified. There is no doubt that this can only be effected, by duly distinguishing (to borrow our Author's logic) the substance from the accident; the radical base itself from the variation of character, which the presence of foreign crystals produces in it. But other aid than his is wanting for this desirable end. He appears to have forgotten, that with all his talk about Intrites, and the propriety of classing the porphyries under this head, he has already allotted his whole fifth Mode to that division of rocks; so that, after all, the Intrite mode terminates in a meagre account of the Variolites of Durance, and of a certain Ironstone found in ' the Surry ' hills,' which contains ' crystals of quartz.'

The fate of the Glutenites seems even more lamentable than that of the Intrites. After having defined this sixteenth Mode, as consisting of particles coalescing with little or *no* visible cement, we are told, that ' in arranging these substances, two ' objects are to be considered; the nature of the fragments or ' particles cemented, and that *of the cement itself.* When they ' are both of one kind; as a siliceous breccia, or a pudding- ' stone with a siliceous cement, there can arise no doubt con- ' cerning their classification; but when, as often happens, the ' fragments are of one kind, and the cement of another, the ' domain may appear doubtful.' Thus the Glutenite, which, in the terms of his own definition, ought to be an Intrite, and which yet contains no cement, terminates in the two structures of small and large grained,—comprising a variety of rocks, in which the cement is sometimes at the least as abundant as the imbedded pebbles.

We have thus gone through the first Domain, or Siderous division of rocks. We have forborn to make any objections to the Division itself, or to the basis on which it is founded; since it is necessary to grant something at the outset of an argument. We shall, therefore, acquiesce in the propriety of converting Iron into Sidegea, and of establishing an order of rocks on this basis,—although we have yet to discover, what advantage the science is to derive from this arrangement. But it is next our duty to watch these Sideritic minerals a little closer; and to see if we cannot find them intruding themselves into other Domains.

In the third, or Argillaceous Domain, we find a considerable treatise, eked out with the usual bulk of quotation, on *Clay-slate.* As we had before read of this article at some length, under the twelfth Mode of the Siderous, we were not a little surprised to meet it again so soon. We began to repent of our hasty censure, however, when we saw the following paragraph; and clearly perceived the error into which we were about to fall, in supposing that the author intended to repeat, what he had already taught us on the subject of Slate.—'This must not be 'confounded with the argillaceous schistus of Kirwan, which is 'here called slate, and assigned to the Siderous Domain; while '*clay-slate* is the schistose clay of Kirwan, which he also calls 'shale, and which is often found over coal, bearing vegetable 'impressions.' Having thus extricated ourselves from the delicate dilemma of *schieffer-thon* and *thon-schieffer*, with a silent wish that the author had not determined the slate-clay of Kirwan to be his clay-slate,—what was our surprise to fall plump into the following quotation from Mr Jameson? who, according to Mr Pinkerton, '*must* mean the present substance.'—'*Clay-'slate* is one of the most metalliferous of the *primitive* rocks. It 'contains many of the venigenous formations, that occur in the 'preceding primitive rocks; as tin, lead, cobalt, and silver. It 'is a very widely-extended rock. In this country, it skirts the 'Highlands—from Lochlomond, by Callender, Comrie, and 'Dunkeld;—in the whole of that extensive district, resting on, 'and passing into mica-slate: the same appearances are to be 'observed in many other quarters in Scotland.' Here, then, under cover of a misplaced quotation, *primitive clay-slate* is confounded with *shale*, and the unfortunate Professor is compelled to mean what his soul must doubtless abhor! Not content, however, with this confusion, he proceeds, rather triumphantly, to show, that a wide distinction should be made between this important and universally diffused substance, and the siderous slate which is used in architecture. He then accuses Mr Kirwan of

blending 'the primary and secondary argillaceous schistus, when 'he mentions, that it sometimes bears impressions of vegetables 'and shells;' and yet ends by requoting his already quoted references to sundry German authors. The list of clay slates, which he has given under the head of Structures and Aspects, appears to comprise every modification of real clay slate, graywacke slate, shale, whetslate, and alumslate, which have ever been described by mineralogists.

Such are some of the advantages to be derived from consulting books instead of nature; and such the superior discernment of the artist, who with 'his hand on the table, and his foot in 'the grave,' studies the whole globe without stirring out of his cabinet. Had he but attended to the chemical analysis of the slates he has here enumerated under the Argillaceous domain, and those which he has introduced into the Siderous, his 'guardian angel' would have whispered him, that, even under his own system, he was not justified in dividing the fissile from the non-fissile slates, were even this slender distinction invariably present in his siderous slate. This dissertation terminates, we cannot very well tell how, with a tale of a right pleasant invention for setting Mandarins to sleep, by means of an ingenious musical ball, an instrument which the first Parisian artists could not imitate!

In the same Argillaceous domain, we fall on *wacken*, separated, we know not why, from those traps which have been placed in the Siderous. But this is a trifle. In a page or two after, we meet with two more of the Siderous tribe, quietly settled in the Talcous domain,—namely, Mica slate and Lydian slate,—the former disguised under the term of Micarel slate, and the latter under that of Saussurite. Under this last name, we find another mass of quotation; and are regaled a second time with the unutterable confusion of pierre de corne, cornéene, roche de corne, corneus spathosus, trap cornéene, and Lydian cornéene, the author appearing to have forgotten that he had already spoken *ad nauseam* on this very subject, under one of the Modes of his Siderous Domain. After wondering at this phenomenon through many a weary page, we discover, at the close of the day, that a specimen of *pierre de corne*, analyzed by Saussure, contained magnesia; and for this valid reason, his 'illustrious name' is given to a division, which can only exist in the imagination of Mr Pinkerton.

The 'Guardian angel,' must have been very careless of its charge, when it suffered its protegé to fall into the gross error which led to the foundation of the eighth Domain, or the *Diamictonic* as it is entitled; a domain constituted of rocks, 'in

'which the substances may be said to be chemically combined,' and which, forming 'the most difficult province of the whole 'science, might deserve a separate treatise like the Cryptogamia 'of (the) botanists.' We believe that chemists would be somewhat surprised to find 'chemical combination' forming an essential character in a system of Diamictonics; and should be glad to know how any but simple and homogeneous minerals can result from the 'chemical combination' of the earths and metallic oxides. The author, however, appears to be altogether ignorant of the nature of chemical composition; and the enunciation of this chapter forms a curious specimen of misapprehension; which we would willingly quote, had we not already quoted too much.

It is in this chemico-diamictonic division, that the gratitude of our author blazes forth to honour the sublime 'spirit of 'Hermes,' and the other choice spirits in this science, 'arranged in chronological order, from the most antient to the most 'modern times:'—and here, accordingly, we find Hermes, Democritus, Julius Firmicus, Synesius, Zozimus, Geber, Rhazes, Avicenna, Albertus Magnus, Glauber, Kunkel, Lavoisier, and numberless other worthies petrified, to their eternal honour, in siderite, basaltin, slate, quartz, keralite and gypsum. This, however, is a matter of indifference to the arrangement;—but it is seriously concerned in what follows.

We have so often found the first colonists of the Siderous domain, starting up in other regions, that we are not surprised to find siderite with mica, siderite with felspar, siderite with earthy felspar, basaltin with earthy felspar, basaltin with siderite, basaltin with silex, basaltin with wacken, basaltin with steatite, slate with silex, magnesia and lime, substances repeatedly described, appearing again under the uncouth names fabricated from those personages whom the king of all these 'domains' 'delighteth 'to honour;'—and such diamictonics as basalt with quartz, slate with lime, are 'chemical combinations!'

But we have not yet taken leave of the great family of Basalts, who seem the highly privileged inhabitants of all the domains in this newly erected kingdom of Petralogy. The tenth or Transilient Domain introduces us again to them. Among other curious remarks contained in the enunciation of this domain, the 'learned reader is desired to observe,' that this treatise forms a 'gradual introduction to that sublime science, or rather study '(Geology);' and that 'keralite (petrosilex), may, by imbibing iron from the atmospheric air, or whatever cause, become 'jasper!' Mr Pinkerton is recommended to invoke 'the 'spirit of Hermes to unfold' how iron is contained in atmo-

spheric air, or how keralite can, by absorbing iron from the air, or 'whatever cause,' be converted into jasper. We have consulted *our* chemical friends, who are yet embodied in ponderous clay, on the subject, without having been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of this obscure process.

In this new domain then, we find Siderite, Basalt, Vasaltin, Vasalton, Porphyry, and Wacken, all very principal inhabitants of the Siderous region, occupying four or five of the transilient nomes—thus wandering like other nomadic tribes wheresoever they list, and serving no purpose, that we can discover, unless it be that of peopling those desert nomes which would otherwise remain untenanted. We pass over some additional illustrations in the usual mode of ill-applied quotations on the hackneyed topics of porphyry, cornéene and mica slate; and, arriving at the fourteenth Nome, are not a little astonished to find a third dissertation on *Shale*,—longer and more unintelligible than all those which preceded it. It is here subdivided into two hyponomes, and illustrated by eleven pages of quotation from Saussure, which, instead of describing shale, are solely occupied by a transition from granite to limestone, and appear to have been introduced, like the five-lined puns and the three-lined epigrams of a newspaper, for the mere purpose of eking out the due measure of a sheet.

Can it be believed that we have not even yet taken our leave of Basalt, that favoured and universal denizen of Petralogy?—The eleventh Domain, under several heads of hyponomes and micronomes, describes once more an assortment of basalts and porphyries, which we have neither the patience nor the spirits to wade through.

We have thus performed our promise, in tracing the reviviscence of the first set of rocks which offered themselves at the commencement of this heterogeneous work, through a varying space of seven hundred pages, and have found them reappearing when least expected, with a total disregard of all arrangement or propriety. The same tautology and confusion might doubtless be found, by assuming any other object as the basis of a similar investigation; but it would be as superfluous as it is fatiguing, to pursue the subject farther. We have considerable reason, however, to suspect that we have not exhausted the subject even of Basalt, Basaltin, and Basalton,—as in the twelfth Domain, consisting of the volcanic rocks, and occupying the immoderate bulk of two hundred and seventy-five pages, we shrewdly guess that the ghosts at least of this triumvirate will be found still walking. But we dread to encounter them.

We have sufficiently shown, in this brief analysis of a single

portion of the work, that it is entirely and absolutely deficient in that lucid order which alone can give any value to an undertaking of this nature,—in which correct and distinct nomenclature and regular arrangement must form, if not the basis, at least an indispensable condition of all excellence. It is not difficult to point out the error from which all this confusion has arisen; and we need scarcely say, that it is yet more easy to show how that radical cause of confusion has been aided by the author's ignorance of those fundamental sciences Chemistry and Mineralogy, on which every system of this nature must inevitably be founded.

If we cast our eyes over the twelve Domains, or principal divisions, we shall find that some of them have been long received, and are founded on certain natural or chemical affinities; that others depend on a sort of traditional acceptation among mineralogists, so long and so generally admitted, that it is almost as valid for the purposes of arrangement, as a well established natural affinity; and that one of them at least, the Volcanic, is defined by a set of physical circumstances, not very easily mistaken or overlooked. So far then as the system is conformable to established habits, it is not only intelligible but convenient: But as soon as the author pretends to invent or improve, he becomes obscure and ridiculous. While he is a mere compiler, he cannot fail to communicate some instruction. Whenever he is original, he is absurd. The analysis we have already given of the first of his new domains, the Siderous, is sufficient to show the disturbance which he has produced in two very natural and well associated orders of rocks, the Traps and the Argillaceous schists,—by the introduction, as a definitive character, of a substance whose proportions are variable and undefinable, and which, paradoxical as it may appear to him, is not essential in the strict sense of the word. But this is nothing, compared to the constitution of some of his other domains. All writers on Mineralogy have been aware of the necessity of establishing a division, for the purpose of comprehending the mixed and aggregated rocks, and of distinguishing them from those which, like pitchstone and limestone for example, are of a simple or homogeneous structure. The author's two divisions of Composite and Diamictonic, appear intended to serve the same purpose; but, in fact, serve no purpose at all, but that of increasing the number of divisions, and adding to the general confusion; since Granites and common Breccias are excluded, by being ranked in the Siliceous domain, and since an infinite variety of individuals of the Trap family occupies both the Sideritic and Diamictonic divisions. We are quite at a loss to comprehend what notions Mr Pinkerton can have formed to

himself, as to simplicity or composition in mineral bodies, to take no notice of the confusion of his mind on the nature of chemical combination. Of the Anomalous division, we shall only remark, that we admire the appropriate nature of the term; and have only to suggest its transference from the ninth domain to the title-page of the work.

The gradual passage of one rock to another, a circumstance of common occurrence in Nature, is made 'the sufficient reason' for establishing the Transilient Domain, which the author sedulously endeavours to prevent us from confounding with the Transitive rocks, as he calls them, as if there were any resemblance whatever but in words, between the transition rocks of Werner, and the *Transilience* of one rock to another. The consequence of this division is the repeated repetition of substances of which the transiliences (to adopt our author's word) would with propriety have been noticed under the several rocks already described, and as a necessary appendage to their history. Nearly the same remark is applicable to the eleventh Domain, which consists of decomposed rocks, and which, without the usual aid of quotation, would have presented but a barren field,—like the domain of that Elector of Brandenburg, who, we are facetiously told, thought fit to inquire, 'Why God had created sand?' As one of a thousand instances of our author's acquaintance with his subject, the same page (for we need not look for examples) tells us under Nome 9, that the decomposition of pitchstone is difficult from its unctuous and compact nature; and that among his volcanic specimens there is a decomposed pitchstone. What will his friend Professor Jameson say to volcanic pitchstones? —That learned gentleman, whom he would have done better to consult a little oftener, would have informed him, that in the island of Arran, green pitchstone is converted into a most tenacious clay by the action of a stream of water running across the vein.

A vast deal of curious matter, and much valuable information is collected from various writers on the subject of volcanoes, which forms the twelfth Domain, and is, in fact, almost the only entertaining part of these two volumes. The distinctions of this class of rocks, being generally marked by a strong geographical boundary, it has been an easy task to avoid the numerous trespasses on other domains, which we have noticed in former parts of the work. We need scarcely say, that our author has thrown no additional light on the difficult problem of discriminating lavas from basalts, in cases where adventitious circumstances offer no aid. But we cannot pardon a manufacturer of books for separating, as he has done, from mere economy of

labour, a long dissertation on this subject from the body of the domain, and introducing it into the preface. This dissertation is extracted, through the medium of 'The Observer,' (whose authority for the *Advertisement*, however, we do not doubt), from Sir Humphry Davy's Lectures. For him, our author in various places expresses an uncommon affection, without well knowing why; and breaks out into an ecstatic admiration of his method of imitating a volcano, by introducing a little salt and sulphur into a wooden mountain, on the table of the Royal Institution.

Two appendixes, or an 'Appendage' and a 'Supplement' follow; the first on Pseudo-volcanoes, or, as they are here most barbarously entitled Fumavols, (*quasi* smoking volcanoes), and the second on Veinstones. A third 'Appendix' succeeds these. —This contains a great variety of matter compressed into a small type, of the same description as that which at other times has been wrought into the text of the work. As the quotations are from books already in the author's possession, being all previously quoted, we are at a loss to know why these also were not incorporated with the rest. The bookmaker's amanuensis can probably explain it. We do not pretend to deny that, like the rest of the volume, it contains a great deal of useful and interesting matter, but for which the author is solely indebted to the implements of his trade, the scissars and paste. With whatever success he may have wielded the first of these implements, he has not equally well managed the last. We fear, indeed, that like other great personages, he is too apt to perform these duties by deputy. How otherwise could the editor of a ponderous work on geography, himself a Briton, quote from Da Costa, 'Pintrith' for 'Pentreath,' and 'Gew grez' for heaven knows what—as two names of places in Cornwall?

We have already cursorily remarked on the affected Neology which characterizes this work,—though we have not been able to discover what other purpose it could serve than to facilitate the palming an old theory upon us for a new one. We may add, that, pursuant to the author's system of petralogical apotheosis, Pinite and Wernerite, names already appropriated to simple minerals, are assigned to two of his *accidential* rocks. 'To institute new denominations,' says Mr Pinkerton, 'it is evident that erudition is necessary.' That point we shall not dispute with him; but to entitle any man to *institute* new denominations in a particular science, we think it rather more necessary that he should be thoroughly acquainted with its details, than that he should know the rules for compounding Greek epithets.

The work is adorned with various ornamental vignettes, of which the greater part have as little reference to mineralogy, as those dainty devices, which in our old books surround the initial capitals of each chapter, have to the matter that ensues.

Out of nearly twelve hundred pages, of which the body of the book consists, about five hundred and fifty are of pure unadulterated quotation. 'These,' says the author, 'will, it is 'hoped, from the variety of the style, throw some flowers over 'a subject proverbially barren; while the expressions of the ob- 'servers themselves, in the sensations arising from grand phe- 'nomena, sometimes enliven the subject with somewhat of a 'dramatic interest.' It would be cruel to deny this humble merit to a work of so much labour: And though we fear it will scarcely satisfy the ambition which is indicated by the lofty pretensions of his Introduction, we can conscientiously testify for Mr Pinkerton, that

"Learned he is, and can take note,
Transcribe, collect, translate and quote."

ART. IV. *Letter from Sir Philip Francis, K. B. to Earl Grey.* London. Ridgway, 1814.

It is not surprising, that one of the most profligate measures in modern times should have roused this incorruptible friend of national justice, and the rights of mankind. Sir Philip Francis has been known, through a long political life, as the inflexible enemy of public delinquency; but the most brilliant passages of his story, are those which record his resistance to the unprincipled aggressions upon national independence, practised for so many years by British Statesmen in the East,—to raise an empire, as unwieldy in the superstructure, as it is rotten in the foundation. Having rested for some time from his ill-requited labours, he appears to have felt too strongly upon the subject of Norway, to remain silent;—and he addresses, most appropriately to Lord Grey, a short and spirited invective against measures, involving the highest interests, as well as the glory of the country.—To whom, indeed, could such topics be more aptly urged, than to a Statesman, whose high sense of public and personal honour is confest even by his enemies; and whose splendid sacrifices of private interest and ambition, to a sense of duty, are reluctantly admired by those to whose conduct they form the most reproachful contrast? Since the publication of the Letter, this distinguished Patriot has connected himself still

more directly with the subject of this publication. He has stood forward in Parliament, as the assertor of principles, founded in eternal justice; and pronounced one of the most eloquent orations, ever heard in our times, to inculcate a truth of paramount importance,—that the independence of a people cannot be bartered away by its rulers. These discussions, followed by strong expressions of popular feeling elsewhere, bring the question forward in a shape well adapted to the investigation of its merits. —It would be inconsistent with all the principles maintained in this Journal, were we to remain silent upon it; or to imitate the inconceivable powers of *selection* (we are unwilling to speak more harshly of those we respect) which some philanthropists have displayed;—limiting, as it were, by degrees of latitude, or shades of complexion, the extension and distribution of their sympathies. Upon this matter, however, it behoves us to speak with caution;—for the two Houses of Parliament, a day or two after voting *unanimously* the strongest address ever presented to the Crown in favour of the African Negroes, decided, by prodigious majorities, that the Norwegians ought to be starved into a surrender of their liberties:—so very discriminating is the philanthropy of this our age and nation! We shall state the nature of the question first historically, for the purpose of bringing the facts fairly together.

In March 1812, when France was threatening the Russian empire, and had invaded Swedish Pomerania, a convention was entered into by the Courts of St Petersburgh and Stockholm, for a mutual cooperation in defence of their respective territories. The object certainly was most momentous and desirable; and all slight considerations would have been properly sacrificed to ensure its attainment. But the most remarkable part of this act is the stipulation, that Sweden shall, before making a diversion in Germany in favour of the common cause, receive *the Kingdom of Norway* from Denmark, who is *not* a party to the convention, and is at peace with both the contracting parties. The following is the extraordinary article by which this is stipulated. 'As 'the king of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the 'common cause, consistently with the security of his dominions, 'so long *as he can regard* the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, 'his majesty the Emperor of Russia engages either by nego'tiation or by military cooperation, to unite the kingdom of 'Norway to Sweden. He engages, moreover, to guarantee the 'peaceable possession of it to his Swedish majesty.' It is not even pretended that Denmark then menaced Sweden on the side of Norway; much less that Norway, independent of Denmark, threatened any such attack. On the contrary, another article

of the same convention admits the friendly relations of Denmark. '—The two contracting parties being unwilling, *if it can be a-* '*voided*, to make an enemy of the king of Denmark, will pro- 'pose to that sovereign, to *accede to this alliance*; and will of- 'fer to his Danish majesty, to procure for him a complete in- 'demnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his 'German dominions, provided his Danish majesty will cede for 'ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to his Swedish ma- 'jesty. In case his Danish majesty shall refuse this offer, and 'shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two 'contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their ene- 'my.' What is the plain English of this most profligate compact? That Russia, having resolved to keep Finland from Sweden, they both agree to fall upon a weak neighbour, and despoil him of an indemnity amounting to half his dominions; offering him, by way of consolation, the power of acceding to a treaty, the main object of which is the partition of his territories! This favour, no doubt, they had the power to bestow:—but they promised also, what at the time they had no prospect of ever procuring, a compensation elsewhere, at some future time, and at the expense of some other neighbour still weaker. It is but just to the *high* parties in this contract, (it would, as Sir Philip Francis observes, be called a conspiracy among private individuals), to allow that they do not make any very hypocritical pretences about their motives for the work they are about. They avow its nature pretty roundly; and only attempt to varnish it, by mentioning the remote possibility of an attack from Norway. It is equally fair to say, for the defenders of the measure elsewhere, that they have not very stoutly maintained its honesty, or attempted to distinguish it, either from the former works of the same masters, or from the well known productions of the French school. In truth, France might just as well have vindicated the seizure of Spain, on pretence of its necessity to secure her flank when she was about to invade Austria, or to defend herself on the Rhine. The language of the treaty is too closely copied from the partitions of Poland, to leave a doubt as to the class of statesmen from which it proceeds. But to show that the Emperor Alexander was not always so inclined, we shall add an extract from his declaration against the atrocious expedition to Copenhagen in 1807. Speaking of Great Britain, (*Declaration of St Petersburgh*, 31*st October* 1807), he says, 'her fleets and 'her troops appeared on the coasts of Denmark, to execute 'there an act of violence, of which history, so fertile in exam- 'ples, does not furnish a single parallel. A tranquil and mo- 'derate power, which, by long and unchanging wisdom, had ob-

'tained in the circle of monarchies a moral dignity, sees itself 'assaulted and treated as if it had been forging plots, and meditating the ruin of England; and all to justify its prompt 'and total spoliation. The Emperor engages, that there shall 'be no reestablishment of concord between Russia and England, till satisfaction shall have been given to Denmark.' And what is the satisfaction to Denmark, which now seals the restoration of concord between England and Russia?—a partition of the Danish dominions, for the purpose of repaying to Sweden what Russia has taken from her, and leaving Russia in quiet possession of her spoil!

So much for the original character and design of the undertaking. About a year after this convention was made, that is, in March 1813, a treaty was concluded, by the same parties, with England; and the following article is stated as containing our accession to the convention of 1812. 'His Britannic Majesty 'being desirous to give an immediate and unequivocal proof of 'his resolution to join his interests to those of Sweden and Russia, promises and engages, by the present treaty, to accede to 'the convention already existing between these two powers; '*insomuch that* his Britannic Majesty will not only not oppose 'any obstacle (*en tant que* S. M. B. non seulement, &c.) to the 'annexation and union in perpetuity of the kingdom of Norway as an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, but also 'will assist the views of his majesty the King of Sweden to that 'effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should 'be necessary, his naval cooperation in concert with the Swedish or Russian forces.' If the article stopped here, its construction could admit of no doubt; it binds England to cooperate with Sweden and Russia in obtaining, by foul means or fair, (it is a homely, but a very correct expression), the surrender of Norway from Denmark. The stipulation has a plain reference to Denmark as a state or power, because it refers to the convention of 1812, which, as we have already seen, speaks distinctly of obtaining the cession of Norway from his Danish Majesty. But the article concludes with a proviso that leaves not a shadow of ambiguity. 'It is nevertheless to be understood, 'that recourse shall *not be had to force* for effecting the union 'of Norway to Sweden, *unless* his majesty the King of Denmark shall have previously refused to join the alliance of the 'North, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements subsisting between the Courts of Stockholm and St Petersburgh; 'and (with a prophetic glance at the blockade) his majesty the 'king of Sweden engages, that this union shall take place *with 'every possible regard and consideration for the happiness* and 'liberty of the people of Norway.'

These extracts will enable us to demonstrate, we venture to say, this proposition, that England is not bound to wage war with the people of Norway.

First, we contend, that if a profligate compact is entered into, or acceded to, by the rulers of any state, it is not only not binding, but it is their duty to recede from the obligations contracted, at all costs and risks. Analogies from municipal law are too numerous and obvious to require particular notice. Rather let us ask, why a nation should commit so gross an inconsistency, as to persist in dishonourable courses from a mere principle of honour? A treaty has been made; and to break it would be dishonour:—not so, if the treaty binds to acts of injustice and cruelty. All the powers of the Continent have of late, in their turn, broken the most solemn treaties, upon the ground of their having been forced to make them. This is a doctrine full of danger, and most liable to abuse. But surely no such risk is incurred by the position, that an illegal compact is *ab initio* void.

But we rely upon the strict construction of the articles themselves, and observe, *secondly*, that they only bind England to obtain *a cession from Denmark.* Neither in the convention of 1812, nor in the treaty of 1813, is there a single expression, which can fairly be interpreted as contemplating any resistance on the part of Norway. Every thing is stated with relation to the crown and the sovereign. England is to assist in obtaining 'the annexation and union of Norway to Sweden;' and if negotiation fails, force is to be used. The words are, 'either by 'good offices, or by employing naval cooperation.' With whom were the good offices to be used? Did any treaty ever speak of good offices, except in the sense of negotiation with *a government?*—or of military operations, but against the forces of the state? The convention, to which this article is an accession, says, 'by negotiation or military cooperation;' and expressly mentions the two ways in which Norway can be obtained, 'either by cession of the king of Denmark, or in consequence 'of military operations.' Now these can only mean, in the other alternative, of the king of Denmark refusing the voluntary cession, and requiring force to be employed to obtain it. Then the proviso in the treaty 1813 speaks the same language, and states that force shall *not* be used to effect the annexation, '*unless the* '*king of Denmark shall have refused* to join the alliance.' It is said, indeed, that England accedes to the convention of 1812, which contains a guarantee by Russia to Sweden '*of peaceable posses-*'*sion*' of Norway. To this there are several satisfactory answers. If one power guarantees a possession to another by a

treaty containing several stipulations, a general accession to that treaty by a third power, cannot be taken to imply a specific accession to the guarantee, unless it be expressed or plainly referred to; because guarantees shall not be raised by implication, nor easily presumed. But the accession of England is in fact a qualified accession. She engages to accede, '*insomuch that* she 'will oppose no obstacle to the annexation, but assist by good 'offices and naval cooperation;' and then the proviso, as well as the tenor of the convention acceded to, show how these exertions are to be employed, viz. with reference to the Danish crown. Again, a guarantee of peaceable possession is only a guarantee against princes and states; in this case it is a guarantee against the Danish government, and any ally of Denmark. In order to raise a guarantee so extraordinary as that contended for, viz. against the internal movements of the Norwegians, it is surely not going too far to assert, that the most positive and unambiguous expressions would have been requisite.

Thirdly, There is an event expressly mentioned, in which the stipulations, whatever they may be, with respect to forcing the annexation of Norway are to be void, viz. Denmark having acceded to the Northern alliance previous to the force being employed for obtaining Norway. This throws the friends of the treaty into a manifest dilemma; for they must either admit that the only force contemplated by the treaty, is a force to be exerted against the Danish crown; or they must allow that the obligation of using force against Norway ceased upon the accession of Denmark to the coalition, this accession having taken place before force was employed against the Norwegians; and in either case, there is an end of the argument. The convention of 1812 too, gives rise to the same argument.

Fourthly, The treaty of Keil, January 14. 1814, clearly shows in what sense the stipulations of the former acts were understood by England. The tenth article refers to the treaty between Denmark and Sweden, concluded on the same day, for the cession of Norway, and states it to be a satisfaction of the stipulations respecting Norway. 'Whereas his Danish Majesty, in 'virtue of the treaty of peace this day concluded with the king 'of Sweden, has ceded Norway to his said Majesty, for a certain provided indemnity; His Britannic Majesty, *who has 'thus seen his engagements contracted with Sweden in this respect 'fulfilled*,' promises to use his good offices, at the general peace, to obtain an indemnity for Denmark '*for the cession of Nor'way.*' It is difficult, after signing and sealing this deed, for the English government to deny, either that Norway has been ceded, or that the cession has been of the kind stipulated in the

former treaties, or that England has been satisfied with that cession as sufficient to fulfil her obligations.

Fifthly, We should be glad to be furnished with some precedents of a war waged against a people in pursuance of stipulations with their rulers. The treaty was made with Sweden, that is, with the Swedish government; it bound us to make war in a certain event, and in a particular manner, with Denmark, that is, with the Danish government. We go to war accordingly. We obtain the cession by the Danish government; and as far as the contemplation of the treaty extends, Norway is ceded to Sweden, and we make peace with Denmark. If Norway is Danish, we are at peace with it; if Swedish, we are in alliance with it. Can it, in contemplation of the treaty, or of the law of nations, be neither Danish nor Swedish? Where are the precedents for considering a province as separate and distinct from the government to which it belongs? Even in the history of Poland, no such precedent can be found. The statesmen, whose names are consigned to perpetual infamy in the records of the Partition, were too decorous, at least in forms, to leave any such written evidence of their shame, as compacts to enslave or exterminate a people; and those execrable designs were compassed under the colour of engagements with a reference to the constituted authorities. But where is the obligation to end, which we are supposed to have incurred? Must we interfere with the internal affairs of the new Swedish province, as long as there may remain any discontent among its inhabitants? Shall we next be called upon to send horse into the towns, as often as an insurrection may break out under the new dynasty?

But *lastly*, Supposing, for the sake of argument, it were admitted that these treaties bound England to wage war against the Norwegians as a state separate from Denmark; we should be glad to know how a general engagement to cooperate by naval force, necessarily means only one species of naval cooperation, viz. blockade. Formerly this was a rare mode of making war; and for this reason, that its effects fall on the innocent multitude with fully more weight than upon the armed body of the state. Why then must naval cooperation, in this instance of all others, be confined to the most odious species of naval war? If the Norwegians fit out vessels against the Russians and Swedes; if they have any naval arsenals or stations; if they are receiving warlike stores by sea, or conveying them coastwise; and if the Swedish forces stand in need of maritime assistance; in all these cases we might, according to the construction contended for, be bound to interfere. But why particularly cut off supplies of provisions? Even attacking the general commerce

of the country, and leaving its supply of necessaries unimpeded, would be a performance of the stipulation quite consistent with the practice of modern warfare. How often have belligerents refrained from attacking fishing vessels? But still more material is it to observe, that a naval war may be carried on in all its branches, blockade alone excepted, without any suspicion of collusion or insincerity. The whole shipping of the enemy may be exposed to our cruizers,—those carrying innocent merchantdize, as well as those carrying warlike stores,—those carrying provisions, as well as those laden with other goods; and yet neutrals may be allowed to trade freely in all but contraband of war. Nay, this is the ordinary state of things in war; and, until very lately, scarcely any other kind of war used to be, generally speaking, waged. Can a reason be devised for adopting, in the case of Norway, precisely the one method of naval cooperation most severe upon the body of the people, in preference to all the other modifications of war known in the practice of nations;—in preference to the species of warfare carried on for so large a portion of the last twenty years against France herself?—We have now been arguing upon the assumption, made merely for the sake of argument, that the treaties bind us to any operations at all against Norway as distinct from Denmark.

It may be thought that we have gone too minutely and technically into the discussion of a question so much better rested upon general grounds and loftier principles. But the conduct of the argument on the opposite side, has imposed upon us this necessity; for it is remarkable, that almost all the advocates of the blockade have admitted how repugnant, both to their feelings and principles, the measure was, but defended it on the ground of an absolute necessity arising from the obligations of treaty. Now, if we have shown that these obligations exist not, we have done away the only defence of the war; and meet its supporters on the very ground of strict construction chosen by themselves. We must now turn, however, to the more extensive views of the question. It involves the most important considerations, above all others important at the present moment, when the world is waiting in anxious suspense for the final results of the late changes, and justly expects to see the reign of pillage and revolution succeeded by a period of quiet, in which regard will be paid to right, rather than power,—and the restorers of order will at any rate not imitate the worst parts of the system they have overthrown.

By the constitution of this country, the power of making wars and treaties is vested absolutely in the executive branch of the government. It is obvious that if this arrangement secures

a greater degree of promptitude and decision in the management of foreign affairs, it also exposes the state to hazards of the most serious nature. If the Crown plunges into a war manifestly against the interests of the nation, hostilities must be persevered in, even although the Parliament should seize the earliest opportunity to disapprove of the war, because the power of making peace may depend on the enemy as much as on ourselves. But it is still more probable that the Parliament, however ruinous the war may be, and how certainly soever they would have refused to sanction it by a previous vote, will, after it has been entered into, support the Crown in carrying it on, at least for a certain time. The argument, never to be resisted in such a case is,—we have got into a scrape, no matter how, and we must do the best we can. In like manner, if a treaty has been made, hurtful to the interests, and injurious to the honour of the state, the very same men who would have refused their previous concurrence, will be disposed to support the convention when it is once entered into. If to these considerations we add the unquestionable truth, that, by our popular form of government, and the publicity which it necessarily gives to all the negociations of the state, we are, at all events, not extremely well adapted to the skilful conduct of foreign affairs; it may, perhaps, be thought, that the unrestrained power of peace and war in the executive is somewhat anomalous, as well as costly; that it entails serious evils upon the country, while its only beneficial tendency is to create a degree of vigour which other parts of our constitution necessarily confine within very narrow limits. But, without entering farther into this question, one thing is abundantly evident;—those who have, in the exercise of the prerogative, made a pernicious treaty, or, in the application of the superintending power, sanctioned it, come before the public with a very bad grace to defend a base or impolitic line of conduct, if all they can urge is an appeal to the obligations voluntarily contracted or approved by themselves, which bind them to such conduct. What is the sum of the defence offered by the authors of the blockade?—That they had a year before made an agreement with Sweden and Russia to starve the Norwegians into a surrender of their independence. They have no other pretext for the measure than this; they admit, nay contend, that they voluntarily bound the country to use its naval resources in the forcible partition of the Danish dominions; not only in compelling Denmark to cede Norway, but in reducing the Norwegians, by the extremities of famine, to accept a foreign yoke; and that they did so engage, for the purpose of restoring the ancient and legitimate order of things in Europe. This they

must maintain; for, if they flinch from it but an inch,—if they pretend to assert that the blockade was not in contemplation at the conclusion of the treaty, there is an end of their case;—the blockade is undefended.

It is, therefore, a matter of great indifference, whether the treaty of 1813 obliges us to hold this line of conduct or not, as far as the case of the government is concerned: the decision of the question either way, only removes the period of blame from one year to the other. The government was either guilty of binding itself in 1813 to the most profligate policy, by a solemn and deliberate act; or it is guilty of pursuing that policy voluntarily in 1814. We apprehend the latter is the case, for the reasons already assigned—but the difference is immaterial to our present purpose. It is more important to consider the features of the policy itself.

The act which we have sanctioned, and are now diligently engaged in furthering, is the transference, without their own consent—against their declared wishes—of nearly a million of people inhabiting an extensive and independent country,—attached to that country and its independence for ages,—and abhorring all foreign yoke in a singular degree, but more especially the yoke of the nation to whom we are subjecting them. It may here be proper shortly to state the relations between Denmark and Norway, for the purpose of showing that the latter is as completely an independent realm, as Denmark or Sweden itself, and can in no respect be considered as a province of the Danish crown.

Like all the other northern countries, Norway was originally divided into a great number of petty kingdoms or principalities; and these were first united by conquest, under one monarch, Harold Harfager,* about half a century after a similar union had taken place, in England under Egbert, in Scotland under Kenneth II., and in the West under Charlemagne. Harold's numerous family, legitimate and bastard, disturbed the peace and union which he had cemented; and, about a century and a half † afterwards, Norway was united to Denmark by Canute the Great, whose success was prepared by the persecutions of Olaus, or Olaäf the Martyr, and the consequent rebellion of his subjects. But the possessions of sovereigns in those troublous times was as variable as their rights were obscure and uncertain. The period from which we can clearly date the union with Denmark, is the year 1380, when Hagen, King of Norway, married the Princess Margaret of Denmark; and since that time the two crowns have continued united. But it is worthy of notice, that the same

* A. D. 875. Busching. I. 181. † An. Dom. 1028.

great queen, whose talents and conquests have procured her the title of the Semiramis of the North, a few years afterwards, by the union of Calmar, extended her dominion over Sweden also; and that this country remained under the same dynasty with the rest of Scandinavia, until its liberation was effected by Gustavus Vasa, in the early part of the sixteenth century. It might, then, with equal, some may even think with greater propriety, be contended, that Denmark was subjected to Norway, as that Norway was subjected to Denmark. The two kingdoms continued, in every respect whatever, separate and independent of each other, although governed by the same sovereign. They had distinct constitutions, though formed on the same model. And when the oppressions of the nobility in 1660, made the crown and the people combine against them, and abolish the states in Denmark, a similar revolution was effected in like manner by the Norwegians, who since that period have, like the Danes, been governed by an unlimited monarchy. But their ancient laws remained; and, as often as any new edict was issued in Denmark, which was meant to be extended over Norway, its publication as a Norwegian law was requisite, exactly in the same form as if the realms had been under separate monarchs. The two countries have, therefore, distinct constitutions, though both under the same absolute sovereign.

In point of population, Norway is nearly equal to all the rest of the Danish dominions—its extent is far greater: And if the courage, hardiness, and virtues of people be taken into the account, and the natural strength of the country be also considered, it is beyond all comparison the most important member of the state. Easily defensible on almost its whole extent of frontier, it has great facilities for attacking Sweden, the second city of which country lies wholly exposed to an inroad, as was seen in 1788, when the interference of the English minister alone, and a threat of bombarding Copenhagen, prevented Gottenburgh from being destroyed by a Norwegian force. The hatred of the Swedes is deeply rooted in the minds of the people; and, as generally happens, this feeling is mutual between the two nations. The triumphs, however, of which they can boast over each other, are very unequally divided. The Swedish arms have never attacked Norway, but to be foiled. Gustavus Adolphus marched an army into it, with the cooperation of Flemish and Scotch auxiliaries from the coast; but not a man of this force escaped. Charles X. attacked it three several times, in 1658, 1659 and 1660, with large bodies of troops, and his best generals:—and he was signally defeated in each attempt. Charles XII. invaded Norway in 1716, and again in 1718, when he lost his

life in the expedition, at the head of above 40,000 men. The attempt completely failed; and, of an army of 10,000 men which he had marched against Drontheim, all but 500 perished in the retreat, from the severity of the climate. Such annals as these, we may well believe, form at this moment the favourite and familiar recollections of the brave people whom an execrable repetition of the Polish partition, is tormenting with the fruitless attempt to deliver them over to foreign bondage. We assert, that no power exists upon earth to transfer a people in possession, like cattle; that every treaty, to effect such a transference, is a nullity; and that every attempt at executing any bargain of this sort, is a public crime of the deepest die. We are willing to put this matter upon any ground that the defenders of the Blockade may point out; and though authority and precedent can no more justify the measure, than they could the African Slave Trade, or the Partition of Poland, yet we are ready to try the question even by an appeal to the authorities most usually cited in questions touching the Law of Nations.

The authority of Grotius has been much relied upon by the advocates of the Blockade; and undoubtedly, whatever comes under the sanction of that venerable name, is deserving of the greatest attention. But we must premise, that, upon this particular question, the oldest authorities are far from being the most weighty. For it is intimately connected with, and indeed flows from, those principles of liberty and of popular right which were but feebly asserted, and obscurely defined, and most reluctantly admitted before the latter part of the seventeeth century; nay, we might say, which never reached their perfect form, nor were fully recognized, till the period of the American war. However, the opinion of Grotius has been exceedingly misrepresented; and, when rightly understood, it seems substantially to contain a remarkable confirmation of the doctrine for which we are contending, although one or two remarks may appear to have a different tendency. In the chapter where he discusses the lawful grounds of resistance to the sovereign, he enumerates, among others, the *alienation of the kingdom* by the prince, or the rendering it dependent on another, *Lib. I. cap.* iv. § 10. *De Jur. Bel. et Pac.* This proposition, he seems to think, is too 'positively laid down by some;' for he adds, 'when 'the right to a kingdom is acquired, either by election or legal 'succession, such an act of alienation is in itself void;' and he therefore doubts if a mere nullity can give a right to resist, or convey any right at all: 'yet,' continues he, 'if a king should 'endeavour actually to deliver up his kingdom, or subject it to 'another, I doubt not but, in such case, he may be resisted. 'For sovereignty is one thing, and the manner of holding it

'another. The People may hinder any change in the latter; 'the power of making such a change not being comprehended 'in the right of sovereignty.' And he adds, after his manner, an application of a maxim of Seneca, importing, that 'though 'our father is to be obeyed in all things, yet not in those where'by he ceases to be our father.' * In another part of the treatise, we find the doctrine still more broadly asserted. He contends, that sovereignty may be alienated by the parties having a just title to it; and he states these to be, the sovereign in *patrimonial* crowns; the sovereign and people together, in crowns *not-patrimonial.* It is justly observed by Barbeyrac, that this distinction is untenable; because, when you ask what a patrimonial crown is, the doctors answer, one that is alienable; and when you ask what crowns are alienable, the answer is, those which are patrimonial. However, passing over this objection for the present, we shall only remark, that from the facts already stated, it is plain, that if there be such a thing as a crown not-patrimonial, Norway affords the instance; and therefore, the doctrine laid down respecting such crowns applies strictly to the present question. It is as follows. After maintaining that a free people, or a king, with the concurrence of his people, may alienate the sovereignty, he adds, 'But if indeed any 'part of the people be transferred, as they have a right to as'sent, so have they likewise a right to oppose such alienation.' And again he says, that if it be denied 'that the people them'selves can alienate the sovereignty over a part of themselves, 'much less can this be done by the king, who, though he be 'invested with the full sovereignty, yet does not possess it with 'the full rights of property.' *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 6. § 9. †

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* 'Si tamen rex reipsâ etiam tradere regnum, aut subjicere mo'liatur, quin ei resisti in hoc possit, non dubito. Aliud est enim ut 'diximus imperium; aliud habendi modus, qui ne mutetur obstare 'potest populus; id enim sub imperio comprehensum non est.' *Lib. I. cap.* viii. § 10. It is to be observed, that several sections of this chapter are devoted to the defence of sufficiently high doctrines of prerogative: Indeed, almost all the learning upon the subject of non-resistance, and the quotations and anecdotes respecting it, whether in the sacred or profane writings, are to be found assembled here: Not that Grotius overlooks the exceptions to his rule: One of these we have now noticed; another, is the gross misrule and hostile conduct of the prince—as large a loophole as any Whig could wish.

† 'At imperium in populi partem si alienare populo non licet, 'multo minus regi, imperium etsi plenum habenti, attamen non 'plenè, ut supra distinximus;'—referring to the passage cited from *Lib. I. c. viii.* in our last note.

The only exception then to these principles which Grotius allows, is the case of *patrimonial* dominions. This distinction is laid down not very consistently, nor very clearly by him; but his commentators and successors have refused to admit it. Barbeyrac, as we have already seen, denies it; and, after urging other reasons beside the one above cited, he adds, that whatever becomes of the question, one principle is plain, that wherever any doubt arises to which class a kingdom belongs, it ought to be reckoned non-patrimonial. These just and rational principles are to be found in his French notes; but the Latin commentary likewise states the same doctrine. 'Re verâ,' says he, 'nullum omnino regnum est in patrimonio, nisi ex consensû, 'expresso vel tacito, Populi.'—*Lib. I. cap. iii.* § 11. *Not. n. n.* Gronovius, in a short note to the passage where Grotius is mentioning the position, 'Quædam imperia esse in pleno jure proprietatis, id est, in patrimonio imperantis,' very flatly denies it in these concise terms, 'Ne hoc quidem admiserim.'—*Ibid.* § 12. *not.* 40. Perhaps it may appear the less extraordinary, that the commentator should so peremptorily contradict his author, when we find the grounds upon which the latter rests his notion of patrimonial kingdoms being transferable. They resolve themselves into a futile distinction taken by Grotius, between alienating men, and alienating the dominion over them. *Ib. sect.* 12. *div.* 3. Puffendorff passes over the distinction very lightly in discussing the power of alienation; he merely says, that he is not going to inquire how far that power extends over a kingdom '*quod in patrimonio regis est:*' And if we are to look for the definition of this sovereignty in a former section, where he treats of the rights of princes over the property of their subjects, we find that he intends, by it, the sovereignty vested in a prince who is absolute master of his subjects, and proprietor of their persons and effects;—a limitation which excludes all question as to right of alienating the kingdom. On the other hand, this great lawyer strenuously denies the right of alienation in the general case. The following passages are so remarkable, one of them apparently meant for the present case, that we shall give the original words. 'Nihil agere regem, qui regnum 'in alium propriâ auctoritate transferre aggreditur, nec subditos isto actû regis teneri; verum hic, non minus populi quam 'regis consensum requiri. Nam uti merito regi regnum non 'recte eripitur, ita nec invito populo alius rex potest obtrudi.' †

† 'The sovereign who attempts to transfer his kingdom to another, by his sole authority, does an act in itself null and void, and

'not

The strong assertion of a high monarchy doctrine in this passage, that kings have rights different from those of trustees, renders the sounder doctrine which follows in favour of the people the more weighty. Few persons, we hope, will be found disposed to follow the author in denying that kings may be resisted and deposed for misgovernment; but it is remarkable, that even he who holds this courtly faith, admits that kings cannot transfer their subjects. In the sequel, he puts the case of Norway as precisely as possible. ' Quod si autem rex, necessitate adactus cum hoste validiore pacem, hac lege fecerit, ' ut ipsi certam regionem concedat, *quæ tamen isti cessioni ' contradixit;* arbitramur debere quidem ipsum ex eâdem sua ' præsidia deducere, et non impedire quominus victor ejus possessionem adprehendat. Haudquicquam tamen eandem cogere ' poterit, ut omnino sese in alterius ditionem tradat. *Neque ' illa regio ulla obligatione videtur impediri, quominus si viribus ' suis confidat, se occupare volenti resistat, aut peculiarem deinceps civitatem constituat.'* *De Jur. Nat. et Gent. Lib.* viii. *cap.* 5. § 9. *See also* § 1. ‡

Vattel lays down the most sound and liberal principles upon this subject. After denying that there can be such a thing as property, strictly so called, in a people or empire, and treating with still more marked reprobation, the slavish notion, that men ever part with their natural rights, so far as to retain no voice in the question most interesting to them, who shall rule them, and rejecting, with indignation, the idea of treating human beings ' like flocks of sheep, who must await in silence the decision that sends them to the butcher, or restores them to the ' shepherd,' this author comes to the point of patrimonial kingdoms; and, consistently with the foregoing principles, he rejects the expression as inapplicable. He maintains, that the

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' not binding upon his subjects. To make such a conveyance valid, ' the consent of the people is required, as well as of the prince. ' For as a king cannot have his dominions taken from him against ' his will, so neither can another sovereign be imposed upon the ' people against their will.'

‡ ' But should a king be compelled, by superior force, to make ' peace, on condition of giving up a particular province, which resists the transference, then, I am of opinion, that he ought to ' withdraw his troops from it, and not obstruct the conqueror in ' taking possession. But he can by no manner of means compel it ' to surrender itself to a foreign yoke. Nor does there exist any ' obligation to restrain its inhabitants from relying upon their own ' resources, resisting the power that desires to reduce them, and ' forming a new and separate state.'

consent of the people, tacit or expressed, their will declared or delegated, must be interponed to make any alienation of the sovereignty over them valid. 'There can be no alienation, 'strictly speaking, of sovereign power, he says;—all real sove-'reignty is in its nature inalienable.' *Droit des Gens, liv. I. ch.* 5. He then alludes to the instances of such alienation, given by Grotius; and observes, first, that these are for the most part abuses of power, and not exercises of right; and next, that the people themselves have consented to them willingly, or by having been compelled from without. To prove the right of alienation, he says, an example must be found of a people resisting the transference attempted to be made by its rulers, and universally condemned as rebellious for this opposition.

Such were the sound and enlightened views of national independence and popular rights entertained by the great jurists of former times, though subjects of arbitrary monarchies. They could find no instance of a people stigmatized as rebels for disobeying the Government which sought to barter them away like cattle to foreign masters. Has it been reserved for the nineteenth century to furnish such a specimen of perverted judgment,—and must England lead the way in pronouncing the unjust decree?

Having appealed at once to the fountain head of all authority upon such questions, the doctrines laid down by the greatest jurisconsults, by the men whose names, at least, are always in the mouths of practical statesmen, whose *dicta* are freely resorted to as often as they conceive them suited to their purposes, we may be excused from the less grateful labour of citing far inferior authorities, the often repeated arguments of those politicians themselves, whose conduct we are examining. The ground now occupied by us, is precisely that on which they have so often taken their stand against France and her Allies. It is the substance of all their invectives against the new, or revolutionary order of things; and when they poured out those invectives, we believe, they always addressed, as far as opinions of the enemy's conduct went, a nation nearly unanimous. Any doubt of the injustice of French aggression, any hesitation or coolness in desiring to see it checked was never shown, even in the most factious times, by a single person of consequence in this country. Upon the probability of succeeding against the enemy, and still more, upon the wisdom of the means taken with that view, there might be a difference of opinion. That the Cintra convention, the advance to Talavera, the scanty supply of troops, the march into the heart of the country, followed by the disastrous retreat to Corunna, were the best means of assisting the Spaniards, might well be questioned. Some doubted the poli-

cy, to say nothing of the honesty, of bombarding Copenhagen, and quarrelling with Russia. Others ventured to dispute the propriety of going to war with America when all the rest of the world was leagued against our commerce. And persons there were of a sceptical turn of mind, and prone to nice refinements of reasoning, who hesitated about the blessings of our memorable campaigns against the yellow fever in the West Indies, or the ague in Walcheren. But not even one of those visionary speculators ever denied, that the liberation of Spain and Holland, or the repression of French injustice was our duty as well as our interest; no one ever doubted that all the condemnation bestowed upon the enemy's proceedings was merited, and that his preponderance was wholly incompatible with the independence of other states. Certainly, the most pointed reprobation of the treaty respecting Norway and the blockade, is to be sought for in the state papers and harangues so often put forth by the authors of those measures; and it is not a little surprising to find them chusing for their conversion to the very worst principles of France, the moment when these French principles have been arrested by events in which the politicians alluded to have had as great a share as in the abundance of last harvest,—unless indeed we look to the effects produced by their former patronage of those purer doctrines they seem now to have abandoned.

To adduce examples of this marvellous inconsistency would be a work tedious in proportion to its facility and the copiousness of the materials for performing it. We shall only select two instances; the one, being the solitary case of approbation bestowed by the present Government upon the policy of their adversaries when in office; the other, being their own language, respecting, what they termed, 'the universal Spanish nation.'

The rapid succession of changes in events abroad, and in parties at home, may have effaced from the reader's memory the extraordinary degree of applause which the conduct of Ministers towards Prussia in April 1806, and, still more, their manner of treating the question both in Parliament and in their manifestoes, called forth from their antagonists, the authors of the forcible transference of Norway. This, it was said, is really dignified and spirited conduct. Who now fears that Mr Fox will hold too moderate a tone in his department?—Such was the chorus raised on that occasion; and many who joined in it took the opportunity, as happens in such matters, of remembering themselves; they avowed their entire conversion to the new Ministry, and joined them heart and hand with all their forces,—not at all because they were aware that it was a good concern, and that opposition was hopeless,—but singly because the conduct of Go-

vernment in this instance won them over. We shall look, however, only to the master artist. A more lavish panegyric than Lord Castlereagh pronounced upon the Ministers, in the debate of April 23d, cannot be found in the history of party civility. He gave the address moved by Mr Fox his 'entire and unqualified concurrence; 'and expressed' his cordial approbation 'of the sentiments with which it was introduced.' He spoke of 'the manly conduct of the Government,' which made it 'impossible for any candid man to refuse them his praise.' He dwelt on 'their firmness, judicially * tempered with conciliation;' their 'maintaining the dignity and resolution which became them'—or, as he phrased it, 'pressingly became them;'—with other elaborate praise of the same quality: and he said that Mr Fox 'had put the argument upon such broad grounds, and supported his measure by reasoning so irresistible,' that he could add nothing to it. Now let us see what called forth all this eulogium. Truly a most admirable speech, and one well worthy of the illustrious man who made it,—among the last which he delivered,—but a speech stating, in the most unqualified form, the doctrines we are now maintaining. The following are the passages which were the most loudly applauded by the present Ministers and their adherents in the country. 'Instead of lessening the ignominy of the cession, it was a great increase of dishonour to sell a brave and loyal people for what was called an equivalent; it was an union of every thing that was contemptible in servility, with every thing that was odious in rapacity.' Again, as the climax of reasons in defence of the war with Prussia, he says—'Above all, we shall avoid giving our sanction to that principle which has been lately adopted, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, in the way of equivalents, and under the pretext of convenience and mutual accommodation. The wildest schemes that ever were before broached, would not go so far to shake the foundations of all established government as this new practice. If we are to make exchanges, let us exchange those things which are the proper objects of exchange; let us give a field for a field,—or let us exchange its stock, its oxen and its sheep,—but let us not consider the people of a country, or the subjects of a state, as matter for exchange or barter. There must be in every nation a certain attachment of the people to its form of government, without which no nation can subsist. This principle, then, of

* Not probably with any allusion to the great judicial talents which in that cabinet must be supposed to have concurred in the measure, from the double portion of judges infused in it, but merely by a mistake for *judiciously*.

'transferring the subjects of one prince to another, strikes at 'the foundation of every government, and the existence of every 'nation.' We are delighted in being able to cite these words, for their intrinsic value, and the high authority belonging to them, as well as for the more immediate purpose of the present argument,—the ample approbation of them bestowed by the authors of the lamentable measure now under consideration. In the House of Lords, a similar concurrence was avowed in the sentiments of Lord Grenville, by his adversaries, one of whom praised the proceedings of Government, as 'becoming a great 'and *just* nation.' Lord Grenville expressed then the same high sentiments which he has, with his accustomed firmness and consistency, declared upon the Norwegian question. He spoke of the cession 'as monstrous, unjust, contrary to the law of nations;' and he said, that in the retaliatory measures proposed, he wished, 'above all things, to mark our abhorrence of the ab'ominable principle, that a power may indemnify itself at the 'expense of its weaker neighbour.' *

It is difficult to find a single speech or state paper touching upon the conduct of France towards Spain, in which the same principles are not clearly recognized. We shall only refer to the Declaration of 1809, upon the rupture of the negotiation that had been commenced under the mediation of Austria. The following passage must for ever shut the mouths of its authors upon the late glorious conduct of the Norwegians; but their silence will afford them no refuge from the charge of gross inconsistency which it brings against them, acting, as they are now, the selfsame part, so loudly reprobated in the French government. 'The reply returned by France to the proposition of his Ma'jesty, casts off at once the thin disguise which had been as'sumed for a momentary purpose; and displays, with less than 'ordinary reserve, the arrogance and injustice of that govern'ment. The universal Spanish Nation is degraded by the ap'pellation of the *Spanish Insurgents*; and the demand for the 'admission of the government of Spain as a party to any ne'gotiation, is rejected as inadmissible and insulting. With 'astonishment, as well as with grief, his Majesty has received 'from the Emperor of Russia a reply similar in effect, though 'less indecorous in tone and manner. The Emperor of Russia 'also stigmatizes as *Insurrection*, the glorious efforts of the Spa'nish people in behalf of their legitimate Sovereign, and in de-

* See Parliamentary Debates, Vol. VI. p. 883 and 887.

'fence of the independence of their country; thus giving the 'countenance of his Imperial Majesty's authority to an usurpa- 'tion which has no parallel in the history of the world.'—And these are the men—the authors of this Declaration, who now affect to think a treaty dictated to the King of Denmark by force, is binding upon the whole people of Norway, according to the duty of their allegiance; that a treaty made between Sweden and Russia, can legalize the cession of Norway by the Danish Court, without consulting a single Norwegian; and that England having acceded to, or sanctioned such a bargain, is bound *in honour* (this is the happy phrase)—*in honour*—to starve the brave inhabitants of the country into a calamitous surrender of their existence as a nation!

In the midst of the irresistible reasons which surround us on every side against the fatal measures under discussion, we are naturally anxious to find out by what arguments or pretexts they are defended. For these, however, we seem to search in vain. We can get no further than an appeal to the supposed faith of a treaty: and when we shape the question so as to exclude any such consideration, by asking for the justification of the treaty, made as it was by those whose conduct is the subject of dispute, their defence appears to be at an end. In this extremity, they have recourse to a most perilous, we may say a desperate argument. They maintain that the incorporation with Sweden is advantageous to Norway; they have the unparalleled effrontery to speak of liberty, and assert that the Norwegians will become partakers of a free constitution. It is even reported, but we presume most incorrectly, that certain learned persons did not scruple in parliament to compare the union of the two countries to the happy arrangement which consolidated the strength and liberties of this island. There is some difficulty in treating such vile sophisms (if indeed they do proceed from delusion, and not from a wish to deceive) with the gravity which a subject like this ought to impose. The whole statement, however, is unfounded in fact; and if it were as true as it is false, the conclusion sought to be drawn from it, would still be ridiculously unfair.

As may easily be supposed, this hypocritical pretence is loudly proclaimed by the Swedish government. His Swedish Majesty (that is to say, the Crown Prince, who owes his own *metamorphosis* from one of Bonaparte's generals, into a *legitimate Sovereign*, solely to the free choice of the Swedish people), declares, that he has reserved to the Norwegians 'all those essen- 'tial rights which constitute public liberty;'—and particularly,

he promises them a constitution 'analogous to the wants of the 'country, and founded on representation and taxation.' This constitution they are to form entirely themselves; he will 'in no 'way interfere with it directly;' all he intends is, to have a *veto* upon what they shall adopt, and merely 'to trace the first lines 'of its foundation, leaving the superstructure to them.' Perhaps this exquisite morsel of diplomacy might be sufficient with most persons, and spare the necessity of further reasoning upon the matter. But, we may add, that this offer of a constitution from the Swedes to the Norwegians, is a bait precisely of the same kind that a similar offer would be from France to England, coupled with a condition of absolute submission in the first instance. The hatred of the two nations is mutual and strong; a Swede and an enemy are synonymous expressions among the mountains of old Norway;—with this only difference, that enmity, in common cases, may cease, and peace succeed to it; but the hatred of the Norwegians to the Swedes is almost as ancient as the defiles which forbid their approach. When England shall forget Agincourt and Cressy, and wish that the Channel were filled up, which doubles the defences of her independence—then may the men of Norway cease to exult over the disasters of Charles X., and to point with proud delight to Frederickshald, as the altar where his rash descendant was sacrificed to the liberties of their country. A thousand facts prove, that any attempt at giving happiness to a people who detest you, by taking them under your protection whether they will or no, can have no other effect but to crush their spirit, while it extinguishes the very possibility of improvement. This must infallibly be the fate of such a scheme, even where it is conceived in perfect good faith; but, on the part of Sweden, in the present instance, it is the vainest and most insulting of all pretences. The Norwegians feel no grievances under their present government. It is not a free one;—but it is, whether from policy or indolence, or necessity, an inactive and a mild administration. Its existence is, in scarcely any shape whatever, felt by the people.—The Danes are not much loved;—they are not strong;—they are distant,—and they let the Norwegians alone.—No oppressive taxes,—no feudal privileges;—no conscription, except to serve in their national militia;—no standing army which can endanger their repose. All they want is, that which Sweden has in reality not much more of than Denmark,—formal securities and checks to the Royal prerogatives. They may obtain these for themselves from their hereditary Danish rulers:—from their Swedish conquerors they never can expect it.

And who is it that says to them, 'Let me reduce you to 'subjection, in order to make you the more free?' General Bernadotte, now Heir-apparent to the Swedish Crown, undoubtedly;—but a soldier trained in the most arbitrary and most military school of modern times. It is very true, that the personal qualities of a ruler form no solid ground of refusal to treat with him as a foreign prince; and that if a nation chuses to live under the yoke of the worst of men or of governments, no foreign state has a right to object. But, when a personage comes forward with his offers to take us into his keeping for our own good,—we are called upon to examine a little closely his claims to confidence and credit. It is in this point of view that we are disposed to admit into the argument, that portion of Sir Philip Francis's pamphlet, which treats of the Crown Prince,—although we are far from agreeing with him in the use which he makes of it, to prove that the Prince Regent should refrain from the usual courtesies towards his Royal brother:—for it would be a most dangerous and difficult task to examine the relative claims of Royal personages in this light. The qualities of the Crown Prince are, however, most material to the Norwegians, in estimating the value of his professions in their favour; and therefore they will naturally enough examine what is said, chiefly on the authority of officers high in our service, respecting his supposed deficiency in 'personal resolution;' and also touching the contents of his Royal Highness's trunks, when accidentally searched in the Polish campaign. It would be improper to detail particulars, in the present state of our relations with Sweden; but the facts are fully stated in Sir Robert Wilson's '*Sketch*,' p. 85; and p. 18. *et seqq.* of Sir P. Francis's tract.

In truth, it signifies very little whether the offers in question are sincere or not; very little whether Sweden can bestow advantages or not upon Norway; very little whether the union is capable or not of *bettering the condition* of the Norwegians, in the ordinary sense of the phrase. That union is compulsory; and therefore it is a subjugation. This is enough. It answers every thing that the wit of man can devise in favour of the Swedish proposition, and our armed support of it. Happiness itself, forced upon a rational being against his will, is a contradiction in terms. But the argument we are now dealing with, is not new; and when we find that it has been regularly brought forward to varnish over the worst pages in the annals of public injustice, we may well be excused for turning suddenly away from it, and rather marvelling at the boldness which can once more advance it with any gravity of countenance.

It was under such pretences as these, that the most detestable of crimes ever perpetrated by a government, the partition of Poland, was begun and concluded. 'The happiness of the Poles' was perpetually in the mouths of the actors during the whole course of that dreadful tragedy; and the public order issued the day after the inhuman massacre of Warsaw, describing the Empress Catherine as 'a tender mother, only solicitous for 'the happiness of her children,' directed 'the Poles to give 'thanks to God in all their churches for the blessings conferred 'upon them.'—(*See No. XLIV. p. 316.*)

When France purchased from Genoa the island of Corsica, in 1768, and sent an army thither to compel the brave inhabitants to submit, the same language was used, and the same hypocritical pretexts held forth to the derision of mankind. The royal declaration of Compeigné sets out with the statement, that the king takes possession of the island 'merely for the good of 'the people.' It promises them 'all the advantages they can 'desire, if they submit to our sovereign rights.' It does not fail, exactly in the spirit of the manifestoes against Poland and Norway, to point out the 'disturbances by which they had been 'distressed for so many years past.' It then proceeds with full and regal solemnity. 'We will watch over the prosperity, *the 'glory* and happiness, of our dear people of Corsica in general, 'and of every individual in particular, with the sentiments of 'a paternal heart. We will maintain, upon our royal word, 'the conditions we have promised in regard to the form of government, to the nation, and to those who shall show themselves most zealous and most ready to submit to our obedience; 'and we hope that nation, enjoying this advantage and our 'protection by such precious ties, will not put us upon treating 'them as rebels, and perpetuate, in the island of Corsica, disturbances which cannot but prove destructive to a people 'whom we have adopted with complacency among the number 'of our subjects.' Is not this the very language of the present day, except perhaps that less is said about a free government and representation than would doubtless have been inserted, had the proclamation been issued after the French and American revolutions? Yet, next to the partition of Poland, the invasion of Corsica is perhaps the act most generally and loudly reprobated in modern times, previous to the late convulsions; insomuch that a court-poet has lately ventured to assert, with perhaps some exaggeration, 'that the foulest murderer who ever 'perished by the hands of the executioner, has infinitely less 'guilt upon his soul than the statesman who concluded this

'treaty, and the monarch who sanctioned and confirmed it.' *

To take only one other example, the line of argument now under consideration furnished a favourite topic to the slave-traders, for many a long year of successful sophistry and misrepresentation. The negroes were so miserable in their own barbarous country; so comfortable and happy in our polished dominions!—Nay, the slave-trader was held up as the African's friend; as the civilizer of his country. Surely some of the able advocates of the abolition in Parliament, could scarcely have forgotten this circumstance, when they so lately gave their support to the blockade, upon the express ground, as it is said, of the union with Sweden being for the good of the Norwegians. But such is the inconsistency of men, in discussions where their zeal is cold, and their feelings thwarted by other views and habits. The eminent and worthy individuals to whom we allude seem to have two minds, each furnished with a complete and several assortment of recollections, reasonings, and feelings, but wholly unconnected with one another, and capable of being used separately, as occasion may require. They have an Abolition mind, and an every-day mind. One day in seven, or thereabouts, they use the former; at all other times they wear the latter most ordinary instrument: and, were not the belief of their personal identity preserved by their outward appearance, it would be impossible for their hearers to recognize them.—How they themselves can go on without mistakes upon this cardinal point, and indeed serious differences with themselves, is not so easily understood; unless indeed, that as there is no end of human delusions, so are there luckily no limits to the charity and forgiveness exercised by a man towards himself.

The evils which must result from the measure under discussion, are so obvious, that we have rather dwelt upon the parts of the question less exposed to the general view. Great and manifold as they are, however, the one which stands forward, and throws the rest into the shade, is the mischief of shaking to its very foundations the wholesome principle hitherto so happily inculcated by England, that she is the protector of national independence, and the enemy of unjust aggression all over the world.

* *Southey's Life of Lord Nelson, Vol. I. p.* 193.—As extravagance is not very favourable to consistency, we should not greatly wonder at the next birth-day ode commemorating Norway and the blockade. It will require some ingenuity indeed; for in the same passage we find great indignation expressed at the notion of 'any bargain and 'sale justifying one country in taking possession of another against 'the will of the inhabitants.'

Our conduct in India may no doubt have created doubts upon this subject; and the affair of Copenhagen stands on record to confirm them. But no transaction, to which we were parties, ever set public principle so completely at defiance as the present; and we have chosen to stamp ourselves as accessaries to a crime equal to any of the enemy's, at the moment when his profligacy had visibly worked his ruin. It is indeed a sad abatement of the general rejoicing, that when men had seen with delight the downfall of injustice, and were anxiously expecting, in the restoration of Europe to its lawful possessors, and in the recognition of antient principles, the best reward for their past toils, the firmest security for future repose,—their eyes should be fated to behold such acts of apostasy from those principles, on the part of their warmest friends. The war is, generally speaking, at an end; Europe is once more independent:—But hostilities must yet be continued in one quarter, for the purpose of showing that England, as well as France, can make war upon freedom; and that she does not hate tyranny, or love liberty, for their own sakes, but only in so far as the tyrant is French, and the freeman is her own ally. The indifference exhibited towards Poland is indeed another melancholy proof of similar inconsistency. But let us hope that the voice of the country may yet be raised with effect on both these kindred subjects; and that the triumph of injustice, and of the real enemies of England, will be but short-lived.* It must have given every wellwisher to his country, and to the vast interests of mankind, just cause of congratulation, to observe the high and manly tone in which Lord Grey pressed upon the attention of the House of Lords the consideration of the state of Poland, when the termination of hostilities was first alluded to. He expressed the most sanguine hopes that the sovereigns who have so honourably distinguished themselves by their justice and moderation towards France, would not forget those admirable qualities, when they

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* The sense of the people, as far as it has been taken, appears to be decidedly right and strong upon both these questions. The proceedings of the late public meetings in London and Westminster, as well as elsewhere, may be cited in support of this observation. The Westminster address contains a most forcible appeal to government, upon Norway; and the address of the City does ample justice to the same topic. The address too, of the City, congratulating the Regent upon the happy termination of the war, though it did not particularly mention Norway, abounded in the most sturdy assertion of sound, free, and constitutional doctrine, friendly to liberty and peace in the largest sense, and strongly admonitory to the Crown.

turned their eyes nearer home. The sentiment has been echoed through various parts of the country; and we devoutly trust that those illustrious chiefs will not be suffered to finish their welcome visit to our shores, without learning, among other lessons, in this land of liberty, the sympathy which Englishmen feel for their fellow creatures, wherever injustice and oppression prevail.

The fate of Poland, indeed, is for the present wholly in the hands of its rulers; but Norway is mistress of her own destinies. The struggle may be a long and a severe one; but if she has only the military force and prowess of Sweden to contend with, though our blockade be added to her difficulties, she will in all human probability succeed. No man has been found abandoned enough to defend the subjugation of her liberties upon its own merits; no man has dared to say, that he wished success to Sweden in the conflict. Even the Ministers of the crown have supported their measure with the utmost hesitation; and never ventured to meet the question upon its merits. Not one, or perhaps only one, of their advocates, gave them any countenance in debate, except with qualifications and explanations avowing their reluctance; resting their opinion upon unavoidable necessity; and plainly showing, that they wished success to freemen fighting for independence. Their adversaries, on the other hand, held the loftiest tone. Lord Grey loudly proclaimed his intercourse with the Norwegian envoys; and his hearty good wishes for the amplest success to their cause. In the delicate posture of our intercourse with Sweden and Russia, and our hostilities with Norway, such a manly spirit was truly worthy of the quarter from whence it proceeded. Unprotected by privilege, we may not give so unrestrained a vent to our sentiments; but we hope there is nothing seditious in subjects of a free state offering up their most ardent prayers for the signal discomfiture of oppression, and the triumph of national independence in every quarter of the world.

Art. V. *The Art of Preserving all Kinds of Animal and Vegetable Substances for several years.* A Work published by order of the French Minister of the Interior, on the Report of the Board of Arts and Manufactures. By M. Appert. London, 1812. pp. 164.

The most philosophical definition, as well as the most honourable prerogative of man, as is well known to every member of the Common Council, is, that he is 'a cooking animal;'

and we believe it may be safely asserted, that he has scarcely ever been found in so very lamentable a state of barbarity, as to swallow his food without some kind of preparation. The art by which this is accomplished, is denominated Cookery; and although, in the present state of European society, its actual practitioners are held in little estimation, yet, in the earlier ages of the world, it was frequently exercised by persons of the greatest dignity. In the East, at this day, it is confined to a particular *caste*, and, like the other more important arts of those countries, descends by succession from father to son. Even among ourselves, those who may think meanly of its practice will scarcely be disposed to question its utility; and with many grave and enlightened persons in our cities and bodies corporate, the gratifications it confers have always been held among the highest pleasures, if not the chief privilege, of office. To the chemist, desirous of tracing the various modifications produced in organized matter by the combined agency of heat and moisture, it presents many curious subjects of observation and research; and the political economist, who justly appreciates the relation in which subsistence stands to population, will not undervalue an art, which, if it add not to the quantity, certainly improves the qualities of our food, and in many instances augments greatly its nutritive powers. If, by an abuse of the art, gout, apoplexy, and other dreaded ills, lurk sometimes in ambush among the dishes, this forms no valid objection against that *wholesome* exercise of it for which alone we venture to contend; and even under this abuse, there is one learned profession which may be expected to tolerate its existence, since it must ever be the interest of those, whose business it is to cure disease, to regard, with complacency, that art, whose occupation it may be to produce it.

Looking, then, on the cook as a sort of manufacturer who prepares and works up the raw produce of the husbandman for the daily use and accommodation of the great body of consumers, we must esteem his art as one of no mean importance. As, however, a considerable time often intervenes between the production of different articles of subsistence and their actual consumption, and as the wants and occupations of mankind frequently impose on them the necessity of storing up the superabundant produce of one period to meet the exigencies of another, it becomes likewise of importance to ascertain the best methods of *preserving* such articles, either as nearly as possible in their original state; or in some other in which, though their form and properties be altered, their nutritive powers may be retained. By such means, not only may the more perishable

alimentary substances of one season be reserved for consumption at another, but the superfluous productions of distant countries be transported to others, where they are more needed. To mariners, in particular, every means of preserving articles of subsistence in a recent state, must present an object of great interest; and even though this should not be practicable to the extent of supplying daily food for a large crew, yet an occasional use of such food would be at all times a great luxury, and, in many cases of sickness and disease, essential, perhaps, to the restoration of health. We agree, therefore, with the author of this little volume, in thinking, that 'a method of preserving animal substances, and all kinds of vegetables, with all their natural qualities and virtues,' is an art which may often be the means of relieving humanity, and of affording, occasionally, no inconsiderable aid to medicine.

The processes instituted with this view by M. Appert, and communicated to the public in the work before us, were exhibited to the Board of Arts and Manufactures in France;—who authenticate, with their names, the details and results of the method. A Committee of the 'Society for the Encouragement of National Industry,' furnish likewise a report of an examination of various animal and vegetable substances, which had been thus preserved. Among the signatures to these reports, we recognize the well-known names of Guyton-Morveau, Gay-Lussac, and Parmentier,—all of whom bear witness to the general success of the experiments. Committees, nominated by the Maritime Prefects of Brest and Bourdeaux, add their testimony to the same purport: and Admirals Martin and Allemand speak of the infinite advantage which it holds out to the sick at sea, and the interest it must excite among seamen in general. The latter officer concludes a letter to our worthy *Restaurateur*,—in gratitude, we presume, for the solid gratification he had derived from the art, by praying him 'to accept the assurance of his high consideration.' And lastly, the Minister of the Interior, deeming it of importance that a knowledge of the process should be spread abroad, desires our author to draw up a detailed and exact description of it; and, on the recommendation of his Council, awards him, from the public treasury, a recompense of 12,000 francs.

With such testimonials in favour of the process, and such opinions respecting its importance, we have thought that a brief account of the methods of M. Appert might not be unacceptable to our readers. We do not, however, concede to the author the claim of originality which he so strongly urges. Experience in this, as in other arts, had already made known many practices

of great value, which, in all essential circumstances, accord with the methods employed by our author. We give him full credit, however, for improving, in some respects, the several stages of the process; and, in particular, for extending it to many substances, to which, on the large scale at least, it had never before been applied. Of his attempts to assign the *rationale* of his process, we do not, for reasons hereafter to be stated, think so highly. In the mean time, not confining ourselves to the single mode of preserving animal and vegetable substances recommended by our author, we shall review various other methods of still greater efficacy and simplicity, endeavouring, at the same time, to reduce them to some general rules, and offering such occasional explanations as may tend to the simplification or improvement of the processes themselves, or the extension of them to other objects.

In general, the animal and vegetable substances used as food for man, have suffered a violent and premature death; but, in other instances, they are permitted to arrive at full maturity. Many of these substances, as the seeds of vegetables, and the eggs of birds, though apparently destitute of life, possess the faculty of exhibiting living action, if duly exposed to the combined operation of moisture, heat, and air; while others, if placed in similar circumstances, exhibit none of the phenomena of life, but undergo spontaneous changes of decomposition, by which their sensible qualities are essentially altered, and new products, altogether unfitted for the purposes of nutrition, are formed. In this manner, the same agents which in certain bodies, give rise to the phenomena of life, promote, in others, those changes which end in decomposition. It is to prevent the occurrence of this latter series of changes, that the several methods of *preserving* organized substances, have been had recourse to. These methods will, of course, vary according to the nature of the substance, the knowledge, and even the taste of the preserver, and the particular purpose which he may have in view: they will also, in many instances, be regulated by local wants, and by circumstances of situation, climate, &c. In every case, however, the more complete is our knowledge of the nature of the substances to be preserved, of the properties of the agents by which they are affected, and of the reciprocal influence which these substances and agents exert on each other, the more easily shall we be able to devise means for obtaining the desired end, and for excluding all circumstances which are either not necessary to, or might impede its accomplishment.

For the sake of convenience, we may distinguish the methods employed for the preservation of animal and vegetable substan-

ces into *natural* and *artificial.* To the former belong those which accomplish their purpose by the simple abstraction or exclusion of one or more of the three great agents of heat, moisture, and air— which so powerfully contribute to produce decomposition: the latter embrace those modes of preparation and mixture which have a tendency to resist fermentation and putrefaction. The natural methods, where they can be practised, are by far the most efficient and least expensive; and the substances, so treated, frequently suffer little or no deterioration of their qualities, however long they may be kept in such a state. Even where the artificial modes are employed, it is almost always necessary to aid their operation by excluding, to a certain degree, some one or more of the natural agents. Before proceeding to the artificial modes, we shall bring before our readers a few examples of the preservation of animal and vegetable substances by natural methods; and, first, of that which effects its purpose by the simple abstraction of heat.

That a moderate degree of cold conduces much to the preservation of inanimate bodies, is a fact familiar to every one; and in general the lower the temperature is, the more effectually are the substances preserved. Such a moderate reduction of temperature acts simply by checking or suspending that chemical action which goes on spontaneously in all organized bodies when they are exposed, in favourable circumstances, to the combined operation of heat, moisture and air: and which at length terminates in that complete change of their condition and properties which we denominate putrefaction.

When the abstraction of heat is carried so far as to congeal the juices of the animal substance, and which requires a degree of cold several degrees below the freezing point of water, its preservation is then more completely accomplished. Mr Boyle mentions many instances of eggs, fish and flesh being preserved for a long time in a frozen state. About the end of October, the Russians, according to Dr King, kill their poultry, and pack them in tubs with layers of snow betwixt them, using them afterwards as occasion requires. Veal frozen at Archangel, and brought to Petersburgh, is esteemed the finest they have; nor, when properly thawed, can it be distinguished from that which is recently killed, being equally juicy. It is in this manner that the markets are supplied, vast stacks of whole hogs, sheep, and fish being in this state exposed to sale. When animal substances are thus submitted to an extreme degree of cold, they seem capable of being preserved for an indefinite period of time. Thus Pallas mentions the fact of a rhinoceros that was found on the banks of a river that falls into the Lena, below Jacutsk. The

carcase, was at first almost entire, and was covered with the hide; and some of the muscles and tendons were actually adhering to the head when Pallas received it. The preservation of this natural mummy, says Professor Playfair, was no doubt brought about by its being buried in earth that was in a perpetual state of congelation: for the place is in the parallel of 64°, where the ground is never thawed but to a very small depth below the surface. A still more remarkable discovery of this kind was made in 1799, on the shores of the Frozen sea, near the mouth of the same river Lena, which is one of the largest in Siberia. An animal of uncommon size was found imbedded in a mass of ice, which, as it melted, gradually disclosed him to view. His hair, skin, and flesh were in good preservation; so that dogs and many wild animals preyed upon it. The block of ice in which he was found was upwards of 200 feet high, and, when first discovered, he appears to have been about 40 feet beneath its surface. According to the celebrated Cuvier, this animal differs from every species of elephant, as well as from the large animals whose bones have been found on the banks of some of the great rivers in America. He bears indeed no resemblance to any species of animal at present known on the surface of the earth; and is therefore considered by Cuvier as *antediluvian*, and to have been preserved from the remote period of the Deluge in the mass of ice that enveloped him. Vegetable substances, in like manner, may be thus preserved in a frozen state. Mr Boyle mentions examples of apples that had been frozen, and which, by proper management in thawing, were restored to their former freshness: and grapes and cabbages that have been quite frozen, are said by Dr King to be as good as when recently gathered, if they are properly thawed. This extreme degree of cold, by which the fluids of animal and vegetable substances are entirely congealed, puts a stop to all chemical action; and so long therefore as it continues, the bodies exposed to its influence may be expected to retain entire their chemical constitution.

Wherever a great degree of cold has thus been employed in the preservation of animal and vegetable substances, it is of the utmost importance to attend to the manner in which heat is subsequently restored: for the effects of that subtile agent are wonderfully modified according to the greater or lesser rapidity with which this restoration is made. Mr Boyle found, that if eggs and apples, which had been frozen, were put into a dish of very cold water, a crust of ice formed around them; they became softer, and were gradually restored to their former state; but if placed by the fireside, putrefaction, says he, was soon induced

in them by such an overhasty thawing. He adds, that if frozen fish and meat be leisurely thawed, it is little impaired; but if, before it has been thawed, it be laid down to the fire, it is then very slowly roasted, and eats afterwards very badly. Dr King confirms these statements of Mr Boyle,—observing that the method of thawing frozen bodies must be by immersion in cold water; that heat excites putrefaction; but when the thawing is produced by cold water, 'the ice seems to be attracted out of 'the body, and forms an incrustation around it.' This crust of ice is not, however, formed by the attraction of cold from the frozen body, but of heat from the water, which, by thus losing its caloric of fluidity, passes into the state of ice; and the temperature of the frozen body, by the caloric it thus receives, is at the same time raised.

In the more temperate climate of this country, we seldom attempt to preserve animal substances for any length of time by a simple reduction of temperature, though the expedient is perhaps worthy of more attention than it has yet received. In one important instance, however, the Russian practice has been followed with great advantage. We allude to the mode of preserving fish, now adopted on all the eastern rivers and coasts of Scotland, and, we believe, in some parts of Ireland, by which means salmon is conveyed fresh to the capital of the empire. The practice is said to have been first recommended by a public spirited country gentleman in Scotland, Mr Dempster of Dunichen; and its adoption has been to many a source of great private emolument, and productive of much national benefit. Every salmon fishery is now provided with an ice-house, for laying in a stock of ice during the winter. The salmons are packed in large oblong wooden boxes, with pounded ice interposed betwixt them; and in this manner they are conveyed to London as fresh as when they were taken out of the water. We have understood, however, that though they may thus reach London perfectly fresh, they do not always come to table in so good a state as salmons that have not previously undergone the freezing process, which, from what has been already stated, may fairly be presumed to arise from inattention in restoring the heat, or ignorance of the principle on which its restoration should be made. Till the introduction of the practice just mentioned, ice-houses were possessed chiefly by the opulent, and applied only to purposes of luxury. It is not unlikely that they will, erelong, be extended to the preservation of other necessaries of life: for what advantage does the fish-merchant derive from them, which the dealer in other animal substances might not equally obtain?

As to vegetable substances, so far from desiring to preserve them by the aid of a freezing process, it is usual, in this country, to employ more or less care in endeavouring to protect them from it. Farmers and gardeners are thus in the practice of storing up potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables for winter food, both for men and cattle. These vegetables are commonly laid in pits, and covered with earth, and often with straw, or some other light material. It frequently happens, however, that the cold penetrates, or in other words, the heat is drawn off through the covering, and the vegetables beneath are more or less frozen. This may sometimes arise from the insufficient or improper nature of the covering employed, which should always consist of light materials, since these best resist the entrance of cold; or, to speak more correctly, the escape of heat. Beside straw, the earth that is used should therefore be light and dry, and such as may not be apt to cake, or be retentive of moisture. A close clayey covering, though apparently the most secure, is that which possesses the best conducting power, and therefore most readily permits the escape of heat from the bodies beneath it. Well dried peat, from its great lightness, and little disposition to retain moisture, forms an excellent covering. Straw, or other similar vegetable substance, covered by earth, is an excellent protection as long as it continues dry; but if it becomes thoroughly wetted, its non-conducting power is in a great degree lost; and if, at the same time, it enter into fermentation, the heat then disengaged will contribute to excite vegetation, by which the qualities of the substances beneath are much changed. Perhaps, therefore, where straw is used, it might be safest to employ it as the outermost covering, in which way it may do much good, and cannot, under any circumstances, do harm. The propriety of employing a light and porous earth on such occasions will, perhaps, be best shown by stating the results of a few observations, made in this neighbourhood in the month of January last, to ascertain the penetration of the late severe frost into different sorts of soil, and communicated to us by a friend on whose accuracy we can rely. In a stiff clayey soil, the frost was found to have penetrated to the depth of 2 feet 6 inches. In a naked clayey loam, it had reached to 10 inches; and in a contiguous and similar soil, in ley, and covered with grass, 7 inches. In the garden ground of a high situation it was traced to the depth of 9 inches; and under the adjoining uncultivated soil, covered with grass only, to between 6 and 7 inches: so that the more light and porous the earth was, the more slowly did it lose its heat, and the better, of course, would it have protected from external cold any substances buried beneath it. An

exterior coat of grass, as might be expected, seems also to have improved its non-conducting power. If, notwithstanding every precaution, vegetables that have been buried still become frozen, immersion of them in cold water, in the manner already recommended, should be practised. By such means they will speedily be brought to the temperature of that fluid; for water, from the facility with which it communicates heat, and the large quantity it gives out on passing to the state of ice, thaws frozen bodies, as Mr Boyle has remarked, much more rapidly than air. The tendency to decomposition, from the sudden application of heat to bodies in a frozen state, will thus be checked or prevented; and experience amply confirms the success of the practice. It is almost needless to add, that the same covering which best secures buried vegetables from the effects of cold, when the temperature of the atmosphere is lower than that of the earth, is, for the same reason, best fitted to resist the penetration of heat; when, on the approach of spring, the relative temperature of the earth and air are reversed, and consequently, to check in such vegetables the disposition to premature vegetation.

We have represented a freezing temperature to act, in the preservation of organized substances, by removing that moisture which is essential to chemical change. A similar result is obtained, but with phenomena very different, if the moisture be abstracted by other means. In those parts of the earth where little rain falls, and extensive plains of sand occur, the air that blows over them is rendered exceedingly dry; and possessing, therefore, a great affinity for moisture, greedily attracts it from all substances with which it comes in contact. These drying winds are observed in various parts of the globe. In the East and West Indies, in Egypt, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and on various parts of the coast of Africa, such winds, at particular seasons, prevail. In some situations their temperature is moderate; but, from the drying operation on the skin, they cause a sensation of heat: in others, their temperature is higher than that of the human body, so that every substance feels hot to the touch. Their general effect on the face of the country is to produce great dryness: the grass withers and becomes like hay: the branches of trees droop: and, if the wind continues ten or twelve days, their leaves become so parched as to be easily rubbed to dust between the fingers: wooden furniture warps and shrinks, so that the nails fall out of it: the pannels of doors and of wainscot split, and the joints of floors open wide enough to admit the finger: the covers of books, even when shut up in trunks and surrounded with clothes, are bent as if they had been exposed to the fire.

On animal bodies, its parching effects are not less striking. The eyes, nostrils, lips and palate, are rendered dry and uneasy: drink is required, not so much to allay thirst, as to remove the painful sensation of aridity in the *fauces*. The lips and nose are frequently chapped; and, in four or five days, if the wind continues violent, the skin peels off, first from the hands and face, and afterwards from other parts of the body. Sometimes its sudden approach destroys men and animals, by producing suffocation: and, what is more to our purpose, the carcases of camels and other creatures which lie exposed in the desarts, by being quickly drained of that moisture, which would otherwise dispose them to putrefaction, are thereby put, says Dr Shaw, into a state of preservation, and will continue a number of years without mouldering away. 'I have been credibly informed,' he adds, 'that, at Saibah, which lieth about the half way betwixt Ras Sem and Egypt, there are a number of men, asses, and camels, which have been preserved from time immemorial in this manner. They are supposed to have belonged to some caravan or other, which, in passing over these sandy desarts, was suffocated by the hot burning winds that now and then infest these sandy countries.' Thus, the complete abstraction of moisture under a high degree of heat, as effectually prevents putrefaction as when its operation is arrested by extreme cold.

Our insular situation and great distance from these sandy desarts protect us from their baneful influence; the air being pretty well saturated with moisture before it can reach our shores. Even here, however, the east wind, which blows from a vast extent of continent, is proverbially said to be dry; and its withering and parching operation on the leaves of vegetables in spring, is frequently productive of much mischief. In the desiccation of substances by means of air, we are accustomed to trust rather to a free exposure, and the operation of currents in the atmosphere, than to its state of dryness. It is in this manner that fish and some other animal substances are preserved, simply by exposing them so as to evaporate their moisture; in which state, if they are kept dry, they resist all farther change. Many kinds of meat are dried by artificial heat, as bacon, beef, &c.: but the rapid tendency to putrefaction in animal substances, renders it necessary to employ a portion of salt, in conjunction with the simple process of drying: This, however, where the desiccation can be effected with sufficient rapidity, is quite unnecessary. The conditions favourable to this operation are, a pretty high temperature, a dry state of the atmosphere, and a frequent change or current of air.

The high temperature promotes the effect, by increasing the solvent power of air for moisture; and this is farther augmented, if the air be, at the same time, dry, and a frequent change of surface occur in it. But in this mode of preservation, the juices of the meat are in great part dissipated, and its flavour is considerably impaired: Neither, by the subsequent restoration of moisture, is the animal fibre restored to its former state of freshness, as happens to frozen substances from the reapplication of heat. Such substances are therefore less nutritious than in their recent state, and are with more difficulty acted on by the digestive organs.

The employment of this method in the preservation of vegetable substances, is practised to a great extent. The tendency to putrefaction in these bodies is much less than in animal substances; and the smallness of their bulk, or rather the thinness of their form, favours much their complete desiccation. Neither, by this process, do their more fixed ingredients suffer so much loss or change of properties as those of animal substances; and consequently, their nutritive powers are not so much impaired. The most important vegetable substances preserved in this way, are the Gramineæ, in the state either of corn or hay. The stems and seeds of these vegetables keep, as is well known, for a long time, if they are well got in, and properly stored. In the condition of grain, it is desirable that no alteration should take place, after it is once put into stack; but the qualities of hay are certainly much improved by its undergoing a gentle fermentation. In those districts of England where cattle are fattened on hay alone, great attention is given, that, in the making of it, the natural juices be so far preserved that it may properly *heat*, as it is called, in the stack. By this process of heating, the colour of the hay is deepened, its weight is increased, and it is rendered sweeter, the mucilage and starch of the stems and seeds being probably converted into saccharine matter, as occurs in the process of malting, or in the methods lately discovered of converting starch into sugar by the long-continued operation of heat and moisture: Sometimes, indeed, from unfavourable seasons, or from negligence in the making, the hay is not sufficiently dried; and the fermentation then excited disengages so much heat as to consume the whole by a slow and smothered combustion, reducing it to the state of a dry charcoal. If, at this period, air be admitted into the mass, it breaks out into flame. The great heat thus manifested arises probably from the condensation of water, which, during the fermentation, is found entirely to disappear. Mr Leslie has shown, that the simple absorption of a few drops of water, by a bit

of very dry wood, paper, or linen, produces a considerable elevation of temperature; and the heat liberated when water is rendered solid in the slaking of lime is familiar to every one.

Some vegetables, however, as potatoes and turnips, may be preserved a long time without change, though containing a large portion of water; but could they be deprived of this water, their preservation would be more easily and certainly accomplished, and their transportation greatly facilitated. A process for effecting this purpose, was proposed some years ago, by Mr Forsyth, advocate. It consisted in first cutting or breaking the potatoes into small pieces, and then dissipating their water, by exposing them on a metallic plate, heated by the steam of boiling water. In this manner, they may be rendered dry, without risk of burning or scorching; and the flour or meal they yield, is said to have no disposition to attract moisture; and if closely packed, may be preserved for any length of time. This process seems to be simple and efficacious; and might be advantageously used for the desiccation of any other vegetable substance; but it is probable that the labour and expense attending it, will prevent its employment to any great extent in ordinary life. It seems, however, worthy the attention of mariners, who may desire to possess vegetable substances in a state adapted to keep through long voyages.

As the air, in a state of dryness, so powerfully abstracts moisture from bodies, and thereby suspends in them the disposition to chemical change, another mode of preserving certain vegetable substances might probably be employed with advantage. The more delicate and perishable fruits, as apricots and peaches, which decay speedily after having reached the full period of maturation, might have their existence prolonged, by confining them in a moderately dry atmosphere. This might be accomplished, by placing them in an inverted receiver, within which some substance, possessing a strong affinity for moisture, as lime or its muriate, or sulphuric acid, was contained. In this manner, the atmosphere would be kept so dry, as not to favour that reciprocal action between such bodies and the air, which the experiments of different chemists show ordinarily to take place. If, with this dry state of the air, a low temperature was conjoined, the preservation of such perishable commodities would doubtless be promoted. The same method might be used by botanists in the preparation of plants for a *hortus siccus*; and, with a little experience, it is probable that flowers might thus be preserved with less loss of their more delicate colours, than in the common modes of drying them by heat, or blotting paper. The more odorous plants, also—such

as mint and others, whose *aroma* we may wish to retain, might be preserved in a similar manner; and probably with less loss of their volatile ingredients than attends their desiccation in the free atmosphere, or by the method of M. Appert.

There is still a third *natural* method, by which animal and vegetable substances may, in ordinary temperatures, be preserved from putrefaction; and that is, by the simple exclusion of air. We have examples of it in the means frequently employed for preserving eggs. The shell of the egg is composed of earthy matter, which is full of pores, through which pass the extremities of very minute vessels, that come off from the strong membrane or tunic with which the shell is lined. Through these vessels, the watery part of the albumen constantly exhales; and the egg, in consequence, daily becomes lighter. If, therefore, the mouths of these pores and vessels be effectually closed, no farther exhalation takes place, and the egg does not lose weight, nor exert that action on the air, which accelerates its decomposition. Reaumur employed a spirit varnish for this purpose, and thus preserved eggs quite fresh for two years: and after carefully removing the varnish, he found that such eggs were still capable of producing chickens. Others employ, with the same intention, some fatty substance for closing the pores; and others simply immerse the egg for an instant in boiling water, by which its albumen is in part coagulated, and the power of exhalation thereby checked. In every case, the intention is simply to exclude the contact of air, and thereby prevent that reciprocal action betwixt it and the egg, which contributes to produce decomposition. Hence, whether, as in the foregoing examples, the air be excluded from the egg; or whether, as by placing it *in vacuo*, the egg be protected from the air, the result is the same; and the preservation of the egg will be equally effected, as far as the exclusion of air can contribute to that end.—Nor is it easy to limit the period to which this may extend, if the surrounding temperature remain low and steady: for Bomare records an instance of three eggs, found enclosed within the walls of a church in the Milanese, which continued perfectly fresh—retaining their natural odour and flavour, after the lapse of 300 years.

A more remarkable preservation of animal substances, by the simple exclusion of air, conjoined with a low temperature, is afforded in the curious facts recorded of toads, serpents, and various other animals which have been found in the hearts of trees or in the centre of rocks, within which they have been immured probably many hundred years; and with so little decay of substance or loss of properties that they retained their living facul-

ty, and, by the renewed access of air, recovered their vital functions. To the same class of facts, we may probably refer the well-known story of Dr Franklin's flies, which are reported to have recovered life in France, after having made, what some may deem, a very enviable voyage from America, in a cask of Madeira wine. Some of our readers may, perhaps, smile at the recital of such alleged facts, and even deny their possibility, consistently with our knowledge of the laws of animal life. Yielding, however, as we do, entire credit to their reality, we choose rather to consider our knowledge of the laws of life as yet so imperfect, as not to enable us to reduce such facts to consistency with it.

It is but rarely that attempts are made to preserve vegetables by the simple exclusion of air. It is probable, however, that in some fleshy fruits, a method similar to that practised with eggs might be adopted with advantage. Such oranges, lemons, and apples as are kept only for the sake of their pulp and juices, might receive a coating of varnish or oil, and where the rind is not afterwards to be used, could not be injured by such treatment. The ordinary preservation of these fruits seems to be owing partly to the drying of their skins, and partly also to the thickness or compact texture of their coats, which, as Gay-Lussac observes, prevents the access of oxygen gas to their substance, and the fermentation that succeeds. It is probable, he adds, that all sorts of fruits might be preserved a long time in hydrogen and nitrogen gases, provided they had not previously been exposed to the action of oxygen. It is even possible that an animal fluid, such as milk, if it could be obtained without the contact of air, might be preserved a long time without alteration. Currants, cherries, and similar fruits are, we know, sometimes preserved simply by gathering them, when perfectly dry, and putting them very carefully into clean and dry bottles, which are afterwards closely corked and buried in the earth, with the design of keeping them in a low and steady temperature.

More frequently, however, these fruits, after being thus gathered, and put into bottles, are submitted to heat, either by *scalding* them, as it is called, in a water bath, or by baking them for a certain time in an oven: after which they are closely corked and sealed so as to exclude the air. Many practices of this sort have long been familiar in every family; and a similar one was recommended 30 years ago by the celebrated Scheele, for the preservation of vinegar. He advises that the vinegar, after being put into bottles, be submitted to the boiling heat of a water bath for one hour; and that the bottles be then taken out and corked. Vinegar, after being thus boiled, keeps, says he, for

several years, as well in the open air as in half-filled bottles, without growing turbid or mucilaginous. In the year 1807, Mr T. Saddington of London, received from the Society of Arts, a *premium* for 'a method of preserving fruit without sugar, for 'house or sea stores.' This method is precisely similar to those just mentioned: but some of the rules for the execution of it are laid down with greater precision. The fruit is directed to be gathered before it is too ripe, and to be then put carefully into bottles, which are to be well filled with it, and loosely corked. These bottles are next to be placed in a kettle, or other vessel filled with cold water sufficiently high to reach to the neck of the bottles; heat is then to be applied, and gradually increased until the water rises to the temperature of about 160 or 170° Fahrenheit. This temperature must be kept up for about half an hour; but it must not be suffered to rise higher, or be continued longer, as it would be apt to crack the fruit. When the fruit has been thus properly scalded, it is directed that the bottles be taken out of the bath, and filled, to within an inch of the cork, with boiling water: They are then to be immediately corked very tight, and laid on their sides, that the water within may swell the cork, not however, as Mr S. suggests, for the purpose of preventing the 'air escaping out,' but rather from getting in. In this manner, various fruits may be preserved, which are asserted to retain all the agreeable flavours which they naturally possess, and to keep good, even in hot climates, for two or three years, if the entrance of the external air be precluded. We have been somewhat particular in these details, because the methods correspond, both in intention and execution, with those of M. Appert, to whose more intimate acquaintance we shall now, after this long preface, introduce our readers.

M. Appert commences his work with some remarks on the processes at present employed for the preservation of alimentary substances, which he very erroneously reduces to two methods only; these are, desiccation and that of mingling with the preserved substance some foreign ingredient, which may impede fermentation or putrefaction. To the former method, by which smoked and hung meat, dried fish, and many vegetables are preserved, he objects that it takes away the odour, changes the taste of the juices, and hardens the fibre: and to the latter methods he also raises specific objections. Sugar, he says, conceals, or in part destroys, other flavours, and is, besides, very costly. Salt communicates an unpleasant acerbity to substances, hardens the fibre, and renders it indigestible. Vinegar can be used only to a very limited extent, and for a few articles. Disposing, in this manner, of the methods in common use, he puts in a pret-

ty bold claim to originality in the invention of his own process. 'As far as my knowledge extends,' says he, 'no author, either 'ancient or modern, has ever pointed out, or been even led to 'the suspicion of the principle which is the basis of the method 'I propose. This method,' he adds, 'is not a vain theory. 'It is the fruit of reflection, investigation, long attention, and 'numerous experiments:' to the improvement of it he has 'devoted his fortune and twenty years of labour and meditation:' and the results for more than ten years have led him to the 'surprising fact,' that by this means 'provisions may be preserved for two, three, and even six years.' To accomplish these wonders, he professes to have discovered, '1st, That fire 'has the peculiar property, not only of changing the combination of the constituent parts of vegetable and animal productions, but also of retarding, for many years at least, if not of 'destroying, the natural tendency of those same products to decomposition. 2dly, That the application of fire, in a manner 'variously adapted to various substances, after having with the 'utmost care, and as completely as possible, deprived them of 'all contact with the air, effects a perfect preservation of those 'same productions with all their natural qualities.'

Such are the general terms in which his methods are announced; and we are next presented with the rules by which they are to be carried into execution. These consist, first, in enclosing in bottles the substances to be preserved: 2dly, In corking the bottles with the utmost care: 3dly, In submitting the enclosed substances, for a greater or less length of time, to the action of boiling water in a water-bath: and, 4thly, In withdrawing the bottles from the water-bath at the period described. M. Appert next conducts his readers into the suite of rooms where these operations are carried on. Desirous, no doubt, of appearing very scientific, he speaks of his 'Laboratory,' as consising of four apartments, one of which, however, he somewhat unwittingly describes as furnished with 'all kinds of kitchen utensils;' a second is appropriated to the preparation of milk and cream: a third is used for corking and tying the bottles, and putting them into bags: and in the fourth are the large boilers, which are employed as the water-baths. Many articles of apparatus, particularly for corking his bottles, are then described; and some useful hints are communicated on the best form and construction of the bottles to be employed; and on corks, and the method of corking. He then continues—

'The principle,' says he, 'by which all alimentary substances 'are preserved and kept fresh, is invariable in its effects. The 'result in particular experiments, depends upon the fitness of

'each individual application of the principle to the substance 'which is to be preserved, according to its peculiar qualities: 'But in every case, the exclusion of air is a precaution of the 'utmost importance to the success of the operation; and in or-'der to deprive alimentary substances of contact with the air, a 'perfect knowledge of bottles and the vessels to be used, of corks 'and corking, is requisite.' 'Economy in corks,' he adds, 'is 'very unwise, as in order to save a very trifle in the price of the 'cork, a risk is incurred of losing the valuable commodity it is 'intended to preserve.' 'Too much attention,' he repeats, 'cannot be given to the corking; no circumstance, however 'minute, ought to be neglected in order to effect the rigorous 'exclusion of the air.' Where solid and bulky substances are to be preserved, jars or wide-mouthed vessels are employed; and the mode of corking these, which he particularly describes, is a matter of greater difficulty. Over the cork, a luting, composed of cheese and powdered lime, is applied. This luting, it is said, hardens rapidly, and resists the heat of boiling water. When the bottles and jars are thus filled, they are next put into coarse linen or canvas bags, in which they are completely enveloped, and which are designed to confine the fragments, if any of them should break in the heating. The jars and bottles are afterwards placed upright in a boiler, which is filled with cold water up to the neck of the bottles: The boiler is then covered with its lid, and over the lid a wet cloth is spread to impede the escape of vapour. Heat is now applied till the water boils; and the boiling temperature is maintained as long as may be required for the different substances. When that time has elapsed, the fire is immediately extinguished: In a quarter of an hour more, the water is drawn off from the boiler; after the water has been removed for half an hour, the boiler is uncovered, but the bottles are not taken out for one or two hours more. Such is the general account of the method. Our readers may, however, wish to taste of Mr Appert's cookery. This laudable inclination we shall be happy to indulge, and shall accordingly serve up one or two dishes for their gratification.

To preserve boiled meat (Pot-au-Feu de ménage) he puts a quantity of it into the pot, the bones having first been removed, to be boiled in the ordinary way. When it is about three-fourths boiled, it is taken out and put into the jars, which are filled with broth, made from other portions of the same meat. The jars are then corked, luted, and put into bags, and are afterwards placed in a boiler of cold water. Heat is then applied till the water boils; and the boiling temperature is kept up for an hour. The fire is then extinguished, the water drawn

off from the boiler, its lid removed, and the bottles or jars taken out at the time specified, and set aside till required. Gravy and broth, after being strained, are treated in a similar way, when preserved alone. These more liquid sorts of food, and the juices also of fruits, may be boiled for two hours in the bath without danger; but other substances are injured by a quarter of an hour, or even a few minutes, too much boiling.

To preserve milk, Mr Appert evaporated it, in the water-bath, to about half its volume, removing frequently the albuminous matter or skin that appeared on its surface. It was then strained and suffered to cool; and being afterwards put into bottles and properly corked was again submitted to the action of the water-bath for two hours. Thus treated, it kept perfectly sweet for two years: but after some time the cream separated from the serous parts. To prevent this, he added to the evaporated milk, in a second experiment, a small portion of yolk of egg well beaten, which perfectly succeeded. Cream itself, when condensed in the water-bath only about $\frac{1}{5}$th, and afwards strained, bottled and treated as above, was perfectly good at the end of two years.

As a sample of his vegetables, we shall select his method of preserving green peas. These he gathers when they are not too young, but of a middling size, and have the finest flavour. They are shelled immediately, and as many as possible are put into bottles, which are corked and exposed to the action of the water-bath for an hour and a half, or, in a dry season, two hours. Windsor beans, either with or without their skins, are treated in the same manner, due attention being always given to the nature of the vegetable, and season of the year. Carrots, potatoes and turnips are first of all half boiled in water, suffered to cool, and then put into the bottles, which are submitted to the action of the water-bath one hour more.

Fruits and their juices are said to require the utmost celerity in all the preparatory stages of the process, and particularly in the application of heat to the water-bath. They should be gathered in the height of the season, but not when too ripe, or they do not pack well in the bottles, and are apt to dissolve from the action of heat. White and red currants, either in bunches or stripped, are put into the bottles as soon as gathered, and shaken down, but not so as to bruise them. The bottles are then corked and put into the bath, which is allowed just to boil: the fire is then extinguished, and the water, in a quarter of an hour more, is drawn off. Cherries, raspberries, and other small fruits are similarly treated; but larger ones, as apricots and peaches, are first stoned, and cut into two or more pieces, that

they may pack closer, before they are put into bottles and submitted to the heat of the water-bath. The expressed juices of fruits, after being strained, and bottled, may be preserved by a similar operation.

When animal provisions, which have thus been preserved, are to be used, they require, it is said, only to be properly warmed to produce both soup and meat; for having received three-fourths of their dressing in the preparatory process, and the other fourth in the water-bath, nothing but heating them to the proper degree is necessary, adding such seasoning as may be thought fit. Cream and milk are used in the same manner as in their recent state, or are heated in the water-bath if necessary. As to vegetables, those that have not been at all dressed before being submitted to the preserving process, must be prepared for use accordingly: but those which appear to be already sufficiently boiled, when taken out of the bottle, require nothing more than to be warmed.

A special committee of the "Society for the Encouragement of National Industry" was desired to examine the qualities of the several substances thus preserved, and they report as follows. The meat, when suitably warmed, was tender and of an agreeable flavour, and the soup good: the broth was excellent: the milk, from the condensation it had undergone, was sweeter and more savoury than common: the green peas and Windsor beans, when boiled as directed, furnished two excellent dishes, finely flavoured and agreeable: the cherries and apricots retained a great part of their flavour: and currant and raspberry juices enjoyed all their original qualities. Some of these substances had been prepared eight months; others a year; and others fifteen months: and all of them, at the period of examination, had been two months in the possession of the Society.

Although the process above described is neither novel in principle, nor scarcely in any point of practice, yet it must be allowed that M. Appert has more fully appreciated the value of some of its stages than any of his predecessors, and given to it a much more extensive application. In the selection and preparation of his vessels, and in the stress he lays on the corking of them, he is entitled to much praise. By the methods of potting animal substances and of preserving fruits in this country, the covering of the pots, or corking of the bottles, was delayed till after the heat had been applied, by which means the risk of breaking the vessels, from the expansion of their ingredients during the boiling, was certainly prevented: but the operation of corking could not afterwards be executed with so much safety to the contents; and the temporary access of air,

which it permitted, is the circumstance of all others that is most to be avoided. The time required for the application of the heat, and the adaptation of it to different substances, though observed to a certain extent by others, had never before been so correctly ascertained: and the slow cooling, which is afterwards recommended, is not probably without its use. Indeed all the stages of the process are combined and set together in a much clearer light than heretofore, and their relative importance much more justly appreciated. No seasoning or condiments are employed, which, in the common methods of potting, not only added much to the trouble and expense, but so materially altered the properties of the substances, as to adapt them rather to purposes of luxury than of use. We anticipate also the thanks of all prudent housekeepers to Mr Appert, for showing them that a good cork and a proper luting may occasion a great saving of butter, employed merely to exclude air.

As to the claim to entire originality set up by our author, we have already in part spoken. We are not enough acquainted with the taste and knowledge of the French ladies, in matters of household economy, to know whether it will pass on the other side of the Channel; but in behalf of our fair countrywomen, we must observe, that, unless they have alike forsaken the example and precepts of their ancestors, they must, in general, be more or less acquainted with the methods of Mr Appert. We have, indeed, seen it stated, in an excellent little compendium of the culinary art, composed, it is said, by a very respectable lady in the north of England, that 'there was a 'time when ladies knew nothing *beyond* their own family con'cerns; but in the present day there are many who know no'thing *about* them.' The very extensive sale of the little work just alluded to, we are willing to accept as evidence of a desire, at least, to discredit such a censure: and we venture to predict, that every young lady who shall ponder well on the 'mis'cellaneous observations' prefixed to that little volume, will find in them much useful instruction in many circumstances and situations of her future life, for which the 'Romance of the 'Forest,' and the 'Sorrows of Werter,' make no sort of preparation. With all due veneration, however, for the notable housewives of former days, and no small respect for the arts in which they excelled, we do not desire to see the time and faculties of our modern fair devoted exclusively to household arts, and the various modes of domestic industry, in which many of their venerable predecessors wore away the greater part of their lives. We rejoice rather in that progress of the arts which has [removed] even the pretence for such unprofitable drudgery; and

triumph in the reflection, that the mighty powers of the steam-engine have been brought to rival in execution the finest works of the needle. The time heretofore unremittingly dedicated to such labours, may surely be more rationally bestowed in the cultivation of the understanding and the taste; and abundant leisure will still be left for the acquisition of all the information in 'œconomics' which it imports a lady to know. Thus may we hope to see combined in the female character, that knowledge which renders life useful and respectable, with those accomplishments which can alone give to it delicacy and grace.

We have now to add a few remarks on the *theory* of the processes we have just been considering, and on the mode in which the several operations contribute to accomplish their proposed end. As Mr Appert declares himself to have spent his days in the pantries, breweries, and cellars of Champagne, and in the shops and manufactories of other places, we have no right to look to him for information on this head. He has done his part very well; and has given us many useful rules, and much valuable instruction: and in return for the information we have derived from his experience, we should be happy to afford any hints or explanations which might in any way contribute to the improvement and extension of his labours.

The preservative methods, which have just been described, have been shown to be equally applicable to animal and vegetable substances: and their value, in regard to both, is confined to the prevention of fermentation and putrefaction. Without pretending to much knowledge of the nature of the changes which occur in those curious processes, which are justly regarded as among the most mysterious in chemistry, we may, by observation and experiment, be able to form pretty correct notions of the agents which act in them, and of the circumstances which best favour that action. Long and familiar experience had led to the conclusion, that these agents were water, heat and air: and the facts stated, of the preservation of substances by the simple exclusion of one or more of those agents, sufficiently attest its truth. A moderate degree of cold, as we have seen, checks or prevents both fermentation and putrefaction: and this it does by suspending, in a great degree, chemical action, and that reciprocal effect which, in favourable circumstances, goes on between bodies and the air. If the temperature be reduced so low as to congeal the fluids in bodies, the preservation of the substances is still more complete; and no change is then produced in the surrounding air. A similar check is imposed on chemical action by the complete removal or abstrac-

tion of moisture; for not only a certain temperature, but a certain state of humidity, is indispensable to this action; little or none taking place between bodies and the air when both are in a perfectly dry state. With regard also to the air itself, where its exclusion has been complete, the same preservative power is exerted: but if it once gain admission, even in very small quantities, there is reason to believe that, in many cases, it promotes changes which no subsequent exclusion of it is able to controul or prevent. It is on the complete exclusion of air that the preservative power, in the processes before stated, and in those of M. Appert, essentially depends; but this power is greatly assisted by the action of high degrees of heat. In our remarks on the theory of these processes, we shall avail ourselves of an excellent memoir on fermentation by M. Gay-Lussac, whose researches were directed to the subject by having himself witnessed the success of M. Appert's methods.

We have already dwelt on the importance of excluding air in these processes; and its particular necessity is well evinced by the following experiments of M. Gay-Lussac. He took a bottle of the must (expressed juice) of the grape, which had already been preserved more than a year by M. Appert's method, and was still perfectly limpid; he decanted this juice into another bottle, which was then closely corked, and placed in a temperature varying from 60° to 86° Fahrenheit. In eight days after, it had lost its transparency, fermented, and was changed into a vinous liquor, frothing like the best champagne. A similar bottle of juice that had not been thus opened and exposed to the contact of air, although placed in the same circumstances, exhibited no sign of fermentation. He next passed a portion of juice into a vessel filled with and inverted over mercury, and added to it a small quantity of oxygen gas: and another portion of juice he confined in a similar vessel, perfectly freed from air. The former portion fermented in a few days; but the latter gave no sign of fermentation even at the end of forty days. Similar results were obtained in experiments on the preserved juices of gooseberries; and he found the same thing to hold with regard even to recent juice. He passed some entire grapes into a vessel over mercury, and added to them hydrogen gas repeatedly, with the design of removing all atmospheric air. The fruit was then broken down by passing a wire into the jar, and the vessel was left in a temperature of from 59° to 68° of Fahrenheit. At the end of twenty-five days it exhibited no sign of fermentation; but this process commenced the same day in juice to which a little oxygen gas had been added; and was also rapidly excited in

the former portion when a little of that gas was supplied. This action of oxygen gas, in exciting fermentation in vegetable juices, is equally displayed in its operation on animal substances. M. Gay-Lussac prepared, after the method of M. Appert, bottles containing beef, mutton and fish, which kept perfectly good as long as the air was excluded; but when exposed to its influence, they entered promptly into putrefaction, like fresh animal matter. By analyzing the air contained in the bottles with preserved animal and vegetable substances, he found that it did not contain a particle of oxygen gas: and the absence of that gas is consequently, says he, a condition necessary to the preservation of animal and vegetable substances.

But though the complete exclusion of the oxygenous portion of the air seems thus effectually to prevent fermentation and putrefaction, yet this is a circumstance which it is always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to accomplish: and many of the facts just recited, show how small a portion of that gas, even its temporary contact with a vegetable juice, is sufficient to excite fermentation. To remedy this inconvenience seems to be the purpose of submitting the substances, previously placed in closed vessels, to the operation of a boiling heat. By this operation some change is induced which indisposes them to enter into that chemical action by which their properties are destroyed: and it also contributes to remove or destroy any small portion of oxygen gas that may be mingled with or adhering to them. This power of heat to arrest fermentation and putrefaction, is well shown in the experiments of the ingenious chemist before mentioned. He found, that the fermentation which, by exposure to the air, had actually commenced in grape-juice, was at once stopped if the bottle containing it was immersed in boiling water. So striking is this effect of a high temperature, that, if its application be repeated within certain intervals, neither fermentation nor putrefaction takes place in bodies, even though they are exposed to the air. He took portions of gooseberry-juice, cow's-milk, and a solution of gelatine, and exposed them, at first every day, and afterwards every other day, to the boiling temperature of a water-bath, saturated with salt to augment its heating power. At the distance of two months, all these substances were perfectly preserved; while similar portions of the same fluids, exposed to the air, but not thus heated, went through the usual stages of fermentation and putrefaction. In like manner, if vessels containing solid animal substances, after having been opened and exposed to the air, were again closed and submitted to a boiling temperature, the preservation of their contents was

prolonged: but if the vessels had been badly closed—if the heat was not continued a sufficient time—or if all the oxygen gas contained in the vessels was not destroyed, then putrefaction did not fail to take place. These facts prove, that heat performs a very important part in the preservative process; and that it acts by producing some change in the animal and vegetable substances exposed to it, which counteracts the natural tendency in those substances to fermentation and putrefaction. It must also speedily produce the removal or change of the small portion of oxygen gas which the vessels may contain: and as the operation of this heat is continued after that change is effected, no injurious consequence seems to arise from the introduction of that small portion of gas. We are thus furnished with satisfactory reasons for each stage of the process we have been considering, and find that they both contribute to one and the same end;—that the heat acts by indisposing the substances from entering into chemical action, and by removing all risk of ill effect from the small portion of air which the vessels may contain—while the rigorous exclusion of the external air contributes to render permanent the state into which the substances have been brought by the temporary application of heat.

Other questions, connected intimately with the theories of fermentation and putrefaction, arise out of the foregoing facts. In what manner does a boiling temperature act on vegetable and animal substances, so as thus to enable them to resist that tendency to chemical change which they manifest, in ordinary circumstances, when they are exposed to the air?—and what changes does the air itself undergo, or what effects does it produce in these substances, which render it so important, if not essential, an agent in fermentation?—Dark and difficult as the subject may be, we are tempted to prosecute it a little farther; and, guided by some facts and analogies supplied by Gay-Lussac and others, and some ideas on these subjects over which we have occasionally brooded, to hazard a few speculations, which, even if remote from the whole truth, may still approach nearer to it than, on a first view, many may be willing to believe.

Chemists have ascertained, that the presence of a substance called gluten, and which forms the material part of yeast, is essential to the process of fermentation in vegetable fluids: but this gluten, though it exist in the juice of the entire grape, and in the preserved juice of that grape, does not excite fermentation, unless, as Gay-Lussac has shown, it come into contact with the air: neither, on the other hand, does the air excite this action in a vegetable fluid that is wholly deprived of gluten; so that the concurrence of gluten and of air seems necessary to

the constitution of a proper ferment. By the operation of a boiling heat, this gluten appears to suffer a degree of coagulation or concretion: for Gay-Lussac remarks, that a slight deposition of a substance of an animal nature is formed in a vegetable juice, previously limpid, by the action of a boiling heat; and that this juice is then incapable of fermentation, nor does the deposited matter act as a ferment to other bodies. Even yeast of beer, he adds, loses its properties as a ferment, after having been exposed to a boiling heat. We may, therefore, infer, that a boiling temperature produces a chemical change on gluten, as it does on albumen, by which it is rendered soluble, and is in that state incapable of entering into those changes which constitute fermentation: Consequently, a boiling heat, by thus acting on gluten, removes an essential condition of change, and therefore contributes to the preservation of the substances to which it is applied.

With respect to the air, it appears also, from the experiments of Gay-Lussac, to be absolutely necessary to the commencement of fermentation, both in the recent and preserved juices of fruits, which already contain gluten,—but to which no proper ferment has been added. It is only, however, the purer part of the air, what is called its oxygen gas, that is required, and that undergoes change. Chemists have long been aware, that, in this process, oxygen gas was changed into carbonic acid; but, in general, they have not attempted to ascertain the extent to which this change takes place. As far as we know, M. De Saussure is the only chemist who has directed his attention to this particular object;—and has shown, by experiment, that when fruits, and other parts of vegetables, are confined in atmospheric air, they convert its oxygen into an *equal* bulk of carbonic acid gas. In the same way, white wine, says he, is changed into vinegar, by being placed in contact with oxygen gas, but without diminishing the volume of air: and the carbonic acid produced, is precisely equal to that of the oxygen which disappears. In most instances, the production of this acid greatly exceeds that of the oxygen lost; and, when fermentation is actively going on, it is abundantly produced without even the presence of that gas: but this acid gas, as Saussure observes, then draws its two elements from the fermenting vegetable, while in the former case it derives only the carbon from the substance in fermentation. In both cases, carbonic acid seems to be a product and consequence of chemical changes and not a cause of the fermentation that yields it: for it is oxygen gas that is employed in the first stage of the process, and to its conversion into carbonic acid, the excitement of fermentation and the production of more carbonic acid succeeds.

But although oxygen gas be thus necessary to the commencement of fermentation, yet since, according to the experiments of De Saussure, all its oxygen exists in the form of carbonic acid gas, it follows, that none can be held to combine with the gluten or any other ingredient of the vegetable substance. Indeed, when we see how small a quantity of air seems sufficient to excite fermentation in bodies disposed to that action, it seems unreasonable to think, from what we know of other combinations of that element with bodies, that a quantity altogether so evanescent, should be able to excite such active changes in such large masses of matter. If, therefore, neither the oxygen that disappears, nor the carbonic gas that is formed, can be deemed the active principle or cause of fermentation, nothing else remains, as far as the air is concerned, but to attribute it to the operation of the subtile matter that is liberated when the transition of the oxygen gas into carbonic acid takes place. This calorific matter, seems either to form some union with gluten, or to produce in it some change which constitutes it a proper ferment. When, in this way, a ferment is formed, and the fluid in which it resides is placed in favourable circumstances, the process of fermentation begins, and is continued afterwards without the farther necessity of air. Hence it is, that fermentation takes place in liquors formed only of sugar and water, to which yeast (which is itself a product of fermentation) has been added, even without the concurrence of air: But it does not occur in the expressed juices of fruits, which yet contain abundance of gluten, if they have never come into contact with air. To the constitution of a ferment, therefore, gluten or some similar substance, is necessary; but that gluten must receive its activity from the subtile matter liberated by the decomposition of the air. When this property is communicated, the ferment produced acts on inanimate bodies, like morbific poisons on the living system; and propagates and multiplies itself by its own action, independently of the source from which it primarily derived its activity.

But if the subtile matter, liberated by the decomposition of the air, be thus deemed the active principle of a ferment, one might conceive, that other agents of a similar nature, should be able to excite fermentation in a fermentescible fluid that had never been exposed to the air. Accordingly, Gay-Lussac asserts, that fermentation may be excited in the juice of the grape, obtained without the contact of air, by plunging into it the two wires of the galvanic pile.

There is every reason to believe, not only from analogy, but from actual experiment, that the air acts precisely in the same

manner in occasioning putrefaction in animal substances; for the oxygenous portion alone disappears, and its place is supplied by an *equal* bulk of carbonic acid gas. The calorific matter liberated during this change, acts, probably, on the gelatinous or albuminous ingredients of these animal compounds, in a manner somewhat similar to its action on the gluten of vegetables; and a fermentation, which ends in decomposition, is excited. Hence the exclusion of air is equally necessary in the preservation of these substances; and the effect of a boiling heat in retarding putrefaction, is perhaps to be ascribed to its action on the albuminous matter of the animal substance, by which it is enabled to resist the usual tendency to decomposition.

But whatever fate may attend these theoretical speculations, we are not without hope that some benefit may accrue to the public from attention to many of the facts and suggestions which have now passed under our review. How much good liquor, for example, might be annually saved from becoming vinegar, by the simple expedient of attending more strictly to the qualities of the cork, and the method of corking, so as effectually to exclude the air; and even how much of this vinegar itself might be preserved from putrefaction, by the scarcely less simple means of immersing it, for a short time, in boiling water! As we profess to hold *gourmandise* in due horror, we shall say nothing of the advantage of having grouse, woodcock, ortolan, salmon, mullet and turbot, at all seasons, and in spite of climate or game laws—But what convenience would it not afford to every family, living at a distance from markets, to be able, by the methods here recommended, to provide themselves with rich and fresh animal food at all seasons; and which should require no other preparation for the table than merely heating it over the fire? Stores of food might thus be laid in, when provisions were cheap, which would furnish substantial and savoury nourishment at times when prices might be high, or the articles themselves could not be easily procured. Where putrefaction might be likely to come on before the stock of provisions could be consumed, how much of it might be preserved in a wholesome state for future use by the methods of M. Appert! What ready supplies of broth, and of other nutritious and palateable substances would they not present, at all times, to the palled and capricious appetites of the sick!—And their importance to the mariner in those times and places which convert common necessaries into real luxuries of life, has been already noticed. In the preservation of vegetables, generally, all who inhabit such cold and sluggish climates as ours, may derive great benefit and high gratification from the adoption of many of the

suggestions herein conveyed. The art of the preserver may be made to anticipate that of the gardener; and when our trees are still destitute of foliage, and our fields clad in snow, we may partake of the most perishable delicacies, and have a foretaste of the luxuries of spring.

We had designed to consider those other methods of preserving animal and vegetable substances which we have denominated *artificial*, and which consist in mingling with the substance to be preserved, some other matter, which shall retard or prevent fermentation and putrefaction. Such an examination would have brought under our notice many interesting, though familiar facts, and might, perhaps, have suggested some practical applications: but the present state of chemistry would not, we fear, have afforded any great aid in the way of explanation. Some other means, both of promoting and preventing fermentation and putrefaction, and even of removing, to a certain degree, the pernicious effects of the latter, when it may have come on, entered also into our first design; and various illustrations of the modes in which the decay and decomposition of organized matter is accomplished or prevented, in different situations and circumstances, might probably have been drawn from many existing natural phenomena, and many practices in the useful arts: But the unexpected length to which our observations have already extended, the difficulty of collecting and comparing the scattered materials of such an inquiry, and the little prospect of arriving at any very satisfactory termination of the labour, have, together, contributed to arrest our progress. In the mean while, we have satisfaction in thinking that the branch of the subject, now brought under the notice of our readers, however imperfectly treated by us, is, nevertheless, not only the most important in itself, but that which can best be explained and understood, and may be most easily, cheaply and extensively adopted in practice. It is that also which alters and impairs, in the smallest degree, the natural properties of the substances employed; and, in all its applications, makes addition to the wholesome luxuries and substantial comforts of life.

Art. VI. *The History of Toussaint L'Ouverture.* A New Edition. 8vo. pp. 93. London, Butterworth. 1814.

THE time is not yet come when we can exactly appreciate the merits of that general arrangement of European rights

and interests, which is indicated, rather than finally completed, by the treaties recently concluded at Paris. The great and most glorious events which led to that arrangement, however, necessarily fixed its character to a very considerable extent; and the general result of those treaties was confidently anticipated long before their tenor was actually disclosed. In this country, all these anticipations were inspiring and joyful; and those who looked most comprehensively to the interests of all the families of mankind, were ready to second the acclamations which arose from national pride and exultation. In such a temper of mind, the shame and disappointment arising from one article in our treaty with the new government of France, has been more severe and afflicting than it would have been at any other moment; and has already indicated itself in various quarters with an energy which, we trust, will be maintained and diffused through every part of the community. We need scarcely say, that we allude to the arrangement respecting the Slave Trade. We hear indeed of *explanations* that are to be given in Parliament when the subject shall be discussed; but we have no comfort in such anticipations. Nothing can explain away the words of the treaty; which are too plain to require commentary, or to admit of evasion. To wait for any such attempts, or for the pretexts which may be offered to pacify the friends of justice and humanity, or for the delusive hopes that may be held out to men far too recently deceived to be now blinded or soothed, would be mere childishness and imbecility. We profess, indeed, to know nothing but the facts notorious to all the world; but these tell us, distinctly and unequivocally, that England has restored the French colonies to the new government, on condition that, for five years, *and no more*, he shall have the full power of filling them with Africans in his own vessels. Nay, Guadaloupe, which had been ceded in perpetuity to Sweden, with a stipulation that the slave-trade should for ever be abolished there, is also restored to France, in order that the traffic should be extended to that large colony. Such is the first compact made with the Bourbons—such the mode fallen upon to demonstrate the virtues of the old court—such their way of evincing gratitude to the Providence which has restored them, and to the Ally which was the chief instrument in protecting them during their exile!—The importance of this subject, however, demands a closer scrutiny; for we must be prepared to hear every sort of misrepresentation respecting it from the friends of the trade, who have recently (there is not a doubt of the fact) had the audacity to insinuate, and that in high places, the possibility of reviving it even in this country. It is therefore necessary to seize the first moment

for awaking the alarms of the country, and rousing the people to a sense of duty, after the intoxication of success has subsided, and their ears no longer ring with the din of acclamations. The calm voice of reason may then be heard, although, upon this question, even that stilly sound will speedily vibrate to the heart, and inflame it with the strongest, but the best feelings of our common nature. For we venture to assert, that in order to excite those feelings, nothing more is required but the most plain and dry detail of the *facts of the case*, as they stand on record before us.

The fortune of war had placed in the hands of this country all the French and Dutch colonies. In the West Indies we had taken the extensive and valuable islands of Guadaloupe and Martinico, together with the less considerable spots of St Lucia and Tobago, from France. By our aid, and in concert with us, our Portugueze allies had captured the large settlement of Cayenne on the Main Land of South America. From the Dutch we had taken, besides Eustatius and Curaçoa, the great colonies of Surinam, Demerary, Berbice, and Isequibo, composing Dutch Guiana. In the East we had possessed ourselves of the Isles of France and Bourbon, and a settlement in Madagascar, by capture from the French. From the Dutch we had taken the Cape, Batavia, and some small spice islands.

Before these several captures were made, and almost from the beginning of the war, eleven years ago, the naval superiority of England in all the seas had extinguished the commerce of the different settlements now enumerated, or reduced it to a very small amount. Their dealings with Africa for slaves had nearly ceased; and it was only as they successively came into our possession, that the possibility of carrying it on was given to them. The policy of Mr Pitt led him to make the war, a war of sugar colonies; and the feeble shadow of his ministry, which recommenced hostilities and conducted them for the first year, imitating him in this respect, began by taking some of the French and Dutch settlements immediately. As soon as they were ours, they had free access to the African coast, and English capital was poured into them by millions, which were expended in slaves and planting. This continued after Mr Pitt returned to office, till about the end of 1805; when, a short time before his death, he issued an Order in Council, among the last and certainly the best acts of his life, prohibiting the importation of negroes in the conquered colonies.* Early in the following year, the much

* The war previously carried on by this great abolitionist had much more than doubled the British slave-trade, raising it in two years from 25 to 57,000 slaves per annum imported

calumniated administration of Mr Fox, passed an act confirming and extending this Order in Council, so as effectually to prevent the supply of slaves from any quarter whatever to the colonies then captured, or at any future time to be captured; and preventing also the employment of British shipping, skill and capital, in supplying any foreign settlement with slaves. In the next year the general abolition act passed; which rendered the execution of the former Act and Order in Council more easy. So that the capture of an enemy's colony thenceforth, instead of restoring it to a share in the African traffic, more effectually cut it off from all such supply. These laws may no doubt have been evaded; but partly through the vigilance of our cruizers, partly through the low prices of produce during a great part of the war, they were effectual to prevent any considerable number of negroes from being carried over to the conquered colonies.—The statute making slave-trading a felony passed in 1811, and confirmed their exclusion from the African commerce.

We may then affirm, that, substantially, there have been scarcely any slaves imported into either the French or Dutch colonies for the last nine years; and into the great island of St Domingo, it is certain that none have been imported for twenty years. Let us now estimate the amount of the slave traffic thus cut off, as we had vainly hoped, for ever; but it now appears only suspended during the war.

To begin with St Domingo. Its average yearly importation at the revolution was about 29000—its total slave population 455000. (*Bryan Edwards, Vol. III., and the Official Returns presented to the National Assembly.*) The information respecting the other French colonies is not so correct; but from calculations founded upon their exports of produce and other data, there is good reason to believe that their slave population amounted at the revolution to between two and three hundred thousand; and their importation annually to above twenty thousand. Now suppose that the total increase of slaves between 1789 and 1803, in the lesser colonies, was such as to carry their numbers to two hundred and fifty thousand, and that the importation then was in the former proportion of above twenty-five thousand, the amount of the French slave trade suspended during the war, must have been above twenty-five thousand, of which in all probability above ten thousand were on account of Guadaloupe. It is difficult to estimate the amount which St Domingo would have required, because this must have depended upon the policy adopted if the French had retaken it from the negroes; but if it continued in its former state, and its cultivation had proceeded, thirty five thousand a year would have been required;

and the war would have nearly cut off this supply: that is, a total of sixty thousand slaves yearly, on account of the French settlements in the West Indies.

The Dutch colonies, as far back as 1768, imported between eleven and twelve thousand a year. After their capture, last war, the British slave trade increased, on an average of several years, to about twenty thousand annually. We may reckon this as the least importation that can fairly be allowed, inasmuch as, before the capture, a considerable importation took place from our own islands to those settlements. It is probable that twenty five thousand would have been the yearly amount during the war now concluded. In this manner we may estimate the total exportation of slaves from Africa to the foreign West Indies, which the war and the independence of St Domingo cut off, as considerably exceeding eighty thousand a year;—an enormous amount of wretchedness to Africa, and peril to the colonies, prevented by the existing state of hostilities, and a compensation, if any thing could compensate, for the manifold miseries of war, and the wretched impolicy of directing our belligerent efforts to the capture of sugar islands.

Now, what has the treaty with France already done, and what may the treaty with Holland, if framed upon the same principles, be expected to do? A slave traffic of above sixty thousand negroes yearly has been revived; and we are in hourly expectation of the revival of another branch of this infernal commerce, amounting to above twenty thousand a year. Africa had at length obtained some interval of repose; her deep and cruel wounds were beginning to heal; the cause of her misery and barbarism had, over a vast extent of territory, wholly ceased, and we were awaiting the completion of this good work in the part that remained: We were not unreasonably expecting that the only slave traders who still drove that disgraceful traffic, our allies in the Peninsula, for whose liberties we had made such sacrifices, would at length join us in doing common justice to other nations as deserving as themselves, perhaps more unoffending: The hopes of the wise and the virtuous were turned towards a general peace, as the season when Europe, sinking into a sweet and secure repose after all her troubles, and only occupied thenceforward with pleasing schemes of future improvement in the arts of civil life, would suffer that wretched and long benighted continent of Africa to taste somewhat of blessings which the crimes of civilized Europe had banished far from her for centuries, and would perfect at once the destruction of an enormity, the very worst opprobrium of our species. From all those visions of human justice and consistency, (for it is ridiculous to speak of humanity and generosity,—the humanity of not murdering—the gene-

rosity of abstaining from pillage!), we are awakened by a solemn act of the two most enlightened states in the world; one of which has been, for twenty years, bleeding at every pore in defence of just principles and national independence; the other of which has deluged Europe with blood in wars for liberty, and at length has restored its ancient dynasty, to save itself from a warlike despot—an act in the name of the '*Most Holy* '*and Undivided Trinity*'—the God of Justice, Prince of Peace, and the Spirit of Holiness—an act done with the express intent of 'terminating the agitations and misfortunes of the People,'—the first act of the 'provisional government of the restored Kings of France,'—the first fruit of the victories gained by the *magnanimous* Allies in the cause of humanity and justice—reviving, in the year 1814, far more than one half of the African slave trade in its most savage form, at the periods when it raged the most cruelly, and spread its desolation with the widest range! Let us only look more nearly into this astonishing stipulation.

The eighth article of the treaty, which restores the French colonies,—reserving to England the Isle of France, Tobago, and St Lucia, makes no mention of the Slave Trade. The cession is absolute, as is the cession of Guiana by Portugal in the ninth. And by the ninth article, Sweden restores Guadaloupe in like manner, although the most important condition of its surrender to Sweden by England, last year, was the immediate and perpetual abolition of the slave-trade by that power. The immediate revival of the traffic, then, in all the restored settlements, Guadaloupe, Martinico, and Guiana, is the consequence of this surrender; and no stipulation whatever is made against France immediately setting about the reconquest of St Domingo, and the revival of the slave trade there also, except that the Spanish part is restored to Spain, and to the Spanish slave trade. Then comes the third additional article, more expressly recognizing the crime in question as a branch of commerce—and permitting its perpetration—or rather, as we shall presently demonstrate, encouraging it. The words of this most benevolent stipulation, are worthy of all attention, from the spirit of true piety which they breathe.

'His *Most Christian Majesty*, participating without reserve 'in *all the sentiments* of His Britannic Majesty, relative to *a species of commerce*, which is repugnant both to the principles of 'natural justice, and enlightened state of the period in which 'we live,—*engages* to unite, *at a future* congress, all his efforts 'to those of his Britannic Majesty, to cause to be pronounced 'by all *Christian* powers, the abolition of the trade in negroes;

'so that the said trade shall universally cease, as it shall defi-
'nitively cease in all respects on the part of France, after a pe-
'riod of FIVE YEARS: and, besides, that during that period, no
'one shall traffic in slaves, to be imported or sold, except in the
'colonies of the state to which he is subject.'

First, The preamble of this article is worthy of notice.—The 'Most Christian' King, it seems, participates in all the sentiments of our King, that is, of his representative, the Prince Regent, and his government, upon the subject of the abolition! We sincerely hope, that there is no serious truth in these complimentary *allegations*;—for though it be generally known, that, with a very few exceptions, our Royal Family were at one time determined enemies to the abolition, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, that any one among them now wishes for its restoration;—and still less, that they can have permitted, as its advocates, however, most indecently allege, expressions to be used in their presence, implying not only a wish, but an expectation, of the revival of a traffic, which the law of the land has solemnly decreed to be a felony; and for committing which, there are at this moment several persons under sentence of transportation.* But, taking the expression in the article, to signify merely the *Most Christian* King's participation in what ought to be the sentiments of our Government, he goes on to describe the traffic in some of its true colours; and after telling us, that he holds it repugnant, both to natural justice and to the intelligence of the age, we naturally expect him to declare its abolition.—For how would a clause like this have sounded in his Majesty's ears, upon his own case? 'Whereas the government of Bonaparte is a cruel usurpation—inflicting much grievous misery on France, and Europe at large—inconsistent with the lawful rights of the people, and repugnant to their wishes: And whereas a milder sway may justly be expected, from restoring the paternal government of our ancient Kings; Therefore, it is stipulated, that after five years more of suffering and misrule—during which, war shall not cease to lay waste the world, and the usurper shall be at full liberty to pillage as fast as he can—measures shall be taken for terminating his course, and calling back the Bourbons, and peace!' It is probable, that such a liberal and consistent stipulation would have proved but mode-

* There are particularly two persons, of considerable station, wealthy merchants, in the Hulks on the Thames, among other convicts, on their way to Botany-bay, for slave-trading, under the late act.

pately satisfactory, either to Europe or the exiled family. There is indeed an extreme absurdity in the arrangement, which would make it too ridiculous for arguing about, were it not also too melancholy for laughing at.—Two persons gravely agreeing, that because a certain thing is highly criminal and foolish, they will therefore do it for the full term of five years complete! and that then, should they be in the same mind, they will talk about giving it over!—It is really too much. What should we have said, had Buonaparte set his hand to such a stipulation? What would some persons among us have said, if such a treaty had been negociated between the Revolutionary Government of France, and the Whigs of this country? But ample proof has been given to the world, that, so far at least as the latter party are concerned, such an event would have been wholly impossible.

The uncertainty of this stipulation producing any good at the end of the five years, is quite obvious. What reason can we have for believing in any such thing, or expecting a sounder mind in France then, than now? At present, on the contrary, all circumstances concur to facilitate an immediate abolition. There is not a single livre of French capital embarked in the trade; not a plantation that for ten years past has received any supply of new negroes; not a proprietor who has obtained his remittances direct from the West Indies, or uncharged with the expenses of war and foreign consignment. The restoration of the colonies brought with it a sufficient boon to each individual planter, whether in the islands or in the mother country; and to the state at large, an ample benefit in the revival of just and legitimate commerce, for so long a time a stranger to its ports. The maintaining things as they were, with this exception, so beneficial to every person concerned, was all that justice demanded. No greater sacrifice was required. 'Only keep your capital as it now is employed, or invest it in the West India trade, which we give you back.' England had no occasion to say more; and the day was won for Africa. The treaty has turned a vast capital never before engaged in the slave traffic, into that infernal channel; opened the market in human flesh to all the plantations, and after the speculators shall have held for five years the sweets of enormous gains, it is proposed that we should ask them to give them up, for goodness sake! that we should desire the government to abandon its duties, and to create a great and sudden revulsion of capital, both in its American and European dominions!—Who is there so driv'ling as not see the fallacy of expectations like these? If we cannot obtain the denunciation of a trade which has no existence, shall we succeed in procuring its relinquishment after it has begun to feed an ap-

petite never yet glutted either in states or individuals— the avarice of speculation? If any man still entertains so chimerical a hope, let him reflect for a moment on the history of the abolition at home. Did we not find the enemies of the measure always ready enough to propose a *gradual* abolition, as they termed it,—an abolition in four or five years? First they said it should cease in 1796.—When that period came, it might be abolished prospectively, in 1800. Then other periods were proposed; and at last, when all the specified times had elapsed, they still opposed the abolition. But, happily for the honour of the nation, and the interests of humanity, a government, honestly zealous in the cause, put it down at once.

But this revival, or new creation of the French slave-trade, is still more calamitous than may at first sight appear to a superficial observer. It will be the first meal of mercantile speculation, after so long a fast; and we may guess with what kind of appetite it will be devoured. The trader, too, will have before his eyes the probable termination of his profits after a certain time, and will fall to as if he were sure he had but a few years to traffic. Even in this country, at the last peace, the number of slaves carried to the West Indies, in the year 1802,* greatly exceeded those carried during the two last years of the war, when we had all the Dutch, and almost all the French colonies in our hands; and during the same year there had been revived the whole of the French and Dutch slave-trade. But who shall estimate the eagerness of French speculation in Africa, now that an intimation is given, far too uncertain for the hopes of good men, but quite plain enough to rouse the fears of avarice, that there is only to be five years of the trade, and there is no time to lose! Even the traders who may well indulge a hope that the denunciation of the traffic never will be executed, are sure to act as if it were certain, and to leave nothing to chance. Five such years Africa never yet saw; they will indeed be an age of misery and desolation. Well might Mr Wilberforce exclaim, upon seeing thus blasted all his hopes for the peace and improvement of that hapless continent—'Woe unto the earth and the nations thereof! for the Devil has come down to walk thereon for a certain space—and he will not be staid!'

But the effects of this dreadful commerce will extend to our own abolition.—It is no longer secure.—Not only are its effects in Africa well nigh frustrated, and the good so fairly expected from it in that quarter of the world almost entirely stopt: but even in the

* The average of 1800 and 1801, was about 26,000; the importation of 1802 was about 41,000.

West Indies we can no longer have any security for the measure being effectual. Multitudes of slave ships, having full and undoubted right, as far as human laws can give it, will traverse the seas in all directions, and render smuggling scarcely possible to be prevented in our own islands. The French settlements, now once more the resort of those vessels, are so interspersed among our own, that no vigilance of our cruizers, especially on the reduced establishment of the peace, can be expected to prevent the introduction of slaves into our plantations. Nor is the danger very remote, of the excessive importations into the French islands once more producing their natural effect in the rebellion of the negroes, and the contagion reaching our own shores.

This topic naturally leads us to reflect on the manner in which the French government is left at liberty to prosecute its designs upon St Domingo. We have upon former occasions shown the dangers which result to our islands from the establishment of a Free Black republic in that vast colony; nor can it be questioned, that if the insurrection of the negroes there could have been suppressed betimes—if they could have been reduced under their former subordination at the period of the last peace—and if, at the same time, the cause of the mischief had been cut off, by abolishing the Slave-trade, the security of the West Indian system, and the happiness of the negroes themselves, unprepared as they are for sudden emancipation, would best have been consulted. The attempt failed; and he must be a shallow, as well as a cold-blooded reasoner, who, after twelve years of freedom have completely destroyed the servile state in St Domingo, and consolidated its independence, could now regard, without horror, a renewal of the war between the two colonies. This at least is certain, that now it must be a war of extermination; and that to restore the French yoke there, whether it is proposed with or without the personal servitude of the blacks, their race must be almost extinguished, and supplanted by a new population from Africa. There is no longer any question of reducing rebellious slaves to submission under their former masters. The project must be, to make half a million of free negroes slaves to a few thousand whites; the former having been almost all brought up, if not born, in liberty; the latter, the remains of those whom the victories of the blacks have left unexterminated. To restore slavery there, must be to root out the half million of negroes within a fourth or fifth, and to supply their place with as many slaves from Africa. If it be proposed to reduce the colony without restoring slavery, and only to import new slaves, leaving the present race free; besides the innumerable difficulties opposed to such a distinction, it is very

unlikely that the negroes now in possession should trust any such professions: They never will be prevailed upon to believe that the whites can exist among them as rulers only, over a people of free blacks. In truth, the whole project appears so encumbered with difficulty, and the design of extermination seems so monstrous, that it is difficult to believe the French government can entertain it. Yet the cession of the Spanish part clearly evinces something to be in contemplation with regard to the remaining portion; the reestablishment of the colony on its former footing, is a topic never out of the mouths of 'good Frenchmen;' and the stipulations of the treaty on which we have been commenting, lead us to be prepared for almost any enormity that may not be in its nature impracticable. It is related of one of Buonaparte's generals, that in discoursing of this project as likely to occupy the attention of France upon a peace, he was reminded of the dreadful sacrifice of life, both Negro and European, which this exterminating warfare must occasion; and his reply was, '*Quand il est question d'un grand bien, il faut y aller rondement.*' It remains to be seen whether the Most Christian King will feel disposed to follow up the spirit of his treaty, and seek the attainment of this 'great good,' namely, the destruction of four hundred thousand blacks, and a hundred thousand whites; the former to be replaced by a trebling of the slave-trade, under the third additional article of the treaty; the latter by emigration and breeding. It remains also to be seen whether our Government will stand by, and whether the people will suffer it to witness the exhibition of this 'great good,' with the same feelings which dictated the wishes above recorded for the revival of the English slave-trade.

That such projects are not in contemplation, it is unfortunately quite impossible to contend. St Domingo is the West Indies, in the political language of the Parisian circles: little care is thrown away upon all the rest. The prevailing delusion is, that government has only to issue an edict, and send over a ready made administration, with a respectable armament, 'in order 'to take quiet possession.' The divisions of the islanders may, as formerly, tend to keep up this deception. The party of Petion, comprising the people of colour, and blacks free before the revolution, though greatly inferior to the newly freed negroes under Christophé, so far make head against them, that neither party has been able to subdue the other; and each possesses his share of the island. The party of Petion have intrigued with Buonaparte; they will probably listen to the overtures of the present dynasty still more favourably; and the same course of events will, in all likelihood, succeed, which, twelve years ago,

covered the settlement, first with the blood of the *nouveaux libres*; then with that of the *anciens libres*, sacrificed by their white allies to the incurable jealousy of the two colours; and lastly, with the bodies of those whites themselves, victims to the unsparing climate. But to this prospect the eyes of men are shut at Paris: if they regarded the conquest of St Domingo as impossible, or even as extremely difficult, they would scarcely cast away a thought on the islands surrendered by us.

Next to St Domingo, Guadaloupe is by far the most important object of consideration. Its negro population must be greatly above 100,000. It had nearly as many twenty years ago. The annual importation of slaves will certainly exceed 10,000, or about half of the whole slave-trade formerly carried on by this country for its own settlements, and which remained after the first abolition act in 1806. It is most remarkable, that the abolition of this great branch of the traffic had been completed. The cession to Sweden, in March 1813, was upon the express condition of the slave-trade being abolished there in perpetuity. And now Sweden, in open violation of the treaty, in direct contravention of the condition of her own tenure, cedes or sells the island to France, without exacting the continuance of the terms upon which she herself held it; and, to make the infamy on both sides complete, the price is Norway. Either then the Swedish government, by open breach of the treaty, has released us from all our engagements respecting Norway, or we have confirmed the cession of Guadaloupe, and released the condition upon which we originally ceded it. There is no way out of this dilemma. Indeed, it is plain our government has made its election, and chosen the latter alternative, by refusing to take advantage of the breach of covenant, and continuing the blockade of Norway. It is confessed, therefore, that after having abolished the slave-trade in Guadaloupe for ever, we retract, and restore it there, in order that something may be given to Sweden. And what is this consideration for which we incur the infamy of reviving a slave-trade of 10,000 negroes yearly? The accession of France to the subjugation of Norway, and the additional chance of exterminating either that brave people, or destroying their liberties.

But by far the worst view of this slave-trade treaty yet remains. The forts and factories of France on the coast of Africa are given up unconditionally to her; and by a single blow the benevolent exertions of England on that extensive district are frustrated!—all that has been accomplished is undone in a moment; and the hopes of the enlightened and virtuous at once turned into despair, when on the eve of their fulfilment.

We had cleared a coast of above fifteen hundred miles of the detestable traffic: we had established there a flourishing trade in the innocent productions of the land: we had carried its lawful exportation to the considerable amount of above half a million Sterling yearly: we had settled a thriving colony upon abolition principles,—and its intercourse with the natives had laid the foundations of the most beneficial changes in their condition. The peaceful arts had began to succeed in Africa to the constant, unvaried scenes of war, pillage and massacre, of which the slave-trade formerly rendered it the vast theatre. A manifest change had commenced in the habits and lot of the native tribes along this extensive district. The treaty is made; and it bears to this very coast the slave factories of France: Those restored forts and depôts are all situated in the district whose improvement we have been contemplating; nay, one of them is within a few miles of Sierra Leone itself! Of all this mischief we can only acquit our government upon the ground of their utter ignorance of the subject: They can by no possibility have any other excuse. But what a predicament for statesmen to place themselves in, that they must either plead guilty to the charge of creating wilfully miseries such as these; or urge in their defence, that upon the most momentous interests of their country and their species, they have obstinately kept their course of error, without applying to any of the sources of correct and copious information surrounding them on every side! We need scarcely add, that the slave factories on the coast, so lately embarked in lawful commerce, must instantly extirpate all occupations but the traffic in flesh. No other employment can exist in its vicinage. We state it as a fact, that all the London houses hitherto concerned in the innocent African trade, have already, since the news of the treaty, adopted the resolution of withdrawing immediately from the business, and even taken steps for effecting this melancholy retreat.

It is far from our wish, on the present occasion, to intermingle what may be termed factious topics with the discussion of this great question of general justice and national honour. But in justice to men whose public conduct we have frequently ventured to censure, it is quite impossible not to observe, that all the evil of which we now complain arises from the settlement of these great interests having been trusted to statesmen who, with one or two exceptions, have uniformly been the advocates of the Slave-trade. It is upon occasions like this that the friends of justice and humanity may perceive the wide difference between a ministry composed of abolitionists, and one originally adverse to the cause, and only suspending their

hostility towards it when the laws made it imperative upon them to abandon their former conduct. Our present rulers, it is but fair to admit, have not resisted the execution of the abolition acts; they have even concurred in the measures necessary for that purpose with more or less readiness. They could not indeed have very easily refused; they would have exposed themselves to imminent perils; and in all likelihood their places would have been the least forfeit paid for their reluctance. But when an occasion presents itself of resolutely showing their adherence to the principle which for some years past they have professed to adopt;—when any exertion of zeal is required—when any risk is to be encountered, or any sacrifice made to the cause;—then indeed we speedily perceive that the country is represented by men whose hearts are not in the work, and who will only help it forward when their backwardness would lead to their ruin and disgrace. If the ministers who abolished the trade in 1806 and 1807 had negotiated the late treaty, what man in the country doubts that they would have perished before they set their hands to the article which consigns Africa once more to the slave traffic?

The arguments from policy which present themselves upon the present question, are numerous and striking. But we are unwilling to dwell at any considerable length upon them, when the case stands so firmly on grounds of a loftier description. It will be for the West Indian interest to explain the ruinous consequences to them of an arrangement so deeply lamented by those who on every other occasion have been their antagonists,—and to prove how closely the most ordinary views of national advantage coincide in this case with the highest and purest principles of philanthropy. Some points, however, may be mentioned, without deviating from the design of this paper. The surrender of the colonies to France operates severely on the creditors of the planters resident in this country. The inducement to advance money while those settlements remained in our possession, was not so much the interest of the loans, as the consignments which the mortgagee received, and which at once secured the payment of the interest, and the receipt of a commission upon the sales. The furnishing the supplies to the estates was a source of similar profit. Now that the colonies are again French, all these profits must cease,—and the creditor has for his loans nothing but the security of a West India mortgage under a foreign government. The sacrifice, then, is not small which the cession of these colonies costs the merchants of this country. But this is the smallest part of the loss. There is another, more immediately connected with the revival of the Slave trade, and

which bids fair to punish us speedily and severely for this criminal act. The cultivation of the foreign colonies will soon be an overmatch for our own. The immense crops of new cleared lands will alone press with intolerable weight upon our planters. The foreign freight will undersell ours still further; and our planters will, in a short time, be reduced wholly to the supply of the home market. To suppose that they will ever export a hogshead of sugar to the Mediterranean, when France shall have cultivated her rich extended territories as fully as the supplies of negroes from Africa can allow, would be chimerical in the extreme. The risk of insurrection, and its contagion, has been already mentioned; nor can any one view, without dismay, the probable consequences of again pouring into the French islands, and with a rapidity heretofore unknown, those hordes of slaves, whose sufferings laid the finest colony in the world waste by successful rebellion. But the loss of the trade with St Domingo and the African coast, deserves to be noticed in passing. The exports from St Domingo, the produce of negro industry since the establishment of the black dynasty, have been constantly increasing; and last year they amounted to above twelve hundred thousand pounds. This branch of trade was entirely in our hands; and it probably exceeded in value some kinds of commerce about which the statesmen of this country have always made a prodigious clamour. We question if the Methuen treaty ever secured any thing so respectable in point of advantage. It is needless to say that all this is given up;—and it is annihilated as to all the world, if the subjugation of the negroes shall be accomplished. The trade with Africa, amounting to above half a million Sterling, is irretrievably gone; and it may be, that our merchants and manufacturers shall experience such a competition during the peace, as to make the loss of this commerce a matter of regret, on principles of mercantile profit merely.

It is now necessary that we should inquire upon what possible grounds such measures as those we have been contemplating can be defended,—what excuse the ministers of this country can offer for the act which they have done, fraught with all these mischiefs? In order to estimate the real merits of their case, we must observe, that nothing but a proof of *absolute necessity* will be of any avail. Now, there is no means of showing that any such necessity existed, except by attending to the circumstances of the parties negotiating, and to the other terms of the treaty. The Allies were in a condition to dictate upon almost every point;—else, why so much praise of their moderation? They did in fact impose upon France whatever terms they con-

sidered their own security to require. Not one of them had any interest in the slave trade; for Spain and Portugal cannot be mentioned as parties influencing the negotiations. On the contrary, we hear it asserted in Parliament, that Austria, Russia and Prussia, expressed themselves favourable to the abolition; and Sweden, we know, by a solemn act, a year ago, recognized the principle, and carried it into effect. Then, how comes it to pass that so much difficulty was found in annexing to the cession of the French islands, the condition of abolishing the traffic? Let it be remembered that they were in our hands, and that we had lost no territory which we demanded back, nor required the cession of any place whatever for our own security or benefit. Our giving up our conquests at all, was a sacrifice for the common good; a purchase, with the fruits of our own exertions, of advantages for the powers of the Continent; only remotely, and on the great scale of interest, profitable to ourselves. We had largely sacrificed for the same objects in other quarters. We had spent hundreds of millions, and exhausted our best blood for the independence of Europe; and we asked no other return but the security which her happiness in the long-run affords us. Each of the Allies, on the other hand, gains, not merely an independent existence, but large indemnities for past losses, as well as the restoration of almost all their lost dominions. None of *them* purchase these immense gains by any price given to France,—unless indeed the abstaining from burning Paris can be accounted a cession or a sacrifice. It is out of our conquests that all the indemnities and restorations made to France and Holland are taken; and unquestionably we have some right to dictate the terms on which they shall be given. It signifies not whether we give them on account of France herself, and, to speak the truly unstatesmanlike language of the day, her old government, or on account of the Allies. In either case, we have a right to impose terms and conditions. However, it seems manifest that our cession is in favour of our Allies. How clear then does the path appear to an easy adjustment on the best principle! The Allies communicate with us respecting the restoration of the French colonies; we answer to them, and before a word is exchanged with France, that for the benefit of the general cause, we are willing to make the surrender; but we add, that as this is to benefit ourselves not one acre of territory, we must look to the interests of those under our protection in Africa, as well as of our European Allies,—and must give up the French islands, without thereby reviving the African slave trade. A condition so pure and disinterested, founded upon the selfsame principles which called for—nay, which authorized the cession at all—never could be objected to for a

moment by any prince or minister who had understanding sufficient to comprehend the statement of the question. A regard to consistency imperiously demanded it. For, by what subtlety can we affect to distinguish between violence and injustice in Europe, and in Africa? What ground have we for interposing in Continental affairs, and holding ourselves out as the champions of justice and national independence, if we allow public crimes, infinitely more atrocious than any that France has committed in Europe, to be perpetrated by her in every other quarter of the globe? Were a French man of war to land her crew in any part of Spain, and pillage a hamlet, carrying off a few of the inhabitants, how would all the Allied courts resound with indignant complaints, and how speedily would justice be demanded? All that the friends of consistency now contend for, is, that the Allies should not have permitted France, by their treaty, to carry the worst species of cruelty and destruction over whole kingdoms, and murder and kidnap myriads of people, fully as deserving of regard as those Spaniards—who abhor liberty, delight in being persecuted, and glory in their bigotry and ignorance. England had fully as good a right to make a stand for Africa as for Spain.

But we see no reason from the facts, to doubt the possibility of accomplishing the object. Wherever any thing was to be gained from France, either for the benefit of the Allies or of England, France, we find, was disposed, or was compelled to submit. The treaty abounds with examples of this most material description. We shall only take those relating to England. She retains Malta, the great bone of contention at the last peace, and the chief ostensible ground of the war. She keeps the Cape of Good Hope, a settlement far more precious to Holland than to her; and the loss of which to the one party is irreparable, while the gain to the other is inconsiderable. In the East Indies we keep all our conquests from the native powers, and no questions asked, instead of being obliged to account for our acquisitions; and we obtain the Isle of France, a most favourite possession of the French. In the West Indies we retain St Lucia and Tobago, and we are allowed to carry on our American war, as if it were a private quarrel, something in the nature of an internal rebellion, in which no foreign power had any right to interfere. Whence all these accessions of territory and accommodations, chiefly at the expense of France and Holland? Perhaps the reason is more obvious than creditable to the parties. There is some advantage, real or supposed, of a very ordinary stamp, to be reaped from each acquisition.—Malta is useful in trade, and still more so in the event of a new war;—the Cape is of some supposed benefit to our Indian commerce, and, in war, might

prove a source of annoyance to our shipping;—the Isle of France is a dangerous privateering station in the hands of an enemy;—St Lucia has a most convenient harbour;—and Tobago is chiefly possessed by British subjects, who would lose considerably by a surrender. All these are powerful reasons for our wishing to keep the settlements in question, no doubt; but whence comes it about that we have been allowed to gratify our wish so freely? Alas! can any one doubt that these settlements are the equivalent which we have received for abandoning Africa to the horrors of the Slave-trade? If we had only made the same struggle for that object which we did for our own gains, we *must* have carried our point. Even the point of honour has been given up by France, where our interests required it. The East Indian settlements are restored, under a condition that there shall be no forts built in them, and only a sufficient number of troops stationed for the purposes of police. Would it have been more humiliating to France, had the Allies required her to abandon the Slave-trade; to refrain from carrying over more negroes to the West Indies, as she has engaged to carry over no more soldiers to the East; to restrict herself in a point essential to our security in one part of our dominions, as she has in fact agreed to do in a particular connected with our security in another? The nature of things does not allow any other than circumstantial evidence in such a question as this. We cannot, except by circumstances, discover whether the government might or might not have obtained from France the abandonment of the traffic: but when we find that the government succeeded wherever they had a plain interest and a strong desire to succeed, the inference is pretty strong, that a similar inclination, if equally well pursued, would also have been gratified with respect to the more exalted object before us.

We have heard, with pain, many persons whose zeal for the cause is the least doubtful of their good qualities, contending that the war ought to have been continued for this object; and that the question being between Peace and the Abolition, they preferred the latter. It is hurtful to the object in view to take such an issue; and we are confident, that the support which the question may thereby receive from the interested and profligate friends of war, is much more than balanced by the support which it loses in more respectable quarters. In truth, the question, with an honest and zealous government, never could have arisen. While the Allies were victorious, a single word must have been sufficient; and the keeping the sword drawn another day would not have been necessary for the cause of justice. But unhappily, we felt ourselves strong enough to do wrong; we gave to the Bourbons what no British minister durst have yield-

ed to Buonaparte; and the expectation was, that, in the noise and intoxication of triumph, the voice of humanity would not be heard, nor the reproaches of conscience felt.

It is gratifying to think, that such a delusion must now have passed away. Notwithstanding the vehement joy of the season for peace, and the less rational tumult of congratulation which the arrival of the conquerors has excited, the friends of the Abolition have been awake, and at their posts. They have sounded the alarm; and the country is already in motion to express its horror of the Slave-trading stipulation. A very large meeting has just been held in London; and a loud and unanimous reprobation of the article was expressed, and a petition to Parliament voted and signed. That a similar feeling may be exhibited in other places, and that similar steps may be taken to render it effectual, is earnestly to be hoped. It cannot be alleged, that these proceedings are too late Much evil has indeed been done; but none that may not yet be repaired. There may be a new treaty at the congress which is about to assemble; and the detestable stipulation of five years of crime may be abandoned. If the arrangements of treaties were never changed by subsequent arrangements, how comes Guadaloupe to be now restored to France and the Slave-trade, within a year after it was ceded to Sweden in perpetuity, with the express condition of the Slave-trade ceasing for ever? It cannot be contended that those conventions alone are of lasting force, which eternally disgrace the parties, and provide for the most criminal course of conduct; while the vows to do justly and mercifully, are to be broken almost as soon as they are made. But the expression of national feeling will be highly useful in showing the government what punishments await rulers who betray the highest duties of their stations, proving how vain are all their hopes of escaping detection, even in circumstances the most favourable to their evasion. We may venture to foretell, that this is the last time such an experiment will be ventured, if the country only does its duty. The treaty of Utrecht obtained for England an increased slave-trade, as the reward of her sacrifices and her victories; the peace of Amiens enabled her to clear the great island of Trinidad at an expense of life too horrible to contemplate; the peace of 1814 has rewarded the sufferings, and crowned the triumphs of the Allies, by reviving the Slave-traffic seven years after we had abolished it, and three after we had declared it a felony.* Let the people but speak out their sense of this last disgrace to their

* It is rather strange that this treaty, allowing France five years of felony, should have been concluded at the moment that two wealthy merchants lay in the hulks for Botany-Bay, convicted under Mr Brougham's act.

name, and no other minister will ever dare carry on a Slave-trading negociation.

The work before us is the valuable contribution of one of the most zealous and able friends of the cause, to the accomplishment of the purposes now explained. It is understood to be the production of Mr Stephen; and, having been originally published in 1803, when it excited much less attention than it deserved, is now republished with a short preface and a dedication to the Emperor of Russia, who is understood to be a zealous wellwisher of the Abolition. It contains a life of Toussaint from the best sources of published or of private information; and is particularly valuable at the present moment, from the important lights which it throws upon the conduct of the war of extermination waged in St Domingo, at the last European peace. It clearly evinces the impossibility of now restoring the French yoke there, without extirpating by far the greater part of the black population. We recommend it to the attention of our readers; and only lament that the learned author has not brought the subject down to the present time, by discussing the changes which have more recently taken place in that great Island.

With respect to the Dedication, we have one observation to offer. The Emperor Alexander is highly praised as the 'magnanimous liberator of Europe;' and hopes are expressed that he will do as much for Africa. It is no doubt greatly to be lamented, that the zeal for Africa and the Abolition, which is said to exist among the Allies, should be confined to those who have neither negroes nor colonies in their possession. But we shall state in one sentence our reason for joining with the author and others, in the confidence that much good may be expected from that high quarter. It is, because we understand it to be the Emperor's design to show all Europe a spectacle truly worthy of admiration, and in reality as much for the common interest as for the advancement of justice and sound principles,—the restoration of Poland to the rank of a separate state, connected with Russia, but enjoying laws and a constitution of its own. †

† The mention of Princes upon this occasion, gives us an opportunity of doing an act of justice to two branches of our own Royal Family, who have upon the recent occasion come forward, as most honourable exceptions to the fact often deplored in this Journal, viz. that all the Princes of the blood, save the Duke of Gloucester, are the avowed and strenuous patrons of the Slave-trade. The Duke of Sussex has nobly declared himself a friend of the Abolition; and we are informed that Lord Grenville held the Duke of Kent's proxy upon his late motion for an address in the House of Lords.—May so bright an example be followed in a family which now stands almost single in its support of this dreadful traffic!—

ART. VII. *A Dictionary of the Malayan Language; in two Parts, Malayan and English, and English and Malayan.* By WM. MARSDEN, F. R. S. Author of the History of Sumatra. Quarto. 1812.

A Grammar of the Malayan Language; with an Introduction and Praxis. By WM. MARSDEN, F. R. S. Author of the Malayan Dictionary, and the History of Sumatra. Quarto. 1812.

It is remarkable, that though European influence was earlier established in the Islands than on the Continent of India, and though this influence has now endured more than three centuries, little or no progress has been made in the knowledge of this interesting region. The language, manners, and government of the petty and savage nations of America, and of the islanders of the South Sea, are, in fact, much better known to us, than those of the comparatively polished millions who inhabit the islands of the East; and it may be averred, that there is no part of the world, of equal interest and value, with which we are so imperfectly acquainted.

The blame of such gross and unpardonable ignorance lies chiefly with the Dutch, who, though so long the unmolested sovereigns of this part of the world, have hardly contributed, in any manner, to the elucidation of its history, literature, or manners. It was in *their* Indian dominions that the incompatible characters of merchant and sovereign were first united, and where the impolicy of this union was most fully displayed. In the true spirit of traders, commercial, political, and judicial duties were alike carried on through the medium of a miserable lingua Franca. Every thing was made the subject of monopoly. With a gross ignorance of human nature, and even of the interest of the taskmaster, the very husbandmen were compelled to produce, at forced rates, almost every article of subsistence; and, while the resources of their policy were exhausted in suppressing the spirit of industry, and lessening its produce, the administration of justice was delegated entirely to the native servants, those very individuals who had already bargained with the government for the forced produce, and into whose hands the people and country were consigned, to enable them to fulfil their bargain! The fruit of these measures was, that when a district was ceded to the Dutch, and they commenced their *forced cultivation*, and *forced deliveries*, it was not unusual, to the disgrace of the European character, to see at once five or six thousand families take refuge in the territories of the native princes.

That literature and science should not have been much encouraged by such a government, will not excite surprise. Yet

the extent of the indifference which it produced may well be regarded as incredible. At the moment of the dissolution of their empire, we are persuaded there was not a single European living acquainted with the Javanese language—the language of at least four millions of people, between whom and the Dutch there had existed a connexion of 200 years, which had given rise to transactions of no mean importance in the history of the republic itself. An equal ignorance prevailed respecting the languages of the populous and commercial nations of the Celebes. The Malay itself hardly fared better. At the period when the dominion of the English was finally established over the Dutch possessions, they could not find one Hollander able to speak and write the language; and still less any acquainted with its literature. At an earlier period of their history, something more of literary curiosity may indeed be descried—though nothing was achieved, even then, which any of the literary nations of Europe would have been very proud to acknowledge.

By the works of the intelligent and philosophical writer which are now before us, we are, indeed, almost compensated for the ignorance and supineness of his predecessors. His History of Sumatra presents a philosophical, interesting, and (we speak from experience) a faithful and accurate picture of the state of society among the natives of the Eastern islands; and we are now presented with a Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay language,—the language of perhaps four or five millions of people, and the medium of connexion between many more. These works are executed in such a style of excellence, as leaves us little room to regret that we possess no other guides to the acquirement of the language. That the task of composing them should have fallen into such hands as Mr Marsden's, we consider as a circumstance equally fortunate for the student and the literary reputation of our country; and one, in which we do not think it extravagant to say, that the natives of these remote islands, if they are to remain under our sway, have a far more important interest than in any of the political revolutions of which they have recently been the objects.

The Malay language, independent of these extensive countries of which it is the mother tongue, is the language of commerce on all the shores of Eastern India; and is very extensively used as that of literature and of correspondence.* From the utter want of this language, however, we found ourselves, when the Dutch colonies came into our possession, nearly in a similar situation as when we made our first conquests on the Con-

* The Javanese is so distinct from the Malay, that these people are not intelligible in the least degree to each other. In the interior of Java, not one native out of 10,000 can speak Malay.

tinent of India, when our ignorance of the native tongues subjected us to constant error and vexation, and oftentimes to serious imposition. But in whatever relations we may stand to the natives of these regions, the acquisition of their language must obviously be of the very first importance; and Mr Marsden's works put it in the power of every individual to acquire a ready and thorough acquaintance with that which is of most general utility, and which is besides the key to all the rest.

Such is the execution of the elementary part of Mr Marsden's Grammar and Dictionary, that he has left little room for criticism. In his grammatical inquiries, he has judiciously thrown off the trammels of European method; and, pursuing the natural order of things, laid down a system of rules as perfect and complete as the nature of the subject will admit. In the Dictionary he has, with great propriety, adhered to the system of orthography prevalent with the best native writers. To the orthography and to the type, perhaps, the best compliment that can be paid is to say, that, upon being shown to natives of the country, they admired the execution, and perused the printed letter with the same facility as their own best manuscripts. The selection of words is copious; and it was not often we met with disappointment in turning up the Dictionary for reference. In the instances where we did, the words were such as belong more to the familiar style of conversation than to the written language; a circumstance which we are inclined to ascribe to the want, on Mr Marsden's part, of a living guide, a want which it is no easy matter to conceive how he supplied. That he should have attained accuracy, precision and copiousness without such assistance, and with scarcely any aid from his predecessors, is a singular proof of the talents and industry which he has brought to the execution of his arduous undertaking.

In the introduction to his Grammar, Mr Marsden has discussed some interesting points respecting the history, religion and antiquities of the countries on whose language he was employed. The recent date of our acquaintance with these subjects, and in a great degree the nature of the subjects themselves, render Mr Marsden much more open to criticism here than in the technical part of his work. The early history and antiquities of all nations are, indeed, the natural province of hypothesis and conjecture; and it is only by a full and free discussion that we can hope to throw some glimmerings of light upon subjects inevitably involved in so much obscurity. The ingenious author whose opinions we are about to canvass, will be among the first, we are convinced, to approve of these sentiments; and we shall not, therefore, hesitate to submit some of his leading doctrines to the test of strict inquiry.

'As a written language,' observes Mr Marsden, 'the Malayan has been cultivated with no inconsiderable degree of care; and, however the dialects, as spoken, may vary from each other in the sound of certain vowels (as will be noticed particularly in the Grammar), or by the adoption of local and barbarous terms from the inland people, or from Europeans, there is a striking consistency in the style of writing, not only of books in prose and verse, but also of epistolary correspondence; and my own experience has proved to me, that no greater difficulty attends the translation of letters from the Princes of the Molucca Islands, than from those of Kedah or Tranggān in the Peninsula, or of Menangkābau in Sumatra. Nor is this uniformity surprising, when we consider that none of the compositions in their present form, can be presumed more ancient than the introduction of the Mahometan religion in the fourteenth, or at soonest the thirteenth century, at which period, the Arabic mode of writing must likewise have been adopted; for although it cannot be doubted that the Malays, as well as the other natives of these countries, made use of a written character previously to that great innovation, yet the general style of composition, must have received a strong tincture from its new dress; and this Arabian garb being similar throughout the different islands, we are naturally led to expect a more marked resemblance in the language so clothed, than in the original nakedness of the oral dialects.

'The antiquity of these dialects, we are entirely without the means of ascertaining, so modern is the acquaintance of Europeans with that part of the East. The earliest specimen we possess, is that furnished by the circumnavigator Pigasetta, the companion of Magellhan, who visited the Island of Tedon in the year 1521; and whose vocabulary, in spite of the unavoidable errors of transcription and printing, accords as exactly with the Malayan of the present day, as those formed by any of our modern travellers; and proves, that no material alteration in the tongue has taken place in the course of three centuries.. In the vocabulary collected by the Dutch navigators at Ternāti in 1599, ('servant de promptuaire à ceux qui y désirent navigeur, car la langue Malayte s'use par toutes les Indes Orientales principalment ez Moluecques'), we equally find an entire identity with the modern dialect.

'Having described the language as confined in general to the sea-coasts of those countries where it is spoken, and consequently as that of settlers or traders, we are naturally led to inquire in what particular country it is indigenous, and from whence it has extended itself throughout the Archipelago. Many difficulties will be found to attend the solution of this question;—partly occasioned by the bias of received opinions, grounded on the plausible assertions of those who have written on the subject; and partly from the want of discriminating between the country from whence the language may be presumed to have originally proceeded, and that country, from whence, at a subsequent period, numerous colonies and commercial adventurers issuing, widely diffused it amongst the islands, whose rich produce

in spices, gold, and other articles, attracted their cupidity. From the Peninsula, especially, where trade is known to have flourished for several centuries with extraordinary vigour, and to have occasioned a correspondent population, these migrations took place; and it was natural for those travellers, who, in early times, visited Johor, Malacca and other populous towns in that quarter, to bestow on it the appellation of the Malayan Peninsula, or (with much less propriety) the Peninsula of Malacca, and to consider it as the mother country of the Malays; which in fact it is with respect to the colonies it has so abundantly sent forth. But subsequent investigation has taught us, that in the Peninsula itself, the Malays were only settlers; and that the interior districts, like those of the islands in general, are inhabited by distinct races of men. Among these, are the *Orang benua*, or *Aborigines*, noticed by Mr Raffles, in his valuable Paper on the *Malayŭ* Nation, printed in the Asiat. Res. vol. XII.

'From the paucity of their numbers, as here described, we are led to remark, that they must have been reduced in an extraordinary degree, either by wars or proselytism, (which tends to confound them with the Malays), since the days of the Portugueze government. I must further take the liberty of observing, with respect to the word *benua*, (as being of importance in the present investigation), that it is entirely unconnected with the Arabic *benī*, "sons, or tribe," from which it cannot be derived by any rule or analogy whatever; but is, on the contrary, a genuine Malayan term, signifying "country, region, land," or one of those radical words, which the Malayan has in common with the East-insular or Polynesian languages, being found not only in the *Bisaya*, and other dialects of the Philippines, but also in the South Sea languages, under the form (differing more in appearance than reality) of "*whenua*," and "*fenua*." To render it applicable to "persons," the word *orang* must be prefixed; and *orang benua* signifies, literally and strictly, "the people of the land," as distinguished from foreign settlers or invaders; and this phrase alone affords no weak proof, (if others were wanting), that the Malays do not regard themselves as the original inhabitants, but as the occupiers only, of the country.

'In the neighbouring island of Sumatra, on the contrary, the kingdom which occupies the central part, and claims a paramount jurisdiction over the whole; which, in ancient times, was of great celebrity, and, even in its ruins, is the object of superstitious veneration with all descriptions of inhabitants; this kingdom of Menangkābau is entirely peopled with Malays; the language there spoken is *Malayan* only; and no tradition exists of the country having ever been inhabited by any other race. So strong, indeed, is the notion of their own originality, that they commence their national history with an account of Noah's flood, and of the disembarkation of certain persons from the ark, at a place between the mouths of *Palembang* and *Jambi* rivers, who were their lineal ancestors; which

belief, however futile, serves to show that they consider themselves as the *Orang benūa*, or people of the soil, *indigenæ non advenæ*.

'From such a Malayan country, rather than from any maritime establishments, which always bear the stamp of colonization, we might be justified in presuming the Malays of other parts to have proceeded in the first instance: But it happens that we are not obliged to rest our opinion upon this reasoning from probabilities; for we have, in support of it, the authority of the native historians of the Peninsula, the most distinguished of whom assert, in positive terms, that the earliest *Malayan* settlers there, by whom the city of Sin͂ga-pūra was founded at *ūjong tanah*, or "the extremity of the land," in the twelfth century, migrated in the spirit of adventure from Sumatra, where they had previously inhabited a district on the banks of the river *Malayu*, said, in the style of mythology, to have its source in the mountain of Mahā-mērū. For some details respecting this emigration, the transactions that succeeded, the expulsion of the Malays from Sin͂ga-pūra, in the reign of their fifth king, *Sri Iskander Shah*, by the forces of the king of *Majapahit*, at that time the principal monarch of Java, their founding the city of Malacca in 1253, and also respecting the connexion still understood to subsist between *Manan͂gkābau*, as the parent state, and that of *Rembau*, a district situated inland of *Malacca*, "the *raja* of which, as well as his officers, receive their authority and appointments from the Sumatran sovereign," I must take the liberty of referring the reader to the history of Sumatra, (ed. 3, p. 325 to 345), in which he will find the authorities for what is here advanced, collected and discussed. It is not, however, to be confidently expected, that an opinion so much at variance with those hitherto prevailing on the subject, will be adopted without further and strict investigation. To the advocates for the superiority of the Malays of the peninsula, and of their language over what they term provincial dialects, I have only to say that it is by no means my intention to contest that superiority, however ideal, which may have been acquired by a more extensive intercourse with other nations, but only to state the grounds for a belief that the generic name of *Malayu*, now so widely disseminated, did not in its origin belong to that country, but to the interior of the opposite island, where, in the neighbourhood of the mountain *Sūn͂gei-pāgū*, so celebrated for its gold mines, and from whence rivers are said to flow towards either coast, it is found as a common appellative at this day, and particularly belongs to the great tribe of *Sūn͂gei-pāgū* Malāyu of whom an account is given in the work of Valentyn, 5 deel, "Beschryvinge van Sumatra." ' p. 13, 14.

The proofs of the origin of the Malays from Menangkabau, above alluded to by Mr Marsden, are contained in the following passages of the history of Sumatra.

'It has hitherto been considered as an obvious truth, and admitted without examination, that wherever they are found upon the numerous islands forming this Archipelago, they (the Malays) or their

ancestors, must have migrated from the country named by Europeans (and by them alone) the Malayan Peninsula, or Peninsula of Malacca, of which the indigenous and proper inhabitants were understood to be Malays: and accordingly, in the former editions of this work, I spoke of the natives of Menangkabau as having acquired their religion, language, manners, and other national characteristics, from the settling among them of genuine Malays from the neighbouring continent. It will, however, appear from the authorities I shall produce, amounting as nearly to positive evidence as the nature of the subject will admit, that the present possessors of the coasts of the Peninsula were, on the contrary, in the first instance, adventurers from Sumatra, who, in the twelfth century, formed an establishment there; and that the indigenous inhabitants, gradually driven by them to the woods and mountains, so far from being the stock from whence the Malays were propagated, are an entirely different race of men, nearly approaching in their physical character to the negroes of Africa.

'The evidences of this migration from Sumatra are chiefly found in two Malayan books, well known, by character at least, to those who are conversant with the written language; the one named *Paju assalatin* or *Maku ta segala raja raja*, The Crown of all Kings; and the other more immediately to the purpose, *Sulalat assalatin*, or *Penuruñ an segala raja raja*, The Descent of all (Malayan) Kings. Of these, it has not been my good fortune to obtain copies; but the contents, so far as they apply to the present subject, have been fully detailed by two eminent Dutch writers, to whom the literature of this part of the East was familiar. Petrus Van der Worm first communicated the knowledge of these historical treatises in his learned Introduction to the Malayan Vocabulary of Guynier, printed at Batavia in the year 1677; and extracts to the same effect were afterwards given by Valentyn, in Vol. V. p. 316–20 of his elaborate work, published at Amsterdam in 1726. The books are likewise mentioned in a list of Malayan authors, by G. H. Werndly, at the end of his *Maleische Spraak-kunst*, and by the ingenious Dr Leyden in his Paper on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations, recently published in Vol. X. of the Asiatic Researches. The substance of the information conveyed by them, is as follows; and I trust it will not be thought that the mixture of a portion of mythological fable in accounts of this nature, invalidates what might otherwise have credit as historical fact. The utmost, indeed, we can pretend to ascertain is, what the natives themselves believe to have been their ancient history: and it is proper to remark, that, in the present question, there can be no suspicion of bias from national vanity, as we have reason to presume that the authors of these books were not Sumatrans.

'The original country inhabited by the Malayan race, (according to these authorities), was the kingdom of *Palembang*, in the island of *Indalus*, now *Sumatra*, on the river *Malayo*, which flows by

the mountain named *Maha-meru*, and discharges itself into the river *Tatang* (on which *Palembang* stands) before it joins the sea. Having chosen for their king, or leader, a prince named *Sri Turi Buwana*, who boasted his descent from *Iskander* the Great,—and to whom, on that account their natural Chief, *Demang Lebar Daun*, submitted his authority,—they emigrated, under his command (about the year 1160) to the south-eastern extremity of the opposite Peninsula, named *Ujong Tanah;* where they were at first distinguished by the appellation of Orang de bawah An'gin, or the Leeward People; but in time, the coast became generally known by that of *Tanah Malayo,* or the Malayan Land.'

Were the historical evidence, here referred to, implicitly to be relied on, the question of the origin of the Malays must necessarily be considered as set at rest;—but the nature of the subject itself, and our recent and yet imperfect knowledge of this part of the East, are such as ought to render our decisions extremely cautious. For our own part, we profess to be of opinion, that the old and generally received notion of the Peninsula being the cradle of the Malay tribes, is supported by evidence, at least as strong as the contrary conclusion of Mr Marsden; and shall proceed to state our reasons, for differing upon this point from a writer so well entitled to dictate upon most subjects of Oriental History.

In the *first* place, we conceive that the traditions of the Malays themselves are altogether undeserving of notice; and that the documents referred to by Mr M., attest nothing more than the recent prevalence of such a tradition. Their imbecility of reason, and their ignorance as to matters of fact, are equally beyond the comprehension of any one accustomed only to European society. Such is the lubricity of their memory, or their incapacity of attention, that they can scarcely ever recount the most simple occurrence, without intermingling some fictitious and marvellous circumstance, which they speedily come most implicitly to believe. To speak of the native history of such a people, therefore, is obviously a mere mockery;—and all the legends they have, are accordingly the most extravagant and puerile fables. It is of still more decisive consequence, however, to observe, that all their productions of this sort, are notoriously and avowedly posterior to the Mahomedan conversion, though relating events two centuries anterior to that period; the narrative of which could only have been handed down through the imperfect medium of tradition;—for there is not the slightest presumption, that they knew any thing of the art of writing before that period. There is not at least the smallest vestige of an ancient alphabet; whilst all their neighbours had one, which they have preserved even after their conversion. They possessed

no era; nay, they seem even to have been ignorant of the ordinary division of time into days, weeks, and years,—a division well known to their less uncivilized neighbours, the Javanese. To oral tradition alone, therefore, could the Malays trust for the preservation of their annals; and in this manner, it is well known the history of a people, for any length of time, has never been transmitted with fidelity. In these circumstances, it is not difficult to discover what we should think, when we find the Mahomedan dates assigned to transactions long antecedent to the introduction of that faith; and which, therefore, must necessarily have been transmitted for centuries in the oral traditions of a people who, even at this day, and after an intercourse of 500 years with strangers far superior to themselves, have so little idea of computation and chronology, that the most enlightened individuals among them are seldom able to tell their own age, or the year of their birth.

In the circumstances under which the migration is said to have taken place, there are, we think, some matters not very reconcileable to probability. We cannot, for example, help considering it as most improbable that an inland people, attached to the soil, and acquainted with agriculture, as the people of Menangkabau evidently were, should, in a country where there was still abundance of unoccupied land, at once change their habits, and undertake a foreign and a maritime emigration. It is scarcely more likely that the colony of a single state, settling in a situation, and under circumstances, not favourable to the increase of the human species, should, in the course of a century or two at most, have overspread and peopled the shores of such various and distant countries. To account for their dissemination, under favourable circumstances, is by no means impossible; but that these favourable circumstances have, at no time, existed among a people so situated as the Malays, we may be fully assured. Their piratical and roving manners, with their distaste for agriculture, must always have rendered their means of subsistence precarious, and their multiplication consequently slow and scanty. They have at present an abundance of new land; their piratical and roving manners are repressed; and yet we know that population is not on the increase. Mr Marsden's own authentic statements confirm this assertion; and from actual observation, the writer of this article has it in his power to assert that, under favourable circumstances, the average number of living children to a marriage is rated highly at 2.

In proof of the antiquity which the inhabitants ascribe to the state of Menangkabau, Mr Marsden quotes a tradition which exists among the people of the district near Palembang, of a

descent upon their coasts by certain persons from Noah's Ark. Surely nothing can be inferred from this, but the gross ignorance and simplicity of those who believe in it. Among every people, however inconsiderable, or recent as a nation, there are to be found some traditions respecting their first origin, which generally refer to some personages of note in their system of religion. One conclusion, however, we may draw with confidence—that among a people who could believe in such a fable, the lapse of a single century must remove all preceding facts much farther from their knowledge or recollection, than ten times the period among a people acquainted with history and chronology. This mythological mode of accounting for the origin of nations, is common amongst all the tribes of the East-insular countries converted to Mahomedanism: and, could the prevalence of such follies establish any thing, it would be, not the ancient, but the modern origin of these tribes, that preposterously ascribe the remotest period of their history to legends with which they have not been above a few centuries acquainted.

We do not think Mr Marsden's definition of the term *Malayu* satisfactory, and beg leave to offer another, which appears to us to be a good deal more probable. That the scattered tribes of various and distant countries, possessing separate governments, and distinct interests, should not, though speaking one language, be recognized among themselves by one name, will not appear extraordinary. In fact, we know, that under such circumstances, each tribe assumes a different appellation. But the more civilized people in their neighbourhood will infallibly give one name to the whole swarm of savages: and the desultory nature of the warfare and attacks by which the Malays infested the peaceable and civilized shores of the empire of Java, seem to us to have induced them to bestow upon these marauders, the term of *Malayu*, which in the Javanese language signifies *to run away*. A term of opprobrium would certainly be given in such circumstances; and we know of none so likely to result from the character of both parties. *

From the geographical position of the tribe of savages called *Orang Binūwa*, or rather from the etymology of their name, Mr Marsden has drawn conclusions, which neither the condition of the people, nor what we imagine the true meaning of the word, appear to us to warrant. The usual Malay word *Binūwa*, seems

* *Malayu* belongs to the language addressed to the lower orders, and means either a Malay, or to run away. *Malajang* is the word addressed to the higher orders, and equally expresses both meanings.—This fact is no weak support to our conjectured etymology.

to us to be most accurately translated 'empire:' Thus, we hear of the Binuwa of China, of Turkey, and of Siam, and also the Binuwa of Kalinga, meaning all India. To smaller divisions of country, we have never heard the term applied; and certainly, on no occasion, to the country of the Malays. *Orang Binūwa* (if the term *Binūwa* was here used in that sense), might be rendered 'the people of the empire;' but not, as Mr Marsden has it, 'the people of the land,' as distinct from foreigners: and accordingly, it is very remarkable, that the Malay states of Queda (Kidah) Patani, Trang-gānu and Pachang, being tributary to Siam, the Siamese, as a distinction from the inhabitants of those tributary states, are denominated *Orang Binūwa*.

But the truth appears to be, that the word *Binūwa* is the proper national name of this race, as *Samang* is of the woolly-hair'd inhabitants of the mountains, and that it resembles, in sound only, the word which is made the subject of so much unprofitable discussion. Our opinion, however, we will confess, goes a good deal farther; for we take the *Orang Binūwa*, and the Malays, to be radically the same people; and ascribe all the peculiarities by which they are distinguished, to the natural operation of the circumstances in which they have been placed.

The *Binūwa* are a race of hunters imperfectly attached to the soil; their means of subsistence are scanty, and their numbers consequently few. The penury and the hardships which attend this mode of life, have rendered them puny and diminutive in their persons. But they seem to us only to differ from the Malays, in such circumstances as may be supposed the effect of fatigue, nakedness, cold and hunger. Their language is a Malay, adapted to the expression of their wants and habits; scanty and imperfect, compared to the improved dialect of the maritime and commercial inhabitants of the coast. As a further illustration of this particular fact, as well as of our general argument, we shall here beg leave to give some account of another race of Aborigines, we think hitherto undescribed in Europe.

This race of Icthyophagi (for so they are), are denominated by the Malays *Orang laut*, or *men of the sea;* because their constant employment is on or near that element, from which they procure nearly their sole subsistence. They inhabit certain of the islands lying off the western coast of Queda, particularly *Pulao Lontar*. Their manners are simple and inoffensive. Agriculture is altogether unknown to them. The inconsiderable portion of rice which enters into their diet, they procure by bartering their fish with the Malays. These people are not yet converted to Mahomedanism; nor is it certainly known that

they have any distinct notions of religion. In person and complexion they differ from the Malays only in the accidental, though general effect, which the peculiarity of their diet produces; covering their body with a scorbutic eruption, such as is found, though less generally, among the Malays themselves. Their language seems to us to differ only in being more simple and primitive. This will appear from the short specimen which we subjoin.

English.	*Malay.*	*Language of the Orang laut.*	*English.*	*Malay.*	*Language of the Orang laut.*
Man	ōrang	ōrang	He	Dīva	Nia
Woman	Pĕrampūan	Bīnī	Good	Bāik	Bājik
Child	Anak	Nānak	White	Pūteh	Pūteh
Father	Bapa	āpong	Black	Itam	Itam
Mother	Ibu	[illegible]	Green	Hījāō	Hījāō
Tree	Pohūn	Pohun	Sky	Lāngit	Lāngit
River	Sūngēi	Sūngei	Lightning	Kalīntār	[illegible]
Sun	Mātāhari	Mātāhāri	Thunder	Gūroh	[illegible]
Moon	Būlan	Bulan	Water	Aīr	Aīū
Sleep	Tīdor	Tidoe	Fire	Apī	Api
I	Aku	Aku	Sea	Laūt	Laut
You	Ĕngkāū	K[illegible]u	God	Allah	

In speaking of the aboriginal nations of the Peninsula, it is not foreign to our subject to give some account of the race of Negro savages who inhabit the interior. These, by the Malays, are denominated *Samāng*. Though of a more diminutive stature, they have the woolly hair, the jetty black skin, the thick lip and flat nose which characterize the African. The Malays distinguish them into the Samangs of the lower lands, who, from their vicinity to the Malays themselves, have borrowed some slender portion of civilization; and into the Samangs of the mountains, whom they represent as in the very lowest stage of savage existence. The former have fixed habitations, plant a small quantity of rice, and barter, with the Malays, for food or even clothes, the rosin, the bees-wax, and the honey of their forests. The latter present the uniform picture of the hunter's life. They are divided into many petty communities, who are at constant war with each other. They go entirely naked, and are said to have no fixed habitation, wandering through their deep forests in quest of roots and game, and taking shelter from the weather under the first tree that offers a shade, or in the most convenient bush or thicket. Their language differs much from Malay. In elucidating the history of the latter people, it is necessary that this circumstance should be ascertained. With this view, as well as to enable the learned to form some conjecture concerning the obscure history of these strange tribes, we submit a specimen of their language, the first, we believe, that has ever been presented to the public.

English.	*Language of the Samang.*	*English.*	*Language of the Samang.*
Sun	Mitkatŏh	Red	Tāhun
Moon	Kāchik	Green	Blōūa
Star	Bintīng	Be	Wil
Man	Tanākal	Able	Jud
Woman	Bādŏn *	Will	Māhduh
Old woman	Mūniah	Come	Badih
Old man	Kamūlil	Order	Tūhwuh
Child	Wūng	Take	Māhkin
Mother	Nāh	Bring	Yūvi
Father	Āi	This	Tūdeh
Grandfather	Yah	That	Tu-ūn
Sky	Kāil	Here	Būdiyah
Ground	Tīk	There	Padik tū-ūn
Water	Bāhyo †	Go	Chūp
Fire	Ūs	Come	Pil
Wind	Bŏyāk	Was	Lāwik
Buffaloe	Kibāū ‡	Done	Yah
Elephant	Gājah	Beat	Chung
Cow	Sāpi	Hang	Gantūng
Rhinoceros	Hĕmp	Tie	Ikat
Tiger	Tāyu	Kill	Bunoh
Snake	Ikŏp	Foot	Chān
Domestic fowl	Mānok §	Hand	Chās
Deer	Kăak	Head	Kĭwi
Bird	Gāwao	Eye	Mūt
Oil	Kūpīt	Nose	Fidūng
Bees-wax	Sĕl	Ear	Āntung
Day	Chihēl	Mouth	Hān
Night	Hamăd	Belly	Chūng
Stone	Batŭh	Back	Hīyuh
Hill	Mittabīng	Tooth	Nīyūs
Mountain	Gūnūng	Nail	Kalākut
Fruit	Kābūt	Bone	Āīng
Sour	Pachas	House	Hāmiah
Sweet	Gāhut	Yam	Hūbik
Bitter	Gādek	Above	Kēpīng
Black	Blātīng	Below	Kīyūm
White	Platas		

Among the words here set down, a few are common to the Malays and Samangs. These, it is probable, are not indige-

* This is Javanese, changing the *b* for *w*—which is often done in Malay.

† This is also Javanese, with a very little variation.

‡ This is exactly Javanese.

§ This, in Javanese, is the term for birds in general.

ness with the latter, but borrowed by those tribes in the vicinity of the Malays, who have received some portion of the arts and civilization of the latter.

We shall here beg leave to observe, that a race of mountaineers resembling the *Samang*, are found in various parts of the Continent of India, in the island of Borneo, and in that of Amboyna, whose history is not less obscure. But to consider such a scanty remnant of naked savages as the sole aborigenes of these countries, to the exclusion of the great bulk of their civilized population, seems to us, we will confess, a very wild and ungrounded conjecture; and the hypothesis which would exclude the Malays in favour of the naked Samang, would, in our opinion, be equally extravagant.

Admitting the Malays to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Peninsula, it may be asked, by what steps they have advanced to their present situation in civil society, and under what circumstances their manners have been moulded into a shape which has attracted the surprise of travellers, and struck merchants and navigators with terror and dismay? An attempt to solve this question, will illustrate the character of the people, and at the same time leave us many grounds for believing that the Peninsula of Malacca was the cradle of that extraordinary people, who, by emigration, and the natural course of events, have spread themselves over all the coasts of the East-insular regions. From so rude a people it were in vain to expect any historical records of their progress in society. It is only by a careful observation of their manners and language,—a comparison of them with those of the surrounding countries,—and an attention to the physical circumstances under which we may presume they were placed, that we can hope to form any rational theory concerning their history and origin.

The Peninsula of Malacca is a long and narrow strip of land, nearly covered by a deep and almost impenetrable forest. A range of bleak and scarce habitable mountains runs through it from one extremity to the other. This gives rise to innumerable streams that fall into the sea on each side, so that the country abounds in water. The forests here, as in most parts of the East, from their great luxuriance, are unfavourable to the production of animals, and game is consequently scarce and difficult to be procured. The soil is not remarkable for its fertility; but the seas and rivers afford an abundant supply of excellent fish. *

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* It is extraordinary that the soil of Sumatra and the Malay peninsula should be remarkably sterile, while that of Java, so contiguous to both, exceeds in fertility, from all accounts, that of any

In a country thus situated, it will not be difficult to conjecture what mode of existence would be adopted by its first inhabitants. They would become fishers, instead of hunters shepherds and husbandmen; and this peculiarity in their primitive way of life would affect all their subsequent history. The pursuits of the fisherman are obviously akin to those of the mariner; and the skill and intrepidity at first necessary to procure a subsistence, would ultimately be the parents of that enterprize which would urge the savage to attempt the ocean, and impart to foreign countries the exuberance of his own rash population. The sterility of their soil, and the habits they had formed,—the vicinity of many countries similar to their own, which, to such men, would hardly appear foreign,—would naturally induce them to emigrate. Men who do not till the earth, indeed, are uniformly disposed to emigration, and are little attached to any country. They soon acquire a roving and predatory disposition, which delights in war and enterprize. Such, accordingly, is the known character of the Malays; and, by attending to the causes and circumstances now stated, it will be no difficult matter to account for the present appearance of their tribes, scattered in small communities over the remote coasts and islands of the East, yet preserving an extraordinary uniformity of manners. Had any of the lands in which they settled been of great fertility, or had their migrations been repressed by a scarcity of new lands, their civil polity would, in all probability, have assumed a different character; and, instead of a people split into a number of petty communities, the Malays would, in all likelihood, have been one great people, united, like all their powerful neighbours, under a single head.

Their intercourse with the Arabs, and the introduction of the Mahomedan law and religion, have undoubtedly contributed to humanize their manners, and give them better notions of justice and the right of property. Their commercial intercourse

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country in the world. Mr Marsden's evidence is conclusive regarding the barrenness of Sumatra; and the residents of Pulo Pinang and the opposite shore, to their cost, bear witness to that of those countries. Of the fertility of Java, on the contrary, it is a sufficient proof that sugar cane, tobacco, and other plants which, in the richest districts of India, require an abundant supply of manure, are there raised in greater perfection, without any assistance of that description. It is to this difference in the soil that the superior population and more early improvement of Java are chiefly to be ascribed. The easy and abundant supply of food which it enabled the inhabitants to obtain, gave them leisure to search for arts and comforts, while the half-starved natives of the neighbouring countries would be struggling for existence.

with Europeans, Indians and Chinese, has also contributed to the same effect; and the naval power and superiority of Europeans in these seas has, no doubt, tended to repress their lawless piracies and depredations. The effect of these circumstances has indeed been so great, that the Malays are certainly no longer the bold, enterprizing and terrible race of buccaneers they are once represented to have been. * The authority of law and justice is still, indeed, but very imperfectly established amongst them; the trading vessels that visit their ports must still be armed, and, notwithstanding this precaution, are not unfrequently cut off, and their crews murdered with circumstances of singular atrocity.

But the early manners and character of the Malays were not solely formed by the agency of the physical circumstances under which they were placed; they seem to have made advances in arts and civilization not naturally resulting from their station in society, and which they must necessarily have owed to a people far superior to themselves in the improvements of social life. Their language, and the remains of their ancient religion and institutions, contain the most satisfactory evidence of such a connexion with foreigners. Upon its nature and probable history, we differ a good deal in opinion from Mr Marsden, whose sentiments we shall in the first instance quote, as well on account of their intrinsic merit, as that the reader may be put in possession of every light, in a path of inquiry as novel as it is dark and intricate.

'We shall now direct our attention,' says Mr Marsden, 'to those accessory tongues from whence the Malayan acquired such a degree of improvement, as removed it from the general level of the other cognate dialects, and gave it a decided predominance in that part of the East. Of these the earliest, as well as the most important, appears to have been, either directly or mediately, that great parent of Indian languages, the *Sanskrit*, whose influence is found to have pervaded the whole of the Eastern (and perhaps also of the Western) world, modifying and regenerating even where it did not create. That the intercourse, whatever its circumstances may have been, which produced this advantageous effect on the Malayan, must have taken place at an early period, is to be inferred not only from the deep obscurity in which it is involved, but also from the nature of the terms borrowed, being such as the progress of civilization must soon have rendered necessary; expressing the feelings of the

* By far the most faithful description of Malay manners is to be found in a book called *Hang Tuah*, which is a narrative of the adventures of the celebrated Laksimana, who opposed Albuquerque and his Portuguese. The wild and barbarous character of the Malays is here depicted with naked truth.

mind, the most obvious moral ideas, the simplest objects of the understanding, and those ordinary modes of thought which result from the social habits of mankind; whilst, at the same time, it is not to be understood, as some have presumed to be the case, that the affinity between these languages is radical, or that the latter is indebted to any Hindū dialect for its names for the common objects of sense. It is proper also to remark, that in some instances the words so borrowed do not preserve the exact signification they bear in the original, but acquire one more specific; as saktī, which in Sanscrit denotes "power," is restricted in Malayan to "supernatural power;" and pūtra, signifying a son, is applied only to the "son of a royal personage."

'When in a paper, written in the year 1798, I pointed out "the traces of the Hindu language and literature extant amongst the Malays," I presumed the discovery to be original; but soon learned that I had been anticipated in my observation by the revered president and founder of the Asiatic Society, who, in his Eighth Anniversary Discourse, had already made the remark, that "without any recourse to etymological conjecture, we discover that multitudes of pure Sanscrit words occur in the principal dialects of the *Sumatrans.*" Justice, however, to our predecessors in the study of Oriental languages, requires me to state, that in the preface to the Vocabulary of Heurnues, it is distinctly mentioned, that beside several words adopted from the neighbouring dialect of Java, the Malayan is largely indebted to those of Hindustan, and especially to the Sanscrit or sacred language of the Brahmans.

'An investigation of the period when, and the means by which so copious and useful a class of words was incorporated with some of the rude East-insular dialects, is a subject worthy of the talents of those able scholars whose inquiries, directed to the attainment of genuine historical and philological truth, adorn the pages of the Asiatic Researches. From the Malays themselves, or their writings, it is to be apprehended that little information respecting facts of so ancient a date can now be procured; and if the books of Hindūs are equally silent, we must be content to extract our knowledge from the sober examination of intrinsic evidence. With this in view, I must here take the liberty of observing, that much fallacious inference appears to have been drawn from the resemblance of the Sanscrit term *Malaya*, to the name of the people of whom we are speaking, which has induced some persons, whose authority carries great weight with it, to consider the *Malaya dwīpa* as denoting the Malayan peninsula. But with all due deference, on a point where my opinion must rest upon a comparison of those passages in the Researches or other published works in which the term occurs, I think it will be found to belong exclusively to the *mountainous* region in the southern part of the peninsula of India, known in the provincial dialect of the country by the name of *Malayalām*, as is the language by that of *Maleāma*; all being derivatives from the word *Malè*, signifying "a mountain."

'The most obvious mode in which we might presume the language of a more civilized to have been communicated to a ruder people, whose soil abounds with valuable productions, is that of commercial intercourse; and we find accordingly, that when Europeans first visited the Malayan ports, they describe them as being crowded with vessels from the coasts of Guzerat, Malabar, and Coromandel; and with merchants from thence, as well as from all other parts of the East, established on shore, and occupying their respective *kampongs*, or quarters in the *bazars*. From such habitual residence, and the familiarity it must occasion, there is no doubt but that many words, convenient for the purposes of trade, may have been introduced, as in later days, from the connexion with Europeans themselves; and it would not be fair to deny, that many others, of a more general nature, might, in the same manner, have found their way. But when we pay attention to the terms which actually constitute this portion of the Malayan, and which, in the Dictionary, are distinguished by their proper character, we shall perceive that, for the most part, they not only belong to a class of ideas superior to what the transactions of the *bazar* would require, but also, in respect to their form and pronunciation, are stamped with the mark of the purest days of the *Sanskrit*, undebased by the corruptions of its provincial dialects; as may be instanced in the conversion of the letter *y* into *j* in the language of Bengal; *yug* being there pronounced *jug*, and *yojana* (a geographical term adopted by the Malays) pronounced *jugan*. For its possessing this latter quality, I have (and trust I may long have) the living authority of Mr Wilkins as well as that of the writings of Sir William Jones. Even Dr Leyden, though rather an unwilling witness, admits that "the Sanscrit vocables adopted in *Malayu* and *Guzerati*, are generally preserved purer in the former than in the latter;" and again, that "in many instances, the *Malayu* form approaches nearer the pure *Sanscrit* than even the *Bali* itself."

'This *Bali* or *Pali*, the sacred language of Ava and Siam, has by some been supposed, from its geographical proximity, the most likely channel through which the Hindu terms, (being itself a dialect of Sanscrit), might have flowed into the Malayan countries; but independently of the preceding objection, we may ask whether it is probable that, from the circumstance of mere vicinage, the occult and mysterious language of one country should become popular in another, whilst the ordinary language spoken by the bulk of the people should not have made any similar progress. But in fact we have strong grounds for believing, that the Malayan tongue had already received its accession of Sanscrit terms, before the spreading of its population towards the north brought it into contact with the southern dominions of Siam; and since that period the two nations have almost ever been at variance. From these considerations, I should strongly incline to coincide in opinion with Dr Leyden, who had studied the language, that "the greater part of the words of Sanscrit origin found in *Malayu*, do not appear to have been introduced through

the medium of the Bali." Yet as the discovery of truth, and not the support of any system, is my object, I shall produce a document lately come to my hands, which will be thought of much importance in the future discussion of this question, and add materially to the argument of those who shall contend that the Bali or Pali has had a principal share in contributing to the dissemination of the Hindū language and mythology of the Eastern Islands. This document is a letter from Mr A. Couperus, a servant of the late Dutch East India Company, and a distinguished member of the Batavian philosophical society, addressed to my friend Mr Charles Holloway of Bencoolen, (from whom I received it), accompanied with two well executed drawings made from stone images of *Siva* or *Mahadeva*, and *Bhavani*, under the appellations of *Bhairava* and *Batū-Bharavè*, and also with copies of long inscriptions carved upon the back of these or similar images. The characters and language of the inscriptions are stated to be equally unknown to the natives of the interior of *Java* (where they were found), and to the Brahmans of Bengal, to whom he had shown them. But upon examination the characters prove to be no other than the square *Pali*, considered as sacred in the *Birma* or *Ava* country, and in *Siam*. Of this my late worthy and ingenious friend Col. M. Symes, in his account of an embassy to Ava, gives a specimen, taken from a beautiful manuscript containing an account of the ceremony used in the consecration of *rhahaans* or priests; which Pali manuscript he afterwards presented to Earl Spencer, and is now in the magnificent library of that nobleman. Being myself so fortunate as to possess an original alphabet, and other materials for ascertaining the language of the inscriptions, I hope (with the aid of Mr Wilkins) to succeed in translating them; and, although not so sanguine as Mr Couperus in the expectation of discovering important historical documents, to be enabled at least to determine whether the *Pali* was, in ancient times, employed as the sacred or learned language of Java also. Images of the same kind brought from Balambaang, at the southern extremity of the island, and opposite to that of *Bali*, I remember to have seen in *Sumatra*; but these were without inscriptions, and did not at the time excite any particular attention. I have lately been informed that the officers commanding our troops in Java have frequently recognized in their marches, figures (especially of Ganesa) to which they had been familiarly accustomed on the continent of India, and that no opportunities have been lost of making drawings of these, as well as *fac-similes* of ancient characters, wherever they have been discovered.

' " It is needless (says Dr Leyden) to adduce further instances of the connexion of Malayan with Bengáli (from which, in truth, it is more remote than any other Sanskrit derivative), as the Malay history, and the language itself, exhibit traces sufficiently clear, to direct us to the region with which the Malays had the most frequent intercourse at an early period, and from which their language seems to have received the most considerable modifications,—and that is the ancient kingdom of *Kalinga*. Here I am again under

the necessity of dissenting from Mr Marsden's opinion. He says, "It is evident, that from the *Telinga* or the *Tamul*, the Malayan has not received any portion of its improvement." I apprehend that the express reverse of this opinion is evident; for the Malays at this very period know the Coromandel Coast by no other name than *Tanna Keling*, the land of Keling or Kalinga: A multitude of compositions current among them profess to be translations from the *Basa-keling*, or Kalinga language; and the Malayu language contains a great number of words, that are *Tamul*, *Malayalam*, and *Telinga*, though neither *Sanscrit*, *Hinduvi*, nor *Guzerati*; and a variety, that are only to be found in *Telinga*, the vernacular tongue of the *Kalinga desa*." Had Dr Leyden favoured us with a list, however short, of these words, borrowed from the *Telinga* or *Tamul*, which have no relation to the *Sanscrit*, it would have given considerable weight to his assertion: As it is, I can only say, that such have very rarely occurred in my limited examination of those languages. The word *kappal*, "a ship," which I find in a *Tamul* vocabulary, is obviously the کڤل of the Malays. *Lavanguna*, the *Telinga* word for "cloves," can be no other than *lawang*, or *bun̄ga lāwang*; but surely in this instance it must be with the cultivator, and not the consumer, that the word originated. I should almost venture to say the same of *padaua*, or *padavu*, "a boat," which has a manifest affinity to *prau* or *parau*; for how can we suppose, that these islanders should borrow the most common term for their small sailing vessels from the people of a distant continent? The words *rāgam*, modes in music; *logam*, imaginary divisions of the universe; *kulam*, a pond; *manikam*, a precious stone, have evident marks of their importation from the *Kalinga Dēsa* or *negrī kling*; but they are at the same time a barbarous form of Sanscrit; and their number, I think, could not be doubled in the pages of the Malayan Dictionary. The extensive commercial intercourse by *Kling* (*Telinga* or Coromandel) vessels, between the ports of the continent of India, and those of *Achin*, *Malacca*, and others in the Straits, is matter of notoriety; and it is likewise admitted, that many translations of *Hindu* stories have been made through the medium of the languages of the Peninsula; but it does not necessarily follow, that the Malayan "received its most considerable modifications" from that quarter. It must be observed, that the *Tamul*, *Telinga*, and *Kanari*, (all essentially one tongue), are radically different from the *Sanscrit*; although from the abundant infusion of religious and poetical terms, they have not uncommonly been mistaken for its derivatives; and if it were to the traders of the Coromandel or Malabar coasts, that it was indebted for its improvement, the words so communicated would obviously have belonged in greater numbers to the radical or vulgar portion of the language, than to the learned; and even the *Sanscrit* terms that might have found their way along with these, would have been affected by the peculiarities of orthography and pronunciation, which distinguish the *Telinga* from other corruptions; and which, in fact, are observable in a few instances. But Dr Leyden

himself bears testimony to the superior purity of those adopted by the Malays; and with respect to their number, he says (somewhat gratuitously) that a list of about fifteen examples, given by me as a specimen, "might, with very little labour, have been extended to fifteen hundred, or perhaps five thousand." Upon assertions of this nature, the columns of the Dictionary form the best comment.

'The strongest argument, however, against the probability of commerce having exerted so powerful an influence, and produced an effect so extensive, is to be drawn from the nature of the words themselves, which are not confined to the names of things, but more usually express moral feelings, intellectual qualities, or ideas connected with mythology. Can it be supposed that mercantile visitors should have taught these people to denote "joy" and "sorrow" by the terms *suka-chita*, and *duka chita*; "understanding," by *budi*; "prudence," by *bijaksana*; "loyalty," by *satiya*; "kindred," by *kula-wanga*; "time," by *kala*; "cause," by *karana*, or "penance," by *tapa*? Much less can we persuade ourselves that the Sanscrit names of cities, districts, and mountains in the interior of the country, (particularly of *Java*), should have been imposed by strangers of this description. Innovations of such magnitude, we shall venture to say, could not have been produced otherwise than by the entire domination and possession of these Islands by some ancient Hindū power, and by the continuance of its sway during several ages. Of the period when this state of things existed, we at present know nothing; and in judging of their principles of action by what we witness in these days, we are at a loss to conceive under what circumstances they could have exerted an influence in distant countries, of the nature here described. The spirit of foreign conquest does not appear to have distinguished their character; and zeal for the conversion of others to their own religious faith, seems to be incompatible with their tenets. We may, however, be deceived by forming our opinion from the contemplation of modern India, and should recollect that previously to the Mahometan irruptions into the upper provinces, which first took place about the year 1000, and until the progressive subjugation of the country by Persians and Moghuls, there existed several powerful and opulent Hindū states, of whose maritime relations we are entirely ignorant at present, and can only cherish the hope of future discoveries, from the laudable spirit of research that pervades and does so much honour to our Indian establishments.'

That the remains of superstition and other traces of *Hindu* occupancy should now be less frequently discernible in *Sumatra*, than in *Java* or *Bali* (where the practice of the wife's burning on the pile of her husband, and other peculiar customs still subsist), may be the consequence of the earlier and more general prevalence of the Mahometan religion in the former island; or, it may be fair to conclude, as well from the number of idols found in the latter, as from the Sanscrit terms abounding in the court language of *Java*, that it, rather than *Sumatra*, may have

been the principal seat of these Hindū colonial possessions. To this supposition, a strong colour is given by the ancient, though fabulous history, of which we find a translation in the Transactions of the Batavian Society. The genealogy of the sovereigns of Java is there deduced from *Batara* Wisnu, (Avatara Vishnu), who was their first king of the race of *dewas*, as distinguished from that of mere men. That by the former of these we should understand the Hindu rulers of the island, who may have been *brahmans*, and by the latter, the native princes of the country, will not be thought an improbable conjecture; and may serve to explain a distinction, not otherwise reconcileable to common sense. We may further observe, that this mixture of mythology with history, being highly favourable to the composition of romances, not only the *Javans* but the Malays also, notwithstanding their Mahometan prejudices, have been fonder of laying the scenes of their adventures amongst the *Dewas* and *Rakshahas*, than amongst the *malekat* and *jin* (angels and demons) of their more recent superstition.

The most singular circumstance connected with this inquiry, is the fact, that the Sanscrit language, unmixed with any modern dialect of which it is a part, and apparently in a state of original purity, forms an integral part of the Malay. The history of a revolution, which imparted to these distant barbarians the language and religion of India, is necessarily involved in great obscurity; yet we think such lights may be thrown upon the subject as will enable us to form a rational theory, sufficient to account for so extraordinary a fact, without violating probability, or the known habits and manners of the people concerned.

We shall here beg leave to quote an opinion which we offered on this subject, in our review of Dr Leyden's essay on the literature of Hindu-Chinese nations. The words in which our sentiments were delivered, were as follow: 'The people of Java, (or the Isle of Barley, * as we think Ptolemy calls it, and as the word really signifies in Sanscrit), by a connexion of commerce or conquest with Hindustan, and by the adoption of its religion, early acquired gentler propensities; and by their victories and traffic in the islands to the eastward, disseminated, in unequal portions, a tincture of civilization and of the arts.'

The Malay language appears to us to have received its influx of Sanscrit words from the Javanese; and along with it, as might be expected, a great portion of words purely Javanese. The

* One is at a loss to know, why Java should be called the Isle of Barley; for the grain is unknown to the Javanese, and will not grow in any part of the Island, except in a few cold and mountainous tracts where it has been cultivated through the curiosity of a few Europeans.

fact, we think, can be fully proved by a comparative view of the manners and language of the two nations, which we now propose giving.—We shall begin by offering a short view of the state of society among the Javanese.

The great Island of Java, as already observed, is a country of extraordinary fertility, and highly populous. The people throughout, speak the same language, and have the same manners, habits, and customs. History and tradition relate, that they were once united under one sovereign; a fact, which, without any historical aid, the present state of their manners and institutions, and the internal evidence of their language, would fairly entitle us to suppose. The form of government among the Javanese is despotic, and answers indeed to the most abstract idea of unlimited, uncontrouled power. The will of a Javanese prince is literally law; and there exists neither civil nor religious institutions to oppose a barrier to it. Among the people, there are no hereditary ranks or distinctions;—the monarch's smile, may raise the humblest peasant to the first rank in the empire, and his frown can level the highest with the meanest of the people. He is heir to all his subjects; and the land in particular, is his exclusive property. Whatever doubts may be raised as to the extent or existence of this royal prerogative, in other parts of the East, there can be no question with regard to it in Java. Large tracts of territory, are familiarly given one day, and resumed the next; and neither grant nor occupation can give a subject the remotest claim to a permanent property. Portions of land are given in place of salaries to the officers of Government, which are resumed at pleasure. So fluctuating, indeed, is the possession of such gifts, that hardly, in any instance, are lands at present held by the heirs of those who occupied them 30 years ago.

When a subject comes into the presence of his prince, he assumes the most abject position, rather crawling than walking, both in approaching and withdrawing.* Instead of showing, as with us, his respect by the decency of his attire, however high his rank, he anxiously displays the relative meanness of his condition, by appearing in a state of half naked raggedness. His language corresponds with his dress. He speaks to his monarch with an awe and reverence approaching to adoration; and, far from recommending himself by the elegance or propriety of his discourse, his language is that of an ignorant and abject slave, who not unfrequently mimics some barbarous and provincial idiom, to express more emphatically the immeasurable inequality of his

* In these parts of the world, to sit, and not to stand, is the posture of respect. An inferior never presumes to stand in presence of a person of higher rank.

condition. Though there exists no hereditary rank, which would in fact be incompatible with the unbounded prerogatives of the prince, yet the Javanese are not without their titles of nobility. These are conferred during pleasure; but, notwithstanding, carry with them extraordinary privileges,—in other words, extensive power to do mischief. In proportion to their degree, they command the obedience and veneration of the superstitious people, who consider them as so many emanations of the omnipotence of royalty, and venerate them accordingly.

The people and the privileged orders, thus placed at a wide interval from each other, divide the community into two distinct classes; and so marked and inveterate is this humiliating distinction, that it has affected the genius of the Javanese language to a degree, which, without the most positive testimony, we should have thought incredible. The privileged individuals, literally speak one tongue, and the plebeian another. These are in fact so different, that they may be called two distinct languages; and are certainly much more unlike than any two dialects of the same European tongue. The man of rank would think himself degraded by using the language of the inferior classes; and it would be a dangerous presumption in the latter, to assume the language appropriated to his masters. This extraordinary fact is exemplified in the following specimens of the Javanese language.

English.	*Language of the Vulgar.*	*Language of the Nobles.*	*English.*	*Language of the Vulgar.*	*Language of the Nobles.*
Sun	Sūryo	Srangēngē	Who?	Sēntan	Sōpō
Moon	Wūlan	Rambūlan	Who	īngkang	Sēng
	Sāsi		With	Kāli	Kāroh
Man	Tīyang	Huwōng	From	Tākīng	Takō
Woman	ēstri	Wādow	I	Kūlo	ākū
A man	Jālir	Lānag	Thou	Sampēyan	Kōwē
Tree	Kājang	Kāyū	One	Satgūnggīl	Si'ji'
River	Lēpen	Kāli'	Two	Kāleh	Lūro
Hill	Raddi'	Gūnūng	Three	Tīgō	Tilu
Fire	Brōmō	Ganni'	Four	Sakāwān	Pāpāt
Water	Tōyō	Bānyū	Five	Gangsāl	Līmō
Buffalo	Māısu	Kábu	Go	Kēsak	Lūngo
Cow	Limbū	Sāpi	Run	Malājang	Malāyū
Horse	Kāpāl	Jāiān	Catch	Chapang	Chakal

But the distinction here stated, though the most general, is not the only one which obtains. The distinction of language is still more nicely adapted to the different gradations of rank; and, with regard to the sovereign in particular, in a variety of instances, he makes use of one language, and is spoken to in another, both exclusively appropriated to himself.

The Javanese language, besides these strange effects produced

upon it by the constitution of society, carries with it the marks of a copiousness flowing from other sources, probably from the union of many dialects in one, and apparently a long cultivation, affording strong presumption of considerable antiquity. The spoken language of the vulgar and of the chiefs both abound in synonymes; and there are innumerable others, which belong exclusively to the written language, or occur in discourse only in the combinations which are used to form the names of distinguished persons or places. Such a peculiarity is, we imagine, conclusive of the antiquity of the language; and its existence may fairly be adduced as a proof that the Javanese have long emerged from that infant stage of society in which the wants are few, the ideas circumscribed, and the language meagre and scanty. Words of this class are denominated *Kawi*, meaning, what is scarce, or not known to many. Though these be appropriated to the written language, yet that by no means consists exclusively of Kawi words; for every description of dialect, without exception, is occasionally admitted; and it therefore follows, that, in many respects, the written language of Java is one of the most copious in the world. We shall beg leave to offer a specimen.

'The Sun, which is expressed by the words *Sūryo* and *Srangēngē*, in the two spoken dialects, is known, in *Kawi*, by all these additional appellations—Hārko, Bagaspātī, Rāwī, Bardōngōpātī, Dēwangkōro, Radatiyo, Bārkōrō, Sarrēngōno.—In the same way, King or Sovereign, which in the ordinary noble and plebeian languages is rendered by *Rātū* and *Nalendro*, branches into Norōnōtō, Nōtō, Srībopāti, Narpātī, Rātōng, Rōjō, Rājōng, Prāhú, Nōrōdipo, Nārpō, Dēwāji.—Woman, usually called *Estri* and *Wadon*, becomes Wanūdyō, Sāngrātro, Dīyah, Dēwi, Wanito, Sūgi, Sōri, Prāmeswari, Sangārūm, Sangsinom, Galuh, Sagingrum.—Man, *Tūjang*—*Uwōng*, becomes Manūso, Jālmo, Jalmi.—Hill, *Redi*—*Gūnūng*, becomes Pārmōto, Chōlō, Gīrī, Ngāldōkō, Hēmāwān, ēndrō.—Land, *Sīti*—*Limah*, becomes Pārtolo, Pārtimi, Kērmō, Bāwono, Bīmtōlo, Būmi.'

From all these circumstances, we think it may be fairly inferred, that the Javanese are a people of no inconsiderable antiquity, and who had made a progress in the arts of social life far beyond that of all their rude and savage neighbours, whose language, manners and institutions, afford no such marks of antiquity. From the bare existence of such an improved and consequently powerful community, surrounded by such barbarous neighbours, we should be warranted in concluding, that it would be easy to trace its influence in the language and institutions of its inferiors. We think it demonstrable, accordingly, that it is through this channel that the Malays have received almost all that distinguishes them from savages. The affinity of the two languages, at any rate, is quite indisputable; as may be perceived

at once from the following short selection from words which are common to both tongues.

Dātang	*In Javanese signifies* Come	*In Malay* Come
Dātu	Priest	Nobleman
Dādo, Dāda	Breast	Breast
Dārat	Dry land	Dry land
Dāgāng	A merchant	A stranger, a merchant
Dimāng	A steward, or superintendant	A governor
Bārāt	Wind	West
Wāyang	A shadow, deception, a puppet	Theatrical exhibition
Hāndi, āndi	Like, as	A simile
ūndāng	A public order, a proclamation	Laws, statutes
Hēstri, ēstri	A woman	Wife
Pūtro or Pitra	A son	A prince, or king's son
Pitāng	Dark	Evening, or dusk of evening.
ūpās	Poison	A poisonous juice, extracted from certain vegetables
Bāngāt	Very, exceedingly	Sudden, hasty
Mānkat	To go	To die.
Rōjo, Rāja	King (generally applied to foreign princes)	King. It is the only word in Malay to express a sovereign prince; while we can enumerate more than ten in Javanese.
Mānku būmi	A title of one of the king's sons or brothers	Vizier
Pāngōwo, Pangāwa	A follower, A companion	An officer, warrior, lord
Hūlū	First	Source, handle
Hūlūbālāng	Title of a military officer	A champion
Pāngēran	A title usually conferred only upon the sons or brothers of the reigning prince.	The title of certain feudal chiefs in Java and the southern parts of Sumatra.

The words which in this way are common to both languages, are extremely numerous; but it is of more consequence to observe that the Malay, if deprived of their aid, would be reduced to the meagre jargon of savages; while in the Javane, (such is its extraordinary copiousness), the loss would hardly be perceived. From this fact alone, it is impossible not to conclude, that the poorer language borrowed from the richer and more cultivated one.

The influence of Javanese manners and customs upon the Malays, is also very discoverable; and their political institutions, in particular, seem borrowed from Java. A monarchical and despotic government seems, everywhere out of Europe, the natural condition of all powerful and numerous societies—and a sort of republican federation that of all weak and absolutely savage communities. But the Malays, though divided into a number of petty communities, and still leading a roving and predatory life, have established a monarchical and despotic government. In such circumstances, it is difficult not to conclude that this singularity must have had its origin in a connexion with some powerful foreign state; and the striking similarity of the form of government among the Malays and Javanese, will lead us at once to refer this connexion to Java. In both governments, the prince is absolute; he is accosted and approached in the same reverential manner. The very words of the language in which he is addressed, are generally the same; the names of his officers, and the nature of their office are alike; and all those particulars, which are most singular in the description, are carried to a degree of extravagance by the Javanese, which leaves us little room to doubt but that the Malays are their imitators.

On the proofs which the history or tradition of the people give of this connexion, it will be expected that we should offer some observations; but to the historical records of such a people, it would be ridiculous to refer with any confidence. At the same time, it may be observed, that the Javanese annals give accounts of political relations having subsisted between the states of Pajagārān and Mōjōpahit in Java, with those of Menangkabau, Singapura, and Palēmbang in Sumatra, and with Sakadana and Bānjar in Borneo; and the fact seems confirmed by the present condition of several of the neighbouring islands, where at this day the written language, as well as the language of the court, are Javanese; though the indigenous dialect of these Islanders be entirely different. This observation applies to Madura, Bali, Sumbawa, and Lombok, which once constituted part of the dominions of the princes of Mojopahit.

The literature, not only of these countries, but the whole of Malay literature, is borrowed from that of Java; and in fact is made up of translations or rather paraphrases from the Javanese. Among the Malays there are not perhaps a dozen original compositions; and of performances borrowed from other than Javanese sources, they have only a few tracts of Mahomedan instruction, and some inconsiderable translations from the Kalinga. Every learned Malay, on being interrogated respecting the source of

his national literature, points at once to Java. From the internal evidence of the writings themselves, indeed, their Javanese origin is incontestably proved. Every one of them may be traced at once to its Javanese original, and identified by an entire agreement in the title of the performance, the subject, the names of the agents, and the scenes of action, which are uniformly laid in Java. In performances of this description too, many Javanese words occur, which are not yet naturalized in the common Malay, and are understood only by professed scholars, and not always by them. In illustration of this remark, we may observe, that the romances so well known in Malay literature under the appellation of Pāngi, are paraphrases of the same performances in Javanese, such as Pāngi Hāmeh-Jōyō, (obtaining victory); Prābū Jōyō-bōyo, (the prince surmounting difficulties); Klōnō Jōyo Kusumo, (adventures of the conqueror of women)—literally of flowers, a flower being a figurative expression in Javanese for the fair sex. Joyo Hasmōrō, (conquering in love). Besides the romances called Pāngi, many others, which it would be tedious to enumerate, are from the same source. The very title of such performances, in Javanese always significant, and in Malay generally incapable of translation, is sufficient to determine their origin. The paraphrase of the Ramayana, of which Mr M. has given translations, is copied from Javanese; and the original, so unlike the Sanscrit poem, but so entirely the same with the Malay, is now in the possession of the writer of this article.

The style of these romances, for such they are, and their merit as literary performances, are as equal as the subjects are similar. In truth, nothing can be more mean and puerile than the literary efforts of the oppressed and slavish inhabitants of these regions. We must, for our own part, candidly avow, that after the perusal of many volumes, we have never met with one sentiment which could be praised for tenderness, elegance, or sublimity; or even with a passage which a scholar, anxious to be pleased with his favourite pursuits, would dare to commend.

Such appears to us to have been the extent of the influence of the Javanese upon the Malay language, that not only the words of the former have been abundantly transfused into the latter, but that the very genius and grammatical idiom of the Javanese seems to have been borrowed in the written Malay. This assertion it is necessary to explain. The oral Malay is uncommonly simple in its structure, and does not deal in those artificial modes of expression which are common in the written language, and occasionally in the mouths of scholars. The difference in the two, arises from the use, in the written tongue,

of certain inseparable particles, which give a force and precision to it, unknown to the oral language. It is remarkable, that these particles, with similar applications, are found in the Javanese; where they prevail alike in the oral as in the written speech.

When we advert to this circumstance—to the evident source of Malay literature—to the abundant transfusion of the words of one language into the other—to the borrowed manners and institutions of the Malays:—when we take into the account, that no evidence exists, that the Malays had an alphabet of their own before their conversion to Mahomedanism, and the consequent probability, that their written compositions were in the character of a language which is proved to have exerted so powerful an influence,—we must think that there is every ground for concluding, that the written Malay language, bearing so close a resemblance to the Javanese, would be called by the same name, to distinguish it from the ordinary speech, which has not the same remarkable affinity. This appears to us to afford a full and satisfactory interpretation of the hitherto inexplicable term *Bahasa Jawi*.

Having produced, what appears sufficient proof of the influence of the Javanese language upon the Malay, it will hardly be necessary to remark, that we conceive it must have been through the channel of the former, that the latter received its influx of Sanscrit words. This, however, by no means implies, that the Malay might not, like the Javanese, have received some portion of Sanscrit from the pure stream of that language. How words of the sacred language of India have been introduced into the Javanese itself, is a question, which requires a discussion more ample than our limits will now permit us to undertake.—A word or two, however, must be said on the subject

That the Javanese once professed the Hindū religion, under some form or other, is a matter placed beyond the reach of doubt, by many facts. Besides the proofs afforded by their language; the relicts of Hindu religion still adhering to them in their imperfect conversion to Mahomedanism; the traditions which exist respecting their ancient belief; the temples and idols peculiar to the Hindu superstition; with inscriptions in the sacred languages of the professors of that faith,—all tend to confirm this important fact.

Of the reliques of Hindu opinions and customs among the Javanese, many instances might be mentioned; but we shall content ourselves with a few.—The strange ceremonies practised in India, on the appearance of an eclipse, to frighten the demon who is supposed to attempt the destruction of the luminary, are still practised in Java; and with scarcely less noise and enthu-

siasm, than in the country where that singular ceremony originated. The demon, and the eclipse, are also known by their Indian names, and by no other. The penances and austerities of the Hindu ritual are still occasionally practised by the Javanese; and their virtue in conferring supernatural power over gods, men, and the elements, religiously believed in. By all connected with the royal blood, and by them only, the flesh of the cow is most religiously abstained from. One would be inclined to suspect from this, that the throne of Java had once been occupied by a Hindu dynasty; yet, it might have had its origin in the piety of some prince, willing to recommend himself to his spiritual guides, by a compliance with their prejudices,—a compliance not easily obtained from the people; who, in point of diet, are most indiscriminate and voracious;—seldom observing any regular meals;—and though professing Mahomedanism, indulging freely in intoxicating liquors, even at their religious festivals.

On the other hand, that attention to personal cleanliness, which distinguishes the Hindus from every other people of Asia, is unknown to the Javanese; who, on the contrary, are remarkable for their filthiness and inattention to their persons. Not less at variance with Hindu manners, is the behaviour of the Javanese to their females. They are as little attentive to their chastity, as can well be conceived; and perhaps there is no people in the world, among whom a greater dissolution of morals prevails in this respect, than among them. Even with the Sumatrans and Malays, they form in this particular a striking contrast. There is little room to believe, that the institution of casts ever prevailed among the Javanese. That institution, which defines and ascertains the privileges of various classes of the community, had it obtained among the Javanese, must, we presume, have proved some barrier to despotism; and under its existence, the rights of property and person must have been better established and protected, than we find them to be. Neither do we imagine, that the Mahomedan religion could have been propagated by the slender means under which it is known to have succeeded, had a powerful priesthood existed, interested in checking the rise of another superstition, so inimical to their power and pretensions.

When the present race of Javanese are interrogated respecting the nature of their religious belief, before their conversion to Mahomedanism, they uniformly say that they practised the rites of Budh (Agomo Bŭdo). They are too ignorant to be able to give any detail of these rites or tenets; but a few particulars have been handed down by tradition;—such as, that they worshipped images; burnt, or committed to water, the bodies of

their dead, instead of burying them; and that widows occasionally burnt themselves on the funeral-piles of their husbands. *

Though there be every probability that the prevailing religion of Java, was Budhism; yet, the temples, images, and inscriptions, which are found in various parts of the island, afford sufficient evidence, that the Brahminical doctrines had also obtained a footing. As this subject is in a great measure new, we shall not hesitate to lay before our readers, an extract of a letter lately addressed to us from the spot; which, though not written by a person critically versed in Hindu literature, will yet serve to convey some interesting intelligence on a subject of much curiosity.

'Hindu images, temples, and inscriptions,' observes our correspondent, 'are scattered over various parts of the island; but the most extensive remains are those at Borong Budor (the place of many idols) in the district of Cadoe, Brambanan in that of Mataram, and Blambangan, situated in the straits of Bali. I have seen the ruins of Brambanan only, and will confine my account to these. Brambanan (vulgarly called by Europeans Brambana) is at no great distance from the centre of the island, and lies at the northern foot of a range of mountains running east and west to a great extent, and called by the Javanese, from their position, the Mountains of the South. Opposite to Brambanan lies a much loftier range of mountains, running in a direction from south to north, to near the latter coast of the island. †

'When I visited Brambanan, I was accompanied by a Brahman of Bengal, who, though not possessed of much learning, necessarily

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* A few idolaters are still found in the mountains to the east end of Java. And in the neighbouring island of Bali, the religion of Budh, though there be a few Mahomedans on the coast, is the prevailing one.

† We are informed, that one of these is a volcano, and that the whole range is of extraordinary fertility, being covered with the richest cultivation to two-thirds of their height. The thermometer, as the traveller gradually ascends, sinks from 85°, the ordinary heat of the plain, to near 50°, at the summit of the mountains. The heat in the day-time, in the highest parts that are cultivated, is from 60° to 65°; at night it is as low as 54°. Here the soil is fertile; and the clouds which constantly overhang the tops of the mountains, afford a never-failing supply of water. All the productions of Europe, hardly one of which will thrive below, are here cultivated with success. Nothing can exceed the surprise and delight of an European when he first visits this charming region. He feels as if transported by a few hours travel to his native country. These hills produce considerable quantities of wheat, and potatoes of most excellent quality, and in great abundance; and even oats and barley have been tried with success, as have some of the European fruits.

proved an useful guide to one so little acquainted with Hindu mythology as myself. Some Javanese also attended to point out the ruins, of whose presence I availed myself to procure such local and traditional intelligence as the subject afforded. The area occupied by the ruins of all descriptions does not seem to be less than ten miles. Over this surface there are scattered, at various distances, the ruins of several temples: but the most remarkable remains are the *Chāndi sēwū*, or thousand temples, so called from their great numbers, but not because they amount precisely to so many. The thousand temples constitute a square group of buildings, each side of which seemed to measure about two hundred and fifty paces In the centre of the square was one large and lofty temple, which was surrounded, at equal distances, by three square rows of smaller ones, each row but a few feet distant from the other. At each of the four cardinal points, where once appeared to have been gates, there were two gigantic statues, as porters of the temples. The Javanese called these *Gopolo*, which, in the language of India, I am told, means a cowherd, and is one of the names of the god Krishna. Each of these had a mace in his hand; and a huge snake twisted itself round his body.

'In the large temple we found no images; on the outside, figures of pious Brahmans, easily recognized by the sacerdotal thread, were carved in great numbers. The inside was ornamented with the Hindu conch, vases of Ganges water, and flowers of the lotos, very well executed. In this temple it was plain there had been several images, as the pedestals on which they had stood still remained. In several of the small temples there were still some images, though most of them had been pillaged; and it was indeed evident, that every temple had been either the fane of a god, or the shrine of a devotee. In one of them was the complete figure of a Brahmin in a posture of devotion, so well executed, and calling so forcibly to the remembrance of my Hindu companion his native country, that he did not hesitate, with much reverence, to make the customary obeisance to it.

'Among the other ruins there is a group of large temples, occupying a space of no determinate figure. One of these still contains an entire figure of Bawani,—and another, one of Ganesa. At some distance from this, there is another ruin, which has more the appearance of a dwelling-house than a temple. It is of a long shape; consists of two stories; has several windows; and is divided into three apartments. On this building there are sculptured many Hindu figures in relief, of much larger size, and better workmanship, than those of any of the other ruins.

'About the distance of a mile and a half from the thousand temples, there are the ruins of a group of buildings, of a similar description with these, though in a state of much greater dilapidation. Close by them is an oblong square slab of granite, about seven feet long and three feet broad. The whole of one face of this stone is covered with an inscription, the character of which appeared distinct and entire, except in one place, where a large splinter has been broken

off the face of the stone, which was itself broken in two. The character is evidently the common Devanagari; and my Hindu guide, though but an indifferent scholar, could read several parts of it. From his account, I have reason to believe that the inscription contains no historic information of importance. He described it as containing some legend relative to Arjun, one of the heroes of the Mahabarut.

'I inquired in the neighbourhood for more inscriptions of the same kind, and was referred to a village near at hand. Here I discovered part of a stone, containing an inscription, about a foot and a half square; but the characters were far more defaced than those of the last, nor could my Brahman even determine the character in which it was written.

'Having viewed all that was to be seen of the Hindu ruins, I ascended the range of mountains close by, and after travelling about three miles, reached the ruins of a Javanese craton, (or palace), apparently connected with the religious ruins below. Like these, it had been built of hewn granite, and the stones cut and fashioned in a similar style. In the ruins of the palaces of Mataram, Pleret, and Carto Suro, which I have seen, nothing of this kind of architecture is observable. These consisted of brick and mortar; and though comparatively modern, are already in a state of great dilapidation. The Javanese ascribe the building of the palace whose ruins I now visited, to a prince whom they call Boko, but of whose history they are unable to give any account whatever. It is worthy of remark, that the plan of this palace, as well as that of every other ruinous one in the island, is exactly similar to that of the modern palaces of the Javanese princes, which are very peculiar, and adapted to the strange ceremonials of a Javanese court. The accomplishment of such undertakings as the buildings now mentioned, surely does not belong to a barbarous people. Without the persevering application of both labour and art, works of such magnitude could never have been brought to a successful termination; and we are therefore fully warranted in ascribing power, wealth, and skill in no ordinary degree, to the people among whom they were accomplished. We find that the stones, all of hewn granite, are admirably well cut and polished, and laid upon each other with great skill and nicety. No mortar has been made use of; but instead of it, the lower side of each stone has a prominence which fits accurately into a groove in the upper surface of the one underneath it, by which contrivance the stones are accurately preserved in their situations. The roofs of the temples are all, like the rest of the building, of hewn granite; and it is in the construction of these that the greatest skill has been displayed. From the excellence of the workmanship, these buildings would appear, at first sight, calculated for long duration; but I am convinced that, from their present state of dilapidation, we cannot safely argue for them any extraordinary antiquity; for, such is the rapidity and vigour of vegetation in these climates, that, in no long course of years, large trees are found to grow up, and insinuat-

ing their roots and branches into the walls, contribute to bring on a rapid decay in the firmest buildings, when they are neglected. Such a process as this was evident in all the temples of Brambanan; nor was there any thing in the nature of the buildings calculated to resist this species of dilapidation. Every thing regarding the origin of the buildings at Brambanan is wrapt in great obscurity. The fabulous accounts of the Javanese ascribe them to a person celebrated in their romances, whom they name the Bāndūng; whose magic skill is said to have created them in a single night. It is unnecessary to dwell upon these puerilities.

'While musing among the ruins upon this subject, and making my inquiries among the people of the neighbourhood, an old man, struck with the earnestness of my manner, addressed me, and said that in his possession was a manuscript which gave an account of all those things which so deeply excited my curiosity. I requested him to bring it, which he did without hesitation. So well aware of the usual nature of those performances, I was not over sanguine in my expectations of receiving that satisfaction which the old man promised me. The manuscript, however, proved an acquisition of more value than I could reasonably have expected. It was a chronological table of some important events in Javanese history; the accuracy of some of which being matter of notoriety, would seem to induce a belief that the date ascribed to others was not asserted without foundation. The date of the building of the thousand temples is here stated to be 1188 of the Javanese era.* The moderate antiquity of this date, which, however, appears sufficiently distant to account for the present state of ruin in which we find the temples, is favourable to the accuracy of the chronology. The old man could give no account of the history of his manuscript. It had been transmitted, he said, to him, from his father and grandfather; and farther he could tell nothing about it. After much inquiry among the natives, I have been able to discover no similar performance; but imagine, notwithstanding, that some more bulky work, of which this is an abstract, must exist.

'There are one or two curious particulars connected with Brambanan, which I must not omit to mention.—Of these the most remarkable is the name of the place itself, which appears to me strikingly illustrative of the history of the ruins. A Brahman, in Javanese, is called Bromono. It is a rule of Javanese grammar, that, by affixing to names the particle *an*, a noun is formed, expressing the house or possession of an individual, or the particular residence or quarter of a people. Thus, we have from *Prangwedono*, *Prangwedanan*, the house, and also the possession, of the Prince Prangwedono;—from *Sūsūnan*, *Susunanan*, the territories of the Emperor;—from Chino, *Chinan* or *Pachinan*, the quarter of the *Chinese*. It is in this manner that the word Brambanan is formed from *Bromono*, except the letter *b*, which seems inserted to obviate the hiatus

* The present year, 1813, is the 1740 of the Javanese.

that would otherwise result from the number of vowels, and which is a common practice with the Javanese. The real meaning of *Prambanan*, or *Brambanan*, for they are indifferently written, seems then to be the place of Brahmans; a distinction which it seems to me would not have been made, had Brahmans and their religion been universal over the island. Another observation of consequence is, that besides the remains of the temples, there are others of a different description, such as mounds of earth, heaps of stones, and the rubbish of buildings, which would seem to indicate that Brambanan had once been the site of no inconsiderable city. The extent of the ruins, and the art displayed in the buildings, so much superior to that of the present race of inhabitants, are calculated to excite many reflections.

'If the period of these buildings be not very remote, while yet the art by which they were constructed has been long lost, the most natural supposition is that they were executed by foreign artists, or by a few natives instructed by these for this particular purpose. The artists we may suppose to have accompanied a considerable colony of Hindus, who, receiving the protection of some powerful and superstitious native prince, were enabled, by his aid, to accomplish so considerable an undertaking. It seems also not unreasonable to suppose, that buildings of such extent were the work of time, and not of a single effort. The success and establishment of the first adventurers, would pave the way for others; and, by time, and long established influence, they might in the end be enabled to accomplish undertakings of great magnitude.

'That the Javanese are indebted to the Hindus for many improvements, appears evident from a variety of facts. At Brambanan there is a singular illustration of it. The neighbourhood, to the extent of 20 miles, is cultivated with cotton, which is here produced in greater abundance, and of better quality than in any other part of the island. In fact, the village of Brambanan is the first, and indeed almost the only mart in the island for this valuable commodity. The plant is the same annual shrub cultivated in India; and it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the usual copiousness of the Javanese language, the Indian name (Kăpas) is the only one known to it in this instance. There seems no doubt, therefore, that the Javanese were indebted to the founders of Brambanan for this commodity, and probably for the useful art to which an acquaintance with the plant must have given rise.'

The early civilization of the Javanese appears to us strongly illustrated by their possession of an era, and a methodical division of time. The present year is the one thousand seven hundred and fortieth of the Javanese era (*Sangkolo.*) From what it is calculated, we have not been able to ascertain; but it seems probable that it is of Indian origin, now perhaps a good deal altered by the adoption of the Mahomedan or lunar, instead of the solar year. This supposition gains strength from our know-

ledge of the existence of the Hindu names for the days of the week, which, though obsolete, are universally known to the learned Javanese. It is a remarkable circumstance, and a proof of their imperfect conversion, that the Javanese are the only Mahomedans who have not adopted the era of the flight of Mahomed, considered among the professors of Islam as an indispensable article of their faith. The era of Javanese story, of which the chronology is tolerably ascertained, goes at least 600 years back. The present Susūnan or Emperor of Java, who passed for the lineal descendant of the first monarch, is the 56th of human birth who has sat on the throne. Allowing 20 years for each reign, the aggregate would be 1120 years, a period more than sufficient to account for the advances they have made in civilization. Previous to the reign of that dynasty, was the reign of their Gods or Dewatas, among whom one is not a little surprised to see at the first glance the Patriarch Adam followed by his son Seth. In the same list we meet the persons of the Hindu triad; and following those, certain personages whom we may conjecture to have been the deities worshipped by the Javanese before they embraced either the Mahomedan or Hindu religions. From all this, what can be inferred but the gross ignorance and credulity of the people, and the excessive veneration with which they view royalty? They are incapable of comprehending any being greater than a king; and accordingly place the gods, priests, and patriarchs of all the religions they have successively professed, confusedly in the list of their sovereigns.

Upon the whole, we are, for our own part, inclined to the opinion, that the Hindu religion was not introduced into Java by conquest, but by the slow and gradual progress of conversion; that it never was the universal religion of the people; and that, even in those situations where it did prevail, it was not established under those peculiar forms, and did not give rise to those civil institutions which attend it in India. The probability, upon the whole, we think, is, that previous to their late conversion, they generally professed the religion of Budh, but had among them at the same time seminaries or colleges of Brahmans; a combination which we now know to exist in several other countries. Colleges of Brahmans at this day exist in countries of which Budhism is the national religion; and Brahmans are there held in high repute for their superior learning and attainments. This fact is vouched, with regard to Ava, by Col. Symes; and we have the verbal testimony of natives to the same effect, with respect to Siam.

The nature of the Sanscrit words which have been introduced into the East-insular tongues, and their extraordinary purity, are facts of the utmost importance in this inquiry, and tend ma-

terially to clear up the obscurity in which the subject is otherwise involved. We cannot agree with Mr Marsden, that the subjugation of these countries by some ancient Hindu power is to be inferred from these facts. That the Sanscrit has not been introduced into these languages through the channel of any living Indian dialect, but from the pure fountain of that tongue itself, seems clearly established. But then, if we adopt Mr Marsden's conclusion, we must suppose the language of his Hindu conquerors to have been pure Sanscrit. Now, such is the antiquity of this language, that neither history nor tradition have preserved any account of a people of whom it was the living tongue. To adopt the notion of conquest, would therefore be to place the date of the intercourse between India and the Eastern Islands beyond the reach of history and probability,—to ascribe the conquest to a people whose very existence cannot be proved. Considering all these circumstances, therefore, and not forgetting that the doctrines of Brahma are radically averse to conquest, we shall find it much more easy to account for the introduction of Indian manners, by ascribing it to the slow and gradual effects of religious conversi n, and the influence of a civilized and crafty priesthood, who had it in their power to recommend themselves, by conferring the benefit of arts and improvements upon an ignorant, simple, and credulous people.

Supposing, then, that a foreign priesthood had introduced the sacred language of India with the religion and arts of that country, it may be asked how that sacred language happens not to be mixed with the native dialect of the people who introduced it? The answer, we conceive, is not difficult. The first step to be taken by foreign missionaries on their arrival among a rude people, whom they designed to instruct or overawe, would be, not to teach them their own ordinary language, but to acquire theirs. Their own common dialect, in which neither science nor religious instruction is ever conveyed, would never once be referred to in their intercourse with the new converts; who, if instructed at all, would be instructed in those languages sacred to science and religion. In the second generation, as the first comers would probably intermarry with the natives, this national dialect, unless fresh supplies of emigrants continued to arrive, would be almost entirely lost; while the sacred language would continue to be that of science and religion. It would be from this source that names would be derived for new things and ideas; and the caprice of fashion, with the influence of religious domination, would conduce to propagate and extend its authority. The probability of this mode of procedure may be illustrated by supposing that the Persians, and not the Arabs, had pro-

pagated the religion of Mahomed in Java. * In this case, would their instructions have been conveyed in the Persian or Arabian language? certainly in Arabic; and if the number of newcomers was not considerable, which we do not suppose, the Persian language would not once be referred to. We have seen thirty or forty Chinese pupils of a French missionary, all capable of speaking, reading, and even writing Latin, (the language of religion in all Popish countries), without understanding a syllable of French, or any other modern European language.

Mr Marsden no doubt seems to think, that nothing short of political and long continued domination could have produced the extensive effect which we observe; and his chief argument is drawn from the *nature* of Sanscrit words which exist in the languages in question; which, as he observes, "are not confined to the names of things, but more usually express moral feelings, intellectual qualities, or ideas connected with mythology." As to the ideas connected with mythology, they are already sufficiently explained; and with regard to the names of things, the facts we have already stated as to the extreme copiousness of the Javanese language, seem to us to render it indisputable, that the greater part of them have been adopted out of the mere wantonness or caprice of fashion. Why, for example, should a Sanscrit word (Suryo) be used for the sun, when there were already nine Javanese words for the same object?—or why should *Hopolo*, or *Siri*, be imported to express the head, when they had five words of pure Javanese for that purpose before, none of which they ever thought of discarding? The conquest of the country by an army speaking pure Sanscrit, violent as the supposition is, would not bring the proceeding within any ordinary rules; while it is sufficiently evident, that the same caprice, to which we must ultimately refer for its occurrence, might as well have drawn this needless supply from its religious instructors, as from its political rulers. The whole subject, indeed, is well illustrated, by adverting to the facts connected with the late change in the religion of all these tribes. *This* revolution can hardly be

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* We are surprised to find Mr Marsden, whose information is usually so accurate, unacquainted with the sect of Mahomedanism to which the Malays belong. In place of being followers of *Ali*, as Mr Marsden is inclined to suppose, both they, the Javanese, and all the other East-insular Mahomedans, are Sunites. The Shias are unknown to them but by report; but are held, notwithstanding, in great abhorrence. They are known by the appellation of Rafri, or, as they pronounce it, Rafli, the Arabic word for a heretic. The orthodox apostle, of whose particular tenets they are observers, is

said to have been effected by conquest. A few adventurers, without power or political influence, in a short time gave a new religion to millions; and short as has been the period, and imperfect the conversion, very many Arabic words have been introduced into the Malay by the caprice of fashion, for which they had previously various expressions equally good. Even the Javanese, notwithstanding its native copiousness, has borrowed from the Arabic; and had the connexion been of equally long standing, and the Mahomedans found the Javanese in as rude a state as the Hindus did, we should certainly at this day have found in the Javanese language an influx of Arabic words equal to the Sanscrit.

Though the Javanese, and even the Malays, be possessed of many synonymes for names of things, and are by no means deficient in expressing ordinary feelings and ideas, yet with regard to all abstract ideas they are both very deficient;—as might be expected, with a people who have never attempted any species of speculative reasoning. In the early period, when their intercourse with India began, the Javanese were in a much lower state of society than now; and that they should then have borrowed words but a little abstract in their meaning, will not appear in any way surprising. In rendering into Javanese Hindu books of morals or religion, (such as the Shasters, of which they at present possess translations), the idleness of translators, and the want of abstract terms, would encourage the introduction of many words from the sacred text; and these would, in course of time, and as the human mind began to expand and acquire new ideas, receive general currency, and be ultimately ingrafted upon the language.

Art. VIII. *Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends: Containing an Account of its Origin and Progress, the Modes of Treatment, and a Statement of Cases.* By Samuel Tuke. 8vo. pp. 227. York, 1813.

The Quakers always seem to succeed in any institution which they undertake. The jail at Philadelphia will remain a lasting monument of their skill and patience; and in the plan and conduct of this retreat for the Insane, they have evinced the same wisdom and perseverance.

The present account is given us by Mr Tuke, a respectable tea-dealer, living in York;—and given in a manner which we are quite sure the most opulent, and important of his customers,

could not excel. The long account of the subscription, at the beginning of the book, is evidently made tedious, for the Quaker market; and Mr Tuke is a little too much addicted to quoting. But, with these trifling exceptions, his book does him very great credit;—it is full of good sense and humanity, right feelings, and rational views. The Retreat for insane Quakers is situated about a mile from the city of York, upon an eminence commanding the adjacent country, and in the midst of a garden and fields belonging to the Institution. The great principle on which it appears to be conducted, is that of kindness to the patients. It does not appear to them, because a man is mad upon one particular subject, that he is to be considered in a state of complete mental degradation, or insensible to the feelings of kindness and gratitude. When a madman does not do what he is bid to do, the shortest method, to be sure, is to knock him down; and straps and chains are the species of prohibitions which are the least frequently disregarded. But the society of Friends seems rather to consult the interest of the patient than the ease of his keeper; and to aim at the government of the insane, by creating in them the kindest disposition towards those who have the command over them. Nor can any thing be more wise, humane, or interesting, than the strict attention to the feelings of their patients which seems to prevail in their institutions. The following specimens of their disposition upon this point, we have great pleasure in laying before our readers.

'The smallness of the court,' (says Mr Tuke) 'would be a serious defect, if it was not generally compensated, by taking such patients as are suitable, into the garden; and by frequent excursions into the city or the surrounding country, and into the fields of the Institution. One of these is surrounded by a walk, interspersed with trees and shrubs.

'The superintendant has also endeavoured to furnish a source of amusement, to those patients whose walks are necessarily more circumscribed, by supplying each of the courts with a number of animals; such as rabbits, sea-gulls, hawks, and poultry. These creatures are generally very familiar with the patients; and it is believed they are not only the means of innocent pleasure, but that the intercourse with them sometimes tends to awaken the social and benevolent feelings.' p. 95, 96.

Chains are never permitted at the Retreat; nor is it left to the option of the lower attendants when they are to impose an additional degree of restraint upon the patients; and this compels them to pay attention to the feelings of the patients, and to attempt to gain an influence over them by kindness. Patients who are not disposed to injure themselves, are merely confined by the strait waistcoat, and left to walk about the room, or lie

down on the bed at pleasure; and even in those cases where there is a strong tendency to self-destruction, as much attention is paid to the feelings and ease of the patient, as is consistent with his safety.

'Except in cases of violent mania, which is far from being a frequent occurrence at the Retreat, coercion, when requisite, is considered as a necessary evil; that is, it is thought abstractedly to have a tendency to retard the cure, by opposing the influence of the moral remedies employed. It is therefore used very sparingly; and the superintendant has often assured me, that he would rather run some risk, than have recourse to restraint, where it was not absolutely necessary; except in those cases where it was likely to have a salutary moral tendency.

'I feel no small satisfaction in stating, upon the authority of the superindendants, that during the last year, in which the number of patients has generally been sixty-four, there has not been occasion to seclude, on an average, two patients at one time. I am also able to state, that although it is occasionally necessary to restrain by the waistcoat, straps, or other means, several patients at one time; yet that the average number so restrained does not exceed four, including those who are secluded.

'The safety of those who attend upon the Insane, is certainly an object of great importance; but it is worthy of inquiry whether it may not be attained, without materially interfering with another object,—the recovery of the patient. It may also deserve inquiry, whether the extensive practice of coercion, which obtains in some Institutions, does not arise from erroneous views of the character of insane persons; from indifference to their comfort; or from having rendered coercion necessary by previous unkind treatment.

'The power of judicious kindness over this unhappy class of society, is much greater than is generally imagined. It is perhaps not too much to apply to kind treatment, the words of our great poet,

———————————— "She can unlock
"The clasping charm, and thaw the numbing spell."—MILTON.

'In no instances has this power been more strikingly displayed; or exerted, with more beneficial effects, than in those deplorable cases in which the patient refuses to take food. The kind persuasions and ingenious arts of the superintendants, have been singularly successful in overcoming this distressing symptom; and very few instances now occur, in which it is necessary to employ violent means for supplying the patient with food.

'Some patients who refuse to partake of the family meals, are induced to eat by being taken into the larder, and there allowed to help themselves. Some are found willing to eat when food is left with them in their rooms, or when they can obtain it unobserved by their attendants. Others, whose determination is stronger, are frequently induced, by repeated persuasion, to take a small quantity of nutritious liquid; and it is equally true in these, as in general

cases, that every breach of resolution weakens the power and disposition to resistance.

'Sometimes, however, persuasion seems to strengthen the unhappy determination. In one of these cases, the attendants were completely wearied with their endeavours; and on removing the food, one of them took a piece of the meat which had been repeatedly offered to the patient, and threw it under the fire-grate; at the same time, exclaiming, that she should not have it. The poor creature, who seemed governed by the rule of contraries, immediately rushed from her seat, seized the meat from the ashes, and devoured it. For a short time, she was induced to eat, by the attendants availing themselves of this contrary disposition; but it was soon rendered unnecessary, by the removal of this unhappy feature of the disorder. p. 166-7. 168-9.

When it is deemed necessary to apply any mode of coercion, such an overpowering force is employed as precludes all possibility of successful resistance; and most commonly, therefore, extinguishes every idea of making any at all. An attendant upon a madhouse exposes himself to some risk—and to some he ought to expose himself, or he is totally unfit for his situation. If the security of the attendants were the only object, the situation of the patients would soon become truly desperate. The business is, not to risk nothing, but not to risk too much. The generosity of the Quakers, and their courage in managing mad people, are placed, by this Institution, in a very striking point of view. This cannot be better illustrated than by the two following cases.

'The superintendant was one day walking in a field adjacent to the house, in company with a patient, who was apt to be vindictive on very slight occasions. An exciting circumstance occurred. The maniac retired a few paces, and seized a large stone, which he immediately held up, as in the act of throwing at his companion. The superintendant, in no degree ruffled, fixed his eye upon the patient, and in a resolute tone of voice, at the same time advancing, commanded him to lay down the stone. As he approached, the hand of the lunatic gradually sunk from its threatening position, and permitted the stone to drop to the ground. He then submitted to be quietly led to his apartment.'

'Some years ago a man, about thirty-four years of age, of almost herculean size and figure, was brought to the house. He had been afflicted several times before; and so constantly, during the present attack, had he been kept chained, that his clothes were contrived to be taken off and put on by means of strings, without removing his manacles. They were however taken off, when he en- [illegible] Retreat, and he was ushered into the apartment, where [illegible] endants were supping. He was calm; his attention ap- [illegible] be arrested by his new situation. He was desired to join [illegible] he repast, during which he behaved with tolerable propriety.

After it was concluded, the superintendant conducted him to his apartment, and told him the circumstances on which his treatment would depend; that it was his anxious wish to make every inhabitant in the house as comfortable as possible; and that he sincerely hoped the patient's conduct would render it unnecessary for him to have recourse to coercion. The maniac was sensible of the kindness of his treatment. He promised to restrain himself; and he so completely succeeded, that, during his stay, no coercive means were ever employed towards him. This case affords a striking example of the efficacy of mild treatment. The patient was frequently very vociferous, and threatened his attendants, who, in their defence, were very desirous of restraining him by the jacket. The superintendant, on these occasions, went to his apartment; and though the first sight of him seemed rather to increase the patient's irritation, yet, after sitting some time quietly beside him, the violent excitement subsided, and he would listen with attention to the persuasions and arguments of his friendly visitor. After such conversations, the patient was generally better for some days, or a week; and in about four months he was discharged perfectly recovered.

'Can it be doubted that, in this case, the disease had been greatly exasperated by the mode of management? or that the subsequent kind treatment had a great tendency to promote his recovery?' p. 172-3. 146-7.

—And yet, in spite of this apparent contempt of danger, for 18 years not a single accident has happened to the keepers.

In the day room, the sashes are made of cast-iron, and give to the building the security of bars, without their unpleasant appearance. With the same laudable attention to the feelings of these poor people, the straps of their strait waistcoats are made of some showy colour, and are not infrequently considered by them as ornaments. No advantage whatever has been found to arise from reasoning with patients on their particular delusions; it is found rather to exasperate than convince them. Indeed that state of mind would hardly deserve the name of insanity, where argument was sufficient for the refutation of error.

The classification of patients according to their degree of convalescence, is very properly attended to at the Retreat, and every assistance given to returning reason by the force of example. We were particularly pleased with the following specimens of Quaker sense and humanity.

'The female superintendant, who possesses an uncommon share of benevolent activity, and who has the chief management of the female patients, as well as of the domestic department, occasionally gives a general invitation to the patients, to a tea-party. All who attend, dress in their best clothes, and vie with each other in politeness and propriety. The best fare is provided, and the visitors are

treated with all the attention of strangers. The evening generally passes in the greatest harmony and enjoyment. It rarely happens that any unpleasant circumstance occurs; the patients control, in a wonderful degree, their different propensities; and the scene is at once curious, and affectingly gratifying.

'Some of the patients occasionally pay visits to the friends in the city; and female visitors are appointed every month, by the Committee, to pay visits to those of their own sex; to converse with them, and to propose to the superintendants, or the Committee, any improvements which may occur to them. The visitors sometimes take tea with the patients, who are much gratified with the attention of their friends, and mostly behave with propriety.

'It will be necessary here to mention, that the visits of former intimate friends have frequently been attended with disadvantage to the patients; except when convalescence had so far advanced, as to afford a prospect of a speedy return to the bosom of society. It is, however, very certain, that as soon as reason begins to return, the conversation of judicious, indifferent persons, greatly increases the comfort; and is considered almost essential to the recovery of many patients. On this account, the convalescents of every class are frequently introduced into the society of the rational parts of the family. They are also permitted to sit up till the usual time for the family, to retire to rest, and are allowed as much liberty as their state of mind will admit.' p. 178-9.

To the effects of kindness in the Retreat, are superadded those of constant employment. The female patients are employed as much as possible in sewing, knitting, and domestic affairs; and several of the convalescents assist the attendants. For the men, are selected those species of bodily employments most agreeable to the patient, and most opposite to the illusions of his disease. Though the effect of fear is not excluded from the Institution, yet the love of esteem is considered as a still more powerful principle.

'That fear is not the only motive which operates in producing *self-restraint* in the minds of maniacs, is evident from its being often exercised in the presence of strangers, who are merely passing through the house; and which, I presume, can only be accounted for from that desire of esteem, which has been stated to be a powerful motive to conduct.

'It is probably from encouraging the action of this principle, that so much advantage has been found in the Institution, from treating the patient as much in the manner of a rational being, as the state of his mind will possibly allow. The superintendant is particularly attentive to this point, in his conversation with the patients. He introduces such topics as he knows will most interest them; and which, at the same time, allows them to display their knowledge to the greatest advantage. If the patient is an agriculturist, he asks him questions relative to his art; and frequently consults him upon

any occasion in which his knowledge may be useful. I have heard one of the worst patients in the house, who, previously to his indisposition, had been a considerable grazier, give very sensible directions for the treatment of a diseased cow.

'These considerations are undoubtedly very material, as they regard the comfort of insane persons; but they are of far greater importance, as they relate to the cure of the disorder. The patient feeling himself of some consequence, is induced to support it by the exertion of his reason, and by restraining those dispositions which, if indulged, would lessen the respectful treatment he receives, or lower his character in the eyes of his companions and attendants.

'They who are unacquainted with the character of insane persons, are very apt to converse with them in a childish, or, which is worse, in a domineering manner; and hence, it has been frequently remarked, by the patients at the Retreat, that a stranger who has visited them seemed to imagine they were children.

'The natural tendency of such treatment is, to degrade the mind of the patient, and to make him indifferent to those moral feelings which, under judicious direction and encouragement, are found capable, in no small degree, to strengthen the power of self-restraint, and which render the resort to coercion, in many cases, unnecessary. Even when it is absolutely requisite to employ coercion, if the patient promises to control himself on its removal, great confidence is generally placed upon his word. I have known patients, such is their sense of honour and moral obligation under this kind of engagement, hold, for a long time, a successful struggle with the violent propensities of their disorder; and such attempts ought to be sedulously encouraged by the attendant.

'Hitherto, we have chiefly considered those modes of inducing the patient to control his disordered propensities, which arise from an application to the general powers of the mind; but considerable advantage may certainly be derived, in this part of moral management, from an acquaintance with the previous habits, manners, and prejudices of the individual. Nor must we forget to call to our aid, in endeavouring to promote self-restraint, the mild but powerful influence of the precepts of our holy religion. Where these have been strongly imbued in early life, they become little less than principles of our nature; and their restraining power is frequently felt, even under the delirious excitement of insanity. To encourage the influence of religious principles over the mind of the insane, is considered of great consequence as a means of cure. For this purpose, as well as for others still more important, it is certainly right to promote in the patient an attention to his accustomed modes of paying homage to his Maker.

'Many patients attend the religious meetings of the Society, held in the city; and most of them are assembled, on a first day afternoon, at which time the superintendant reads to them several chapters in the Bible. A profound silence generally ensues; during

which, as well as at the time of reading, it is very gratifying to observe their orderly conduct, and the degree in which those, who are much disposed to action, restrain their different propensities.' p. 158—161.

Very little dependence is to be placed on medicine alone for the cure of insanity. The experience, at least, of this well governed Institution is very unfavourable to its efficacy. Where an insane person happens to be diseased in body, as well as mind, medicine is not only of as great importance to him as to any other person, but much greater; for the diseases of the body are commonly found to aggravate those of the mind; but against mere insanity, unaccompanied by bodily derangement, it appears to be almost powerless.

There is one remedy, however, which is very frequently employed at the Retreat, and which appears to have been attended with the happiest effect; and that is, the warm bath;—the least recommended, and the most important of all remedies in melancholy madness. Under this mode of treatment, the number of recoveries, in cases of *melancholia*, has been very unusual; though no advantage has been found from it in the case of mania.

At the end of the work is given a table of all the cases which have occurred in the Institution from its first commencement. It appears, that from its opening in the year 1796, to the end of 1811, 149 patients have been admitted. Of this number 61 have been recent cases; 31 of these patients have been maniacal, of whom 2 have died, 6 remain; 21 have been discharged perfectly recovered; 2 so much improved as not to require further confinement. The remainder, 30 recent cases, have been those of melancholy madness; of whom 5 have died, 4 remain, 19 have been discharged cured, and 2 so much improved as not to require further confinement. The old cases, or, as they are commonly termed, incurable cases, are divided into 61 cases of mania, 21 of melancholia, and 6 of dementia; affording the following tables.

'*Mania.*

'11 died.
31 remain in the house.
5 have been removed by their friends improved.
10 have been discharged perfectly recovered.
4 so much improved, as not to require farther confinement.'

'*Melancholia.*

'6 died.
6 remain.
1 removed somewhat improved.
6 perfectly cured.
2 so much improved, as not to require farther confinement.'

'*Dementia.*

'2 died.
2 remain.
2 discharged as unsuitable objects.'

The following statement shows the ages of patients at present in the house.

'15 to 20 inclusive,		2
20 to 30	—	8
30 to 40	—	12
40 to 50	—	7
60 to 70	—	11
70 to 80	—	4
80 to 90	—	2.'

Of 79 patients it appears that

'12 went mad from disappointed affections.
2 from epilepsy.
49 from constitutional causes.
8 from failure in business.
4 from hereditary disposition to madness.
2 from injury of the skull.
1 from mercury.
1 from parturition.'

The following case is extremely curious, and we wish it had been authenticated by name, place, and signature.

'A young woman, who was employed as a domestic servant, by the father of the relater, when he was a boy, became insane, and at length sunk into a state of perfect idiocy. In this condition she remained for many years, when she was attacked by a typhus fever; and my friend, having then practised some time, attended her. He was surprised to observe, as the fever advanced, a development of the mental powers. During that period of the fever, when others were delirious, this patient was entirely rational. She recognized, in the face of her medical attendant, the son of her old master, whom she had known so many years before; and she related many circumstances respecting his family, and others, which had happened to herself in her earlier days. But, alas! it was only the gleam of reason: As the fever abated, clouds again enveloped the mind; she sunk into her former deplorable state, and remained in it until her death, which happened a few years afterwards. I leave to the metaphysical reader, further speculation on this, certainly, very curious case.' p. 137.

Upon the whole, we have little doubt that this is the best managed asylum for the insane that has ever yet been established; and a part of the explanation no doubt is, that the Quakers take more pains than other people with their madmen: A mad Quaker belongs to a small and rich sect; and is, therefore, of greater importance than any other mad person of the same degree in life.

After every allowance, however, which can be made for the feelings of sectaries, exercised towards their own disciples, the Quakers, it must be allowed, are a very charitable and humane people. They are always ready with their money, and, what is of far more importance, with their time and attention, for every variety of human misfortune. They seem to set themselves down systematically before the difficulty, with the wise conviction, that it is to be lessened or subdued only by great labour and thought; and that it is always increased by indolence and neglect. In this instance, they have set an example of courage, patience, and kindness, which cannot be too highly commended, or too widely diffused; and which, we are convinced, will gradually bring into repute a milder and better method of treating the insane. For the aversion to inspect places of this sort is so great, and the temptation to neglect and oppress the insane so strong, both from the love of power and the improbability of detection, that we have no doubt of the existence of great abuses in the interior of many mad-houses. A great deal has been done for prisons; but the order of benevolence has been broken through by this preference; for the voice of misery may sooner come up from a dungeon, than the oppression of a madman be healed by the hand of justice. *

* The Society of Friends have been extremely fortunate in the choice of their male and female superintendants at the asylum, Mr and Mrs Jephson. It is not easy to find a greater combination of good sense and good feeling than these two persons possess:—but then the merit of selecting them rests with their employers.

ART. IX. *The Corsair: a Tale.* By LORD BYRON. Fifth Edition. 8vo. pp. 100. London. 1814.

The Bride of Abydos: a Turkish Tale. By LORD BYRON. Sixth Edition. 8vo. pp. 72. London. 1813.

LORD BYRON has clear titles to applause, in the spirit and beauty of his diction and versification, and the splendour of many of his descriptions: But it is to his pictures of the stronger passions, that he is indebted for the fulness of his fame. He has delineated, with unequalled force and fidelity, the workings of those deep and powerful emotions which alternately enchant and agonize the minds that are exposed to their inroads; and represented, with a terrible energy, those struggles and sufferings and exaltations, by which the spirit is at once torn and transported, and traits of divine inspiration, or demoniacal possession, thrown

across the tamer features of humanity. It is by this spell, chiefly, we think, that he has fixed the admiration of the public; and while other poets delight by their vivacity, or enchant by their sweetness, he alone has been able to *command* the sympathy, even of reluctant readers, by the natural magic of his moral sublimity, and the terrors and attractions of those overpowering feelings, the depths and the heights of which he seems to have so successfully explored. All the considerable poets of the present age have, indeed, possessed this gift in a greater or lesser degree: but there is no man, since the time of Shakespeare himself, in whom it has been made manifest with greater fulness and splendour, than in the noble author before us: and there are various considerations that lead us to believe, that it is chiefly by its means that he has attained the supremacy with which he seems now to be invested.

It must have occurred, we think, to every one who has attended to the general history of poetry, and to its actual condition among ourselves, that it is destined to complete a certain cycle, or great revolution, with respect at least to some of its essential qualities; and that we are now coming round to a taste and tone of composition, more nearly akin to that which distinguished the beginning of its progress, than any that has prevailed in the course of it.

In the rude ages, when such compositions originate, men's passions are violent, and their sensibility dull. Their poetry deals therefore in strong emotions, and displays the agency of powerful passions; both because these are the objects with which they are most familiar in real life, and because nothing of a weaker cast could make any impression on the rugged natures for whose entertainment they are devised.

As civilization advances, men begin to be ashamed of the undisguised vehemence of their primitive emotions; and learn to subdue, or at least to conceal, the fierceness of their natural passions. The first triumph of regulated society, is to be able to protect its members from actual violence; and the first trait of refinement in manners, is to exclude the coarseness and offence of unrestrained and selfish emotions. The complacency however with which these achievements are contemplated, naturally leads to too great an admiration of the principle from which they proceed. All manifestation of strong feeling is soon proscribed as coarse and vulgar; and first a cold and ceremonious politeness, and afterwards a more gay and heartless dissipation, represses, and in part eradicates the warmer affections and generous passions of our nature, along with its more dangerous and turbulent emotions. It is needless to trace the effects of this revolution in the manners and opinions of so-

ciety upon that branch of literature, which necessarily reflects all its variations. It is enough to say, in general, that, in consequence of this change, poetry becomes first pompous and stately—then affectedly refined and ingenious—and finally gay, witty, discursive and familiar.

There is yet another stage, however, in the history of man and his inventions. When the pleasures of security are no longer new, and the dangers of excessive or intemperate vehemence cease to be thought of in the upper ranks of society, it is natural that the utility of the precautions which had been taken against them should be brought into question, and their severity in a great measure relaxed. There is in the human breast a certain avidity for strong sensations, which cannot be long repressed even by the fear of serious disaster. The consciousness of having subdued and disarmed the natural violence of mankind, is sufficiently lively to gratify this propensity, so long as the triumph is recent, and the hazards still visible from which it has effected our deliverance. In like manner, while it is a new thing, and somewhat of a distinction, to be able to laugh gracefully at all things, the successful derision of affection and enthusiasm is found to do pretty nearly as well as their possession; and hearts comfortably hardened by dissipation, feel little want of gratifications which they have almost lost the capacity of receiving. When these, however, come to be but vulgar accomplishments—when generations have passed away, during which all persons of education have employed themselves in doing the same frivolous things, with the same despair either of interest or glory, it can scarcely fail to happen, that the more powerful spirits will awaken to a sense of their own degradation and unhappiness;—a disdain and impatience of the petty pretensions and joyless elegancies of fashion will gradually arise: and strong and natural sensations will again be sought, without dread of their coarseness, in every scene which promises to supply them. This is the stage of society in which fanaticism has its second birth, and political enthusiasm its first true development—when plans of visionary reform, and schemes of boundless ambition are conceived, and almost realized by the energy with which they are pursued—the era of revolutions and projects—of vast performances, and infinite expectations.

Poetry, of course, reflects and partakes in this great transformation. It becomes more enthusiastic, authoritative and impassioned; and feeling the necessity of dealing in more powerful emotions than suited the tranquil and frivolous age which preceded, naturally goes back to those themes and characters which animated the energetic lays of its first rude inventors,

The feats of chivalry, and the loves of romance, * are revived with more than their primitive wildness and ardour. For the sake of the natural feeling they contain, the incidents and diction of the old vulgar ballads are once more imitated and surpassed; and poetry does not disdain, in pursuit of her new idol of strong emotion, to descend to the very lowest conditions of society, and to stir up the most revolting dregs of utter wretchedness and depravity.

This is the age to which we are now arrived:—and if we have rightly seized the principle by which we think its peculiarities are to be accounted for, it will not be difficult to show, that the poet who has devoted himself most exclusively, and most successfully, to the delineation of the stronger and deeper passions, is likely to be its reigning favourite. Neither do we think that we can have essentially mistaken that principle:—at least it is a fact, independent of all theory, not only that all the successful poets of the last twenty years have dealt much more in powerful sensations, than those of the century that went before; but that, in order to attain this object, they have employed themselves upon subjects which would have been rejected as vulgar and offensive by the fastidious delicacy of that age of fine writing. Instead of ingenious essays, elegant pieces of gallantry, and witty satires all stuck over with classical allusions, we have, in our popular poetry, the dreams of convicts, and the agonies of Gypsey women,—and the exploits of buccaneers, freebooters, and savages—and pictures to shudder at, of remorse, revenge, and insanity—and the triumph of generous feelings in scenes of anguish and terror—and the heroism of low-born affection and the tragedies of vulgar atrocity. All these various subjects have been found interesting, and have succeeded, in different degrees, in spite of accompaniments which would have disgusted an age more recently escaped from barbarity: And as they agree in nothing but in being the vehicles of strong and natural emotions, and have generally pleased, nearly in proportion to the quantity of that emotion they conveyed, it is difficult not to conclude, that they have pleased only for the sake of that quality—a growing appetite for which may be regarded as the true characteristic of this age of the world.

* The Greek and Roman classics afford no resource in this emergency; partly because by far the greater part of them belong to a period of society as artificial, and as averse to the undisguised exhibition of natural passions, as that which preceded this revulsion; and partly because, at all events, the study of them is associated with the coldest and dullest period of modern literature, and their mythology and other jargon incorporated with the compositions that come now to be looked upon with the greatest derision and disdain.

In selecting subjects and characters for this purpose, it was not only natural, but in a great measure necessary, to go back to the only ages when strong passions were indulged, or at least displayed without controul, by persons in the better ranks of society; in the same way as, in order to get perfect models of muscular force and beauty, we still find that we must go back to the works of those days when men went almost naked, and were raised to the rank of heroes for feats of bodily strength and activity. The savages and barbarians that are still to be found in the world, are, no doubt, very exact likenesses of those whom civilization has driven out of it; and they may be used accordingly for most of the purposes for which their antient prototypes are found serviceable. In poetry, however, it happens again, as in sculpture, that it is safer, at least for a moderate genius, rather to work upon the relics we have of antiquity, than upon what is most nearly akin to it among our own contemporaries; both because there is a certain charm and fascination in what is antient and long remembered, and because those particular modifications of energetic forms and characters, which have already been made the subject of successful art, can be more securely and confidently managed in imitation, than the undefined vastness of a natural condition, however analogous to that from which they were selected.—Mr Southey, accordingly, who has gone in search of strong passions among the savages of America, and the gods and enchanters of India, has had far less success than Mr Scott, who has borrowed his energies from the more familiar scenes of European chivalry, and built his fairy castles with materials already tried and consecrated in the fabric of our old romances. The noble author before us has been obliged, like them, to go out of his own age and country in quest of the same indispensable ingredients; and his lot has fallen among the Turks and Arabs of the Mediterranean;—ruffians and desperadoes, certainly not much more amiable in themselves than the worst subjects of the others,—but capable of great redemption in the hands of a poet of genius, by being placed within the enchanted circle of antient Greece, and preserving among them so may vestiges of Roman pride and magnificence. There is still one general remark, however, to be made, before coming immediately to the merit of the pieces before us.

Although the necessity of finding beings capable of strong passions, thus occasions the revival, in a late stage of civilization, of the characters and adventures which animated the poetry of rude ages, it must not be thought that they are made to act and feel, on this resurrection, exactly as they did in their first

natural presentation. They were then produced, not as exotics or creatures of the imagination, but merely as better specimens of the ordinary nature with which their authors were familiar; and the astonishing situations and appalling exploits in which they were engaged, were but a selection from the actual occurrences of the times. Neither the heroes themselves, nor their first celebrators, would have perceived any sublimity in the character itself or the tone of feeling, which such scenes and such exploits indicate to the more reflecting readers of a distant generation ; and would still less have thought of analyzing the workings of those emotions, or moralizing on the incidents to which they gave birth. In this primitive poetry, accordingly, we have rather the result than the delineation of strong passions—the events which they produce, rather than the energy that produces them. The character of the agent is unavoidably disclosed indeed in short and impressive glimpses—but it is never made the direct subject of exhibition ; and the attention of the reader is always directed to what he does—not to what he feels. A more refined, reflecting, and sensitive generation, indeed, in reading these very legends, supposes what *must* have been felt, both before and after the actions that are so minutely recorded ; and thus lends to them, from the stores of its own sensibility, a dignity and an interest which they did not possess in the minds of their own rude composers. When the same scenes and characters, however, are ultimately called back to feed the craving of a race disgusted with heartless occupations, for natural passions and overpowering emotions, it would go near to defeat the very object of their revival, if these passions were still left to indicate themselves only by the giant vestiges of outrageous deeds, or acts of daring and desperation. The passion itself must now be pourtrayed—and all its fearful workings displayed in detail before us. The minds of the great agents must be unmasked for us—and all the anatomy of their throbbing bosoms laid open to our gaze. We must be made to understand what they feel and enjoy and endure;—and all the course and progress of their *possession*, and the crossing and mingling of their opposite affections, must be rendered sensible to our touch ; till, without regard to their external circumstances, we can enter into all the motions of their hearts, and read, and shudder as we read, the secret characters which stamp the capacity of unlimited suffering on a nature which we feel to be our own.

It is chiefly by these portraitures of the interior of human nature that the poetry of the present day is distinguished from all that preceded it—and the difference is perhaps most conspicuous when the persons and subjects are borrowed from the poetry of an earlier age. Not only is all this anatomy of the feelings su-

peradded to the primitive legend of exploits, but in many cases feelings are imputed to the agents, of which persons in their condition were certainly incapable, and which no description could have made intelligible to their contemporaries—while, in others, the want of feeling, probably a little exaggerated beyond nature also, is dwelt upon, and made to produce great effect as a trait of singular atrocity, though far too familiar to have excited any sensation either in the readers or spectators of the times to which the adventures naturally belong. Our modern poets, in short, have borrowed little more than the situations and unrestrained passions of the state of society from which they have taken their characters—and have added all the sensibility and delicacy from the stores of their own experience. They have lent their knights and squires of the fifteenth century the deep reflection and considerate delicacy of the nineteenth,—and combined the desperate and reckless valour of a Buccaneer or Corsair of any age, with the refined gallantry and sentimental generosity of an English gentleman of the present day. The combination we believe to be radically incongruous; but it was almost indispensable to the poetical effect that was in contemplation. The point was, to unite all the fine and strong feelings to which cultivation and reflection alone can give birth, with those manners and that condition of society, in which passions are uncontrouled, and their natural indications manifested without reserve. It was necessary, therefore, to unite two things that never did exist together in any period of society; and the union, though it may startle sober thinkers a little, is perhaps within the legitimate prerogatives of poetry. The most outrageous, and the least successful attempt of this sort we remember, is that of Mr Southey, who represents a wild Welch chieftain, who goes a buccaneering to America in the twelfth century, with all the softness, decorum, and pretty behaviour of Sir Charles Grandison. But the incongruity itself is universal—from Campbell, who invests a Pensylvanian farmer with the wisdom and [illegible] of Socrates, and the dignified manners of an old Croix de St Louis—to Scott, who makes an old, bloody-minded and mercenary ruffian talk like a sentimental hero and poet, in his latter days—or the author before us, who has adorned a merciless corsair on a rock in the Mediterranean, with every virtue under heaven—except common honesty.

Of that noble author, and the peculiarity of his manner, we have not much more to say, before proceeding to give an account of the pieces now before us. His object obviously is, to produce a great effect, partly by the novelty of his situations, but chiefly by the force and energy of his sentiments and ex-

pressions; and the themes which he has selected, though perhaps too much resembling each other, are unquestionably well adapted for this purpose. There is something grand and imposing in the unbroken stateliness, courage, and heroic bigotry of a Turk of the higher order; and a certain voluptuous and barbaric pomp about his establishment, that addresses itself very forcibly to the imagination. His climate too, and most of its productions, are magnificent—and glow with a raised and exotic splendour; but the ruins of Grecian art, and of Grecian liberty and glory with which he is surrounded, form by far the finest of his accompaniments. There is nothing, we admit, half so trite in poetry as commonplaces of classical enthusiasm; but it is for this very reason that we admire the force of genius by which Lord Byron has contrived to be original, natural, and pathetic, upon a subject so unpromising, and apparently so long exhausted. How he has managed it, we do not yet exactly understand; though it is partly, we have no doubt, by placing us in the midst of the scene as it actually exists, and superadding the charm of enchanting landscape to that of interesting recollections. Lord Byron, we think, is the only modern poet who has set before our eyes a visible picture of the present aspect of scenes so famous in story; and, instead of feeding us with the unsubstantial food of historical associations, has spread around us the blue waters and dazzling skies—the ruined temples and dusky olives—the desolated cities, and turbaned population, of modern Attica. We scarcely knew before that Greece was still a beautiful country.

He has also made a fine use of the gentleness and submission of the females of these regions, as contrasted with the lordly pride and martial ferocity of the men: and though we suspect he has lent them more *soul* than of right belongs to them, as well as more delicacy and reflection; yet there is something so true to female nature in general, in his representations of this sort, and so much of the Oriental softness and acquiescence in his particular delineations, that it is scarcely possible to refuse the picture the praise of being characteristic and harmonious, as well as eminently sweet and beautiful in itself.

The other merits of his composition are such as his previous publications had already made familiar to the public,—an unparalleled rapidity of narrative, and condensation of thoughts and images—a style always vigorous and original, though sometimes quaint and affected, and more frequently strained, harsh, and abrupt—a diction and versification invariably spirited, and almost always harmonious and emphatic: Nothing diluted in short, or diffused into weakness, but full of life, and nerve, and activity—expanding only in the eloquent expression of strong

and favourite affections, and everywhere else concise, energetic, and impetuous—hurrying on with a disdain of little ornaments and accuracies, and not always very solicitous about being comprehended by readers of inferior capacity.

The more considerable of the two poems now before us, entitled 'The Corsair,' exhibits all those qualities, perhaps, in a more striking light than any of the author's other publications. It is written in the regular heroic couplet, with a spirit, freedom, and variety of tone, of which, notwithstanding the example of Dryden, we scarcely believed that measure susceptible. In all the descriptive and serious pieces of Dryden, and in all his writings, indeed, except his Political Satires and his immortal Ode, there are innumerable flat, dull, and prosaic passages;—lines without force, spirit, or energy, and in fact without any other merit than that of accurate versification, and easy and natural diction. Nothing can be more exquisite than the couplets of Pope, for the expression of pointed remark, wit, sarcasm, or epigram; but there is nothing in Pope of impetuous passion or enthusiastic vehemence; and his acknowledged mastery in this species of versification, had almost brought it to be considered as appropriate to such subjects,—when Goldsmith, and after him Rogers and Campbell, came to show that it was also capable of strains of the deepest tenderness and sweetest simplicity. Still, however, all these were compositions of a measured and uniform structure—and it was yet to be proved that this, the most ponderous and stately verse in our language, could be accommodated to the variations of a tale of passion and of pity, and to all the breaks, starts and transitions of an adventurous and dramatic narration. This experiment Lord Byron has made, with equal boldness and success—and has satisfied us, at least, that the oldest and most respectable measure that is known among us, is at least as flexible as any other—and capable, in the hands of a master, of vibrations as strong and rapid as those of a lighter structure. We shall not be positive that the charm may not be partly at least in the subject—but we certainly never read so many ten-syllabled couplets together before, with so little feeling of heaviness or monotony.

The subject of the poem is the last adventure of a celebrated Corsair, who is supposed to have possessed a small rocky island in the Mediterranean, from which, by the assistance of two or three brave galleys, and their gallant and devoted crews, he laid all the shipping and shores around, under contribution at his pleasure. The piece opens with a sort of song, descriptive of their way of life; which is supposed to be chanted by some of the pirates, while they lounge about on the beach, repairing

their tackling, or burnishing their arms. It is written with great force and spirit; and turns, as might be expected, on the superior joys of a life of glorious adventure, as contrasted with the dull uniformity of a more secure and vulgar existence. The singer dwells with enthusiasm on that thirst for stirring sensation,

" That seeks what cravens shun with more than zeal,
" And where the feebler faint—can only feel—
" Feel—to the rising bosom's inmost core,
" Its hope awaken and its spirit soar?
" No dread of death—if with us die our foes—
" Save that it seems even duller than repose:
" Let him who crawls enamoured of decay,
" Cling to his couch, and sicken years away;
" Heave his thick breath, and shake his palsied head;
" Ours—the fresh turf, and not the feverish bed.
" While gasp by gasp he falters forth his soul,
" Ours with one pang—one bound—escapes controul.
" His corse may boast its urn and narrow cave,
" And they who loath'd his life may gild his grave:
" Ours are the tears, though few, sincerely shed,
" When Ocean shrouds and sepulchres our dead."' p. 2, 3.

The song is broken by the return of one of their galleys; and a preparatory sketch of the Chief, to whom she brings despatches. He is represented as reserved, silent and haughty; abstemious as a hermit in his diet; and prompt as lightning in his decisions. The new-comers repair, without delay, to his lofty and romantic abode,

' Ascending slowly by the rock-hewn way,
To where his watch-tower beetles o'er the bay,
By bushy brake, and wild flowers blossoming,
And freshness breathing from each silver spring,
Whose scattered streams from granite basins burst,
Leap into life, and sparkling woo your thirst;
From crag to cliff they mount—Near yonder cave,
What lonely straggler looks along the wave?
In pensive posture leaning on the brand,—
Not oft a resting-staff to that red hand?
" 'Tis he—'tis Conrad—here—as wont—alone,
" On—Juan! on—and make our purpose known." p. 7, 8.

He peruses the letters they bring, in stern and composed silence;—briefly intimates his resolution of setting sail himself in an hour from that moment; and directs that, when everything is in readiness, a signal may be fired from the vessel. The poet then turns to describe, a little more minutely, this stern and energetic commander.

' Sun-burnt his cheek—his forehead high and pale
The sable curls in wild profusion veil;

And oft perforce his rising lip reveals
The haughtier thought it curbs, but scarce conceals.
Though smooth his voice, and calm his general mien,
Still seems there something he would not have seen:
His features' deepening lines and varying hue,
At times attracted, yet perplex'd the view,
As if within that murkiness of mind
Work'd feelings fearful, and yet undefined.
He had the skill, when Cunning's gaze would seek
To probe his heart and watch his changing cheek,
At once the observer's purpose to espy,
And on himself roll back his scrutiny.
There was a laughing Devil in his sneer,
That raised emotions both of rage and fear;
And where his frown of hatred darkly fell,
Hope withering fled—and Mercy sighed farewell!' p. 11, 12.

Then follows one of the powerful passages of this searcher of dark bosoms.

'Slight are the outward signs of evil thought,
Within—within—'twas there the spirit wrought!
Love shows all changes—Hate, Ambition, Guile,
Betray no further than the bitter smile;
The lip's least curl, the lightest paleness thrown
Along the govern'd aspect, speak alone
Of deeper passions; and to judge their mien,
He, who would see, must be himself unseen.
Then—with the hurried step, the upward eye,
The clenched hand, the pause of agony,
That listens, starting, lest the step too near
Approach intrusive on that mood of fear:
Then—with each feature working from the heart,
With feelings loosed to strengthen—not depart—
That rise—convulse—subside—that freeze, or glow,
Flush in the cheek, or damp upon the brow,
Then—Stranger! if thou canst, and tremblest not,
Behold his soul—the rest that soothes his lot!' p. 12, 13.

None, however, are all evil;—and round this heart, thus sullen and remorseless, one softer feeling still lingered, and soothed and enchanted its loneliness.

'Yes, it was Love!—unchangeable—unchanged—
Felt but for one from whom he never ranged;
Though many a beauty droop'd in prison'd bower,
None ever sooth'd his most unguarded hour.
Yes—it was Love—if thoughts of tenderness,
Tried in temptation, strengthen'd by distress,
Unmoved by absence, firm in every clime,
And yet—Oh more than all!—untired by time—
Which nor defeated hope, nor baffled wile,

Could render sullen were she ne'er to smile,
Nor rage could fire, nor sickness fret to vent
On her one murmur of his discontent—
Which still would meet with joy, with calmness part,
Lest that his look of grief should reach her heart;
Which nought remov'd—nor menaced to remove—
If there be love in mortals—this was love!
He was a villain—aye—reproaches shower
On him—but not the passion, nor its power,
Which only proved, all other virtues gone,
Not guilt itself could quench this loveliest one!' p. 15, 16.

As soon as he is left alone, his thoughts and his steps turn to this adored object;—though his mind is filled with sad presages as to the issue of the desperate expedition upon which he is about to depart.

" Now to Medora!—Oh! my sinking heart,
" Long may her own be lighter than thou art!"

He hears her singing a sweet and melancholy air as he approaches, and says, 'My own Medora!—Sure thy song is sad.' She answers, that in his absence it is always so; and proceeds in the following beautiful strain of pure and enchanting tenderness.

' " Oh! many a night on this lone couch reclin'd,
" My dreaming fear with storms hath wing'd the wind,
" And deem'd the breath that faintly fann'd thy sail—
" The murmuring prelude of the ruder gale;
" Though soft—it seem'd the low prophetic dirge,
" That mourn'd thee floating on the savage surge:
" Still would I rise—to rouse the beacon fire,
" Lest spies less true should let the blaze expire;
" And many a restless hour outwatch'd each star,
" And morning came—and still thou wert afar!
" Oh! how the chill blast on my bosom blew,
" And day broke dreary on my troubled view,
" And still I gazed and gazed—and not a prow
" Was granted to my tears—my truth—my vow!
" At length—'twas noon—I hail'd and blest the mast
" That met my sight—it near'd—Alas! it past!
" Another came—Oh God! 'twas thine at last!
" Would that those days were over! wilt thou ne'er,
" My Conrad! learn the joys of peace to share?" ' &c.
p. 19, 20.

He then tells her, with considerate and bitter sorrow, that they must part again that very hour! She exclaims, that it is impossible!—the vessel is scarcely come to anchor, and her crew have need of repose.

'" Be silent,—Conrad!—dearest—come and share
" The feast these hands delighted to prepare—
" Light toil! to cull and dress thy frugal fare!
" See, I have pluck'd the fruit that promised best,
" And where not sure, perplex'd, but pleased, I guess'd
" At such as seem'd the fairest: thrice the hill
" My steps have wound to try the coolest rill;
" Yes! thy Sherbet to-night will sweetly flow,
" See how it sparkles in its vase of snow!—
" But come—the board is spread—our silver lamp
" Is trimm'd, and heeds not the Sirocco's damp:
" Then shall my handmaids while the time along,
" And join with me the dance, or wake the song;
" Or my guitar, which still thou lov'st to hear,
" Shall soothe or lull—or, should it vex thine ear,
" We'll turn the tale, by Ariosto told,
" Of fair Olympia lov'd and left of old.—
" Thus Conrad, too, will quit me for the main:
" And he deceiv'd me—for—he came again!—
" Again—again—and oft again—my love!
" If there be life below, and hope above,
" He will return—but now—the moments bring
" The time of parting with redoubled wing." ' p. 23, 24.

While he is striving to comfort her, he hears his captain's bugle summon him from below, and starts forward to bid her adieu. We do not know any thing in poetry more beautiful or touching than the following picture of their parting.

' She rose—she sprung—she clung to his embrace,
Till his heart heaved beneath her hidden face.
He dared not raise to his that deep-blue eye,
That downcast droop'd in tearless agony.
Her long fair hair lay floating o'er his arms,
In all the wildness of dishevelled charms;
Scarce beat that bosom—where his image dwelt—
So full—*that* feeling seem'd almost unfelt!
Hark—peals the thunder of the signal-gun!
It told 'twas sunset—and he curs'd that sun.
Again—again—that form he madly press'd,
Which mutely clasp'd—imploringly caress'd!
And tottering to the couch his bride he bore,
One moment gazed—as if to gaze no more—
Felt—that for him earth held but her alone,
Kiss'd her cold forehead—turn'd—is Conrad gone?
O'er every feature of that still, pale face,
Had sorrow fix'd what time can ne'er erase:
The tender blue of that large loving eye
Grew frozen with its gaze on vacancy—

Till—Oh, how far! it caught a glimpse of him—
And then it flow'd—and phrenzied seem'd to swim
Through those long, dark, and glistening lashes dew'd
With drops of sadness oft to be renew'd.
"He's gone!"—against her heart that hand is driven,
Convuls'd and quick—then gently raised to heaven;
She look'd and saw the heaving of the main;
The white sail set—she dared not look again.' p. 24, 25.

He rushes down to the beach in all the agony of suppressed and intolerable anguish;—but as he draws near the scene of his glory and exertions, other images come gradually to his relief.

Again he hurries on—and as he hears
The clang of tumult vibrate on his ears,
The busy sounds, the bustle of the shore,
The shout, the signal, and the dashing oar—
As marks his eye the seaboy on the mast,
The anchor's rise, the sails unfurling fast,
The waving kerchiefs of the crowd that urge
That mute adieu to those who stem the surge;
And more than all—his blood-red flag aloft—
He marvell'd how his heart could seem so soft.
Fire in his glance, and wildness in his breast,
He feels of all his former self possest.' p. 26, 27.

He embarks;—issues his brief and clear commands;—sets sail;—glides, darkling and unseen, past the anchored fleet of his enemy, and takes the station he had resolved upon, at the close of the first Canto.

The second requires some little explanation;—at least it is convenient to apprise the reader, in this place, that the letter which sent Conrad off on this hasty expedition, conveyed information that a neighbouring Pacha, of the name of Seyd, had assembled a strong fleet, and was to sail next morning, for the purpose of finally exterminating the pirates in their den, and utterly destroying their settlement in the island. Conrad's sudden resolution was to endeavour to surprise and burn this armament in the night; and after finishing the course described at the close of the preceding Canto, it appears that he had ascertained that the hostile captains were still revelling ashore, at a feast given by the Pacha;—to which, after giving his orders for the attack, he himself repairs, in the disguise of a Dervise, and contrives to detain his enemies at table by a pretended story of his imprisonment, and recent escape from the island against which their expedition was intended. In the midst of his legend, the Pacha is startled with the sudden glare from his blazing fleet, and calls his attendants to seize on the false visitor.

'Up rose the Dervise with that burst of light,
Nor less his change of form appall'd the sight:

Up rose that Dervise—not in saintly garb,
But like a warrior bounding from his barb,
Dash'd his high cap, and tore his robe away—
Shone his mail'd breast, and flash'd his sabre's ray!
His close but glittering casque, and sable plume,
More glittering eye, and black brow's sabler gloom,
Glared on the Moslems' eyes some Afrit sprite,
Whose demon death-blow left no hope for fight.
The wild confusion, and the swarthy glow
Of flames on high, and torches from below;
The shriek of terror, and the mingling yell—
For swords began to clash, and shouts to swell,
Flung o'er that spot of earth the air of hell!
Distracted to and fro the flying slaves
Behold but bloody shore and fiery waves;
Nought heeded they the Pacha's angry cry,
They seize that Dervise!—seize on Zatanai!
Sweeps his long arm—that sabre's whirling sway,
Sheds fast atonement for its first delay;
Completes his fury, what their fear begun,
And makes the many basely quail to one.
The cloven turbans o'er the chamber spread,
And scarce an arm dares rise to guard its head:
Even Seyd, convuls'd, o'erwhelm'd with rage, surprize,
Retreats before him, though he still defies.
No craven he—and yet he dreads the blow,
So much Confusion magnifies his foe!
His blazing galleys still distract his sight,
He tore his beard, and foaming fled the fight.' p. 38—40.

In the mean time, the pirates join their triumphant leader, and fire the palace of their astonished enemy; as the flames advance, the shrieks of women are heard, and Conrad stops the work of devastation and slaughter to rescue and place in safety those defenceless captives—himself taking charge of the favourite Sultana. This act of generosity, however, proves his ruin. It gives time to the Pacha and his forces to recover from their panic, and to surround, and by superiority of numbers at last to overmaster, their desperate assailants. Conrad, wounded, and fighting like a madman, is at length overpowered, made prisoner, and led to his dungeon, under the eyes of that pitying beauty whom he had so recently rescued from the flames. Her impression from the whole adventure is delineated with great beauty.

'And when that dark-eyed lady, young Gulnare,
Recall'd those thoughts late wandering in despair,
Much did she marvel o'er the courtesy
That smooth'd his accents—soften'd in his eye.

'Twas strange—*that* robber thus with gore bedew'd,
Seem'd gentler then than Seyd in fondest mood.
The Pacha wooed as if he deemed the slave
Must seem delighted with the heart he gave;
The Corsair vowed protection, sooth'd affright,
As if his homage were a woman's right.
" The wish is wrong—nay worse for female—vain:
" Yet much I wish to view that chief again;
" If but to thank for, what my fear forgot,
" The life—my loving lord remembered not!"
And him she saw, where thickest carnage spread,
But gathered breathing from the happier dead;
Far from his band, and battling with a host
That deem right dearly won the field he lost.—
Can this be he? triumphant late she saw,
When his red hand's wild gesture waved, a law!
'Tis he indeed—disarm'd but undeprest,
His sole regret the life he still possest;
His wounds too slight, though taken with that will,
Which would have kiss'd the hand that then could kill.'
p. 44, 45.

Next follow some fine, but gloomy sketches of the unsubdued, though agonizing thoughts of the captive chief;—the struggles of pride and remorse—the recollections of days mis-spent, and talents perverted—and the hard and defying intrepidity by which all these recollections are resisted.

' One thought alone he could not—dared not meet—
" Oh, how these tidings will Medora greet?"
Then—only then—his clanking hands he rais'd,
And strain'd with rage the chain on which he gazed.' p. 49.

At last, overcome with toil and watching, he falls heavily asleep; and a new scene opens upon the reader.

' He slept in calmest seeming—for his breath
Was hush'd so deep—Ah! happy if in death!
He slept—Who o'er his placid slumber bends?
His foes are gone—and here he hath no friends;
Is it some seraph sent to grant him grace?
No, 'tis an earthly form with heavenly face!
Its white arm rais'd a lamp—yet gently hid,
Lest the ray flash abruptly on the lid
Of that clos'd eye, which opens but to pain,
And once unclosed—but once may close again!
That form, with eye so dark, and cheek so fair,
And auburn waves of gemm'd and braided hair;
With shape of fairy lightness—naked foot,
That shines like snow, and falls on earth as mute—
Through guards and dunnest night how came it there

Ah! rather ask what will *not* woman dare?
Whom youth and pity lead like thee, Gulnare!' p. 50, 51.

He awakens, and listens to her words of soothing. She promises to intercede with the Pacha, at least for a respite of his doom. He says, he can bear all, but the anguish his fate will occasion to Medora. 'Thou lov'st another, then!' rejoins the enthusiastic favourite, 'Ah! how I envy those who love and are beloved!' Conrad replies, that he thought her love was his from whose blazing harem he had delivered her; on which she breaks out into the following beautiful and truly feminine exclamation.

' "My love stern Seyd's? Oh—No—No—not my love—
"Yet much this heart, that strives no more, once strove
"To meet his passion—but it would not be.
"I felt—I feel—love dwells with—with the free.
"I am a slave, a favoured slave at best,
"To share his splendour, and seem very blest!
"Oft must my soul the question undergo,
"Of—'Dost thou love?' and burn to answer 'No!'
"Oh! hard it is that fondness to sustain,
"And struggle not to feel averse in vain;
"But harder still the heart's recoil to bear,
"And hide from one—perhaps another there.
"He takes the hand I give not—nor withhold—
"Its pulse nor check'd—nor quicken'd—calmly cold:
"And when he quits—it drops a lifeless weight
"From one I never loved enough to hate.
"No warmth these lips return by his imprest,
"And—chill'd remembrance shudders o'er the rest!"' p. 56.

She glides away again, promising to postpone, and, if possible, to avert his execution; and the Second Canto closes with this brief but emphatic picture of his dreadful condition.

'Tis morn—and o'er his alter'd features play
The beams—without the hope of yesterday.—
What shall he be ere night?—Perchance a thing
O'er which the raven flaps her funeral wing:
By his closed eye unheeded and unfelt,
While sets that sun, and dews of evening melt,
Chill—wet—and misty round each stiffened limb,
Refreshing earth—reviving all but him!' p. 58, 59.

The last Canto opens with some enchanting lines upon the evening aspect of Athens, and the surrounding landscape. We can make room but for a few of them.

' Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,
Along Morea's hills the setting sun;
Not as in Northern climes obscurely bright,
But one unclouded blaze of living light!

O'er the hush'd deep the yellow beam he throws,
Gilds the green wave, that trembles as it glows.
On old Ægina's rock, and Idra's isle,
The god of gladness sheds his parting smile;
O'er his own regions lingering loves to shine,
Though there his altars are no more divine.
Descending fast the mountain shadows kiss
Thy glorious gulph, unconquered Salamis!
Their azure arches through the long expanse
More deeply purpled meet his mellowing glance,
And tenderest tints, along their summits driven,
Mark his gay course and own the hues of heaven;
Till, darkly shaded from the land and deep,
Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to sleep.—
But lo! from high Hymettus to the plain,
The Queen of Night asserts her silent reign.
No murky vapour, herald of the storm,
Hides her fair face, nor girds her glowing form;
With cornice glimmering as the moon-beams play,
There the white column greets her grateful ray,
And bright around with quivering beams beset
Her emblem sparkles o'er the minaret:—
And, dun and sombre 'mid the holy calm,
Near Theseus' fane yon solitary palm,
All tinged with varied hues arrest the eye—
And dull were his that pass'd them heedless by!'

p. 61, 62, 63.

The scene then changes to the Pirate's isle, and the anguish and anxiety of his deserted Medora. After watching for three restless days in her tower,

———————' Impatience bore
At last her footsteps to the midnight shore,
And there she wandered heedless of the spray
That dash'd her garments oft, and warn'd away:
She saw not—felt not this—nor dared depart,
Nor deemed it cold—her chill was at her heart.' p. 65.

At the dawning of morning, his shattered bark returns with a scanty remnant of his wounded and despairing followers. They tell their mournful story; and she sinks in the surf at their feet, and is borne almost lifeless by her female attendants from the shore. We then return to Gulnare, who is represented as sitting at the feet of the stern and vindictive Seyd, and vainly using all her wiles to obtain some indulgence for his captive. He becomes quite furious at last, at her obstinate intercession, and leaves her with threats against her own life and freedom.

' Ah! little reck'd that chief of womanhood—
Which frowns ne'er quell'd, nor menaces subdued;

And little deem'd he what thy heart—Gulnare!
When soft could feel, and when incens'd could dare.
His doubts appear'd to wrong—nor yet she knew
How deep the root from whence compassion grew.' p. 71.

In the mean time, Conrad pines in his lonely cell.

'The fourth day roll'd along—and with the night
Came storm and darkness in their mingling might:
Oh! how he listened to the rushing deep,
That ne'er till now so broke upon his sleep;
And his wild spirit wilder wishes sent,
Roused by the roar of his own element!
Oft had he ridden on that winged wave,
And loved its roughness for the speed it gave;
And now its dashing echoed on his ear,
A long known voice—alas! too vainly near!
Loud sung the wind above—and, doubly loud,
Shook o'er his turret cell the thunder-cloud;
And flash'd the lightning by the latticed bar,
To him more genial than the midnight star.' p. 73, 74.

In the midst of this tumult of the elements, the beauteous form of Gulnare again presents itself before him—tells him she despairs of softening the Pacha in his favour—confesses her love to him, and her resentment of the base threats and insults she has herself received from the despot—and finally, proposes that they should assassinate him in his sleep, and fly to his island together. Conrad, with infinite, and unnatural generosity, refuses to lift his arm against a defenceless adversary; and she rushes away in desperation alone, leaving the door of his dungeon open behind her. He follows, bewildered and incumbered with his chains—sees the dawn brightening from an open gallery—and again meets Gulnare issuing from a still and lighted chamber, without her dagger, and with an air of recovered composure. He flatters himself that she has abandoned her savage purpose; but, upon coming close up to her, he discovers one fatal stain of blood upon her pale and disordered cheek, and shrinks back in horror,—when she suddenly claps her hands, and a party of her attendants surround them—strike off Conrad's fetters—and hurry him along with them to the beach, where they embark with the rising sun, and soon pass under the rocks where the unfortunate pirate stationed his ambush on the night they were first acquainted.

'Still onward! fair the breeze, nor rough the surge,
The blue waves sport around the stern they urge;
Far on the horizon's verge appears a speck—
A spot—a mast—a sail—an armed deck!
Their little bark her men of watch descry,
And ampler canvas woos the wind from high;

She bears her down majestically near,
Speed on her prow, and terror in her tier;
A flash is seen—the ball beyond their bow
Booms harmless hissing to the deep below.
Uprose keen Conrad from his silent trance,
A long, long absent gladness in his glance;
" 'Tis mine—my blood-red flag—again—again—
" I am not all deserted on the main!" p. 85.

This was his lieutenant's galley, which had set out to ascertain, or share the fate of their leader. After the first burst of joy and exultation—

' With many an asking smile, and wondering stare,
They whisper round, and gaze upon Gulnare;
And her, at once above—beneath her sex,
Whom blood appall'd not, their regards perplex.
To Conrad turns her faint imploring eye,
She drops her veil, and stands in silence by;
Her arms are meekly folded on that breast,
Which—Conrad safe—to fate resign'd the rest.
Though worse than phrenzy could that bosom fill,
Extreme in love or hate—in good or ill,
The worst of crimes, had left her woman still!' } p. 86.

Hitherto his horror and astonishment at her bloody daring, had kept him aloof from that fair deliverer—but gentler thoughts begin now to prevail—as may be traced in the following beautiful and characteristic passage.

' ———whate'er her guilt,
For him that poignard smote—that blood was spilt—
And he was free!—and she for him had given
Her all on earth, and more than all in heaven!
And now he turn'd him to that dark-eyed slave
Whose brow was bowed beneath the glance he gave,
Who now seemed changed and humbled:—faint and meek,
But varying oft the colour of her cheek
To deeper shades of paleness—all its red
That fearful spot which stain'd it from the dead!
He took that hand—it trembled—now too late—
So soft in love—so wildly nerved in hate;
He clasp'd that hand—it trembled—and his own
Had lost its firmness, and his voice its tone.
" Gulnare!"—but she replied not—" dear Gulnare!"
She raised her eye—her only answer there—
At once she sought and sunk in his embrace!
If he had driven her from that resting place,
His had been more or less than mortal heart,
But—good or ill—it bade her not depart.
Perchance, but for the bodings of his breast,
His latest virtue then had joined the rest.

Yet even Medora might forgive the kiss
That asked from form so fair no more than this—
The first—the last that Frailty stole from Faith—
To lips where Love had lavish'd all his breath,
To lips—whose broken sighs such fragrance fling,
As he had fann'd them freshly with his wing!' p. 87, 88.

At close of evening they reach at length the rocky shore of his own island. But his Medora's tower, whose lights used first to greet him, is dark and silent. Stung with intolerable impatience,—

'With the first pause the resting rowers gave,
He waits not—looks not—leaps into the wave,
Strives through the surge—bestrides the beach—and high
Ascends the path familiar to his eye.' p. 89.

He reaches his turret door, and knocks loud and impetuously—but receives no answer. With faint and faltering hand he knocks again—the door slowly opens, and a melancholy face, but not the face he is in search of, presents itself—afraid to ask, and resolved to know, he snatches the lamp from the hand of the attendant, rushes into the well-known chamber—and finds all his forebodings realized!

'He turn'd not—spoke not—sunk not—fix'd his look,
And set the anxious frame that lately shook:
He gazed—how long we gaze despite of pain,
And know—but dare not own we gaze in vain!
In life itself she was so still and fair,
That death with gentler aspect withered there;
And the cold flowers her colder hand contain'd,
In that last grasp as tenderly were strain'd
As if she scarcely felt, but feign'd a sleep,
And made it almost mockery yet to weep:
The long dark lashes fringed her lids of snow—
And veil'd—thought shrinks from all that lurk'd below—
Oh! o'er the eye death most exerts his might,
And hurls the spirit from her throne of light!
Sinks those blue orbs in that long last eclipse,
But spares, as yet, the charm around her lips—
Yet—yet they seem as they forbore to smile,
And wish'd repose—but only for a while;
But the white shroud, and each extended tress,
Long—fair—but spread in utter lifelessness,
Which, late the sport of every summer wind,
Escaped the baffled wreath that strove to bind;
These—and the pale pure cheek, became the bier—
But she is nothing—wherefore is he here?
He ask'd no question—all were answer'd now
By the first glance on that still—marble brow,

It was enough—she died—what reck'd it how?
The love of youth, the hope of better years,
The source of softest joy and tenderest fears,
The only living thing he could not hate,
Was reft at once—and he deserv'd his fate,
But did not feel it less.' p. 90—92.

This, we think, is exquisitely beautiful; and yet scarcely so beautiful and touching and powerful as the following, with which we conclude our extracts.

'On Conrad's stricken soul exhaustion prest,
And stupor almost lull'd it into rest;
So feeble now—his mother's softness crept
To those wild eyes, which like an infant's wept:
It was the very weakness of his brain,
Which thus confess'd without relieving pain.
None saw his trickling tears—perchance, if seen,
That useless flood of grief had never been:
Nor long they flowed—he dried them to depart,
In helpless—hopeless—brokenness of heart:
The sun goes forth—but Conrad's day is dim—
And the night cometh—ne'er to pass from him!
His heart was form'd for softness—warp'd to wrong—
Betray'd too early, and beguil'd too long;
Each feeling pure—as falls the dropping dew
Within the grot; like that had harden'd too;—
Less clear, perchance, its earthly trials pass'd,
But sunk, and chill'd, and petrified at last.
Yet tempests wear, and lightning cleaves the rock;
If such his heart, so shatter'd it the shock.
There grew one flower beneath its rugged brow,
Though dark the shade—it shelter'd,—saved till now.
The thunder came—that bolt hath blasted both,
The Granite's firmness, and the Lily's growth:
The gentle plant hath left no leaf to tell
Its tale, but shrunk and wither'd where it fell,
And of its cold protector, blacken round
But shiver'd fragments on the barren ground!' p. 93, 94

After that fatal night Conrad is seen no more upon earth.—His followers discover that a boat has been broken from her moorings: but no researches bring any information of their leader—

" Nor trace nor tidings of his doom declare,
" Where lives his grief, or perish'd his despair."

Our readers are now in a condition to judge for themselves of the merits of this singular production—nor are we tempted to interfere with any remarks of our own. The obvious and radical objection, of all the incidents being borrowed from situations

that are scarcely *conceivable* by the greater part of his readers, has been already considered in the remarks which we made at the beginning: a more reasonable objection, we think is, that the character of the hero is needlessly loaded in the description with crimes and vices of which his conduct affords no indication. He is spoken of as an abandoned and unfeeling ruffian—and he uniformly comports himself as a perfect pattern of tenderness and humanity. Nay, he even carries his generosity a good deal farther than, we believe, the most moral of his readers would think necessary—for our own part, at least, we do not hesitate to profess that we should have very little scruple about taking the life of any worthy gentleman over night, who had put every thing in order for impaling us in the morning.

The Corsair has detained us so long, that we must make short work with the Bride of Abydos—which is a piece indeed of a slighter structure, and more easily despatched. This is a Turkish tale, like the Giaour, written in yet more irregular verse, and abounding more in soft and tender scenes, and less in terrors and horrors than any of Lord Byron's other publications. It contains many passages of great interest and beauty—and as many specimens of rich and splendid description as could be selected out of any work of the same extent. The story is wild and tragical—but neither complicated nor horrible.

Giaffir sits in his Divan in great state, and summons his daughter Zuleika to his presence. Her brother Selim respectfully states, that he believes she is still wandering in the gardens of the Seraglio, where he himself had just left her, to attend on his court. The Pacha reproaches his son with effeminacy, and is kindled into fury by the resentful air with which his scorn is repaid, when the entrance of Zuleika disarms him of every angry feeling. Nothing in all the piece is more beautiful or elegant than her introduction.

' "But hark!—I hear Zuleika's voice,
 " Like Houris' hymn it meets mine ear;
" She is the offspring of my choice—
 " Oh! more than even her mother dear,
" With all to hope, and nought to fear,
" My Peri! ever welcome here!
" Sweet, as the desart-fountain's wave
" To lips just cooled in time to save—
 " Such to my longing sight art thou;
" Nor can they waft to Mecca's shrine
" More thanks for life, than I for thine
 " Who bless'd thy birth, and bless thee now."
' Fair—as the first that fell of womankind—
 When on that dread yet lovely serpent smiling,

Whose image then was stamped upon her mind—
But once beguiled—and ever more beguiling;
Dazzling—as that, oh! too transcendent vision
To Sorrow's phantom-peopled slumber given,
When heart meets heart again in dreams Elysian,
And paints the lost on Earth revived in Heaven—
Soft—as the memory of buried love—
Pure—as the prayer which Childhood wafts above—
Was she—the daughter of that rude old Chief,
Who met the maid with tears—but not of grief.
Who hath not proved—how feebly words essay
To fix one spark of Beauty's heavenly ray?
Who doth not feel—until his failing sight
Faints into dimness with its own delight—
His changing cheek—his sinking heart confess
The might—the majesty of Loveliness?
Such was Zuleika—such around her shone
The nameless charms unmarked by her alone
The light of love—the purity of grace—
The mind—the Music breathing from her face!
The heart whose softness harmonized the whole—
And, oh! that eye was in itself a Soul!
Her graceful arms in meekness bending
Across her gently budding breast—
At one kind word those arms extending
To clasp the neck of him who blest
His child, caressing and carest.' p. 8—10.

After some preamble, the Turkish father coolly announces to her, that he has promised her in marriage to a neighbouring Bey, who is on his way to claim her hand; and mounts his horse to review the exercises of his cavalry. Selim remains in mute dejection; and all the ensuing scene is delineated with equal delicacy and beauty.

'His head was leant upon his hand,
His eye looked o'er the dark blue water,
That swiftly glides and gently swells
Between the winding Dardanelles;
But yet he saw nor sea nor strand,
Nor even his Pacha's turbaned band
Mix in the game of mimic slaughter;
Careering cleave the folded felt
With sabre stroke right sharply dealt—
Nor marked the javelin darting crowd,
Nor heard their Ollahs wild and loud.' p. 12, 13.

Zuleika strives in vain to rouse him from this stern and sullen mood.

'Thrice paced she slowly through the room,
And watched his eye—it still was fixed—

She snatched the urn wherein was mixed
The Persian Atar-gul's perfume,
And sprinkled all its odours o'er
The pictured roof and marble floor—
The drops, that through his glittering vest
The playful girl's appeal addrest,
Unheeded o'er his bosom flew,
As if that breast were marble too—
" What, sullen yet? it must not be—
" Oh! gentle Selim, this from thee!' p. 14.

She then playfully presents him with a rose, and a message from its paramour the nightingale; and at last says, if it be the thought of her marriage that disturbs him, she vows never to wed without his consent.

' " Think'st thou that I could bear to part
" With thee—and learn to halve my heart?
" Ah! were I severed from thy side,
" Where were thy friend—and who my guide?
" Years have not seen—Time shall not see
" The hour that tears my soul from thee—
" Even Azrael from his deadly quiver
" When flies that shaft—and fly it must—
" That parts all else—shall doom for ever
" Our hearts to undivided dust!"
He lived—he breathed—he moved—he felt—
He raised the maid from where she knelt—
His trance was gone—his keen eye shone
With thoughts that long in darkness dwelt—
With thoughts that burn—in rays that melt.—
" Now thou art mine! for ever mine,
" With life to keep, and scarce with life resign!
" Now thou art mine, that sacred oath,
Though sworn by one, hath bound us both.
Yes, fondly, wisely hast thou done,
That vow hath saved more heads than one:—
But blench not thou—thy simplest tress
Claims more from me than tenderness;
" I would not wrong the slenderest hair
" That clusters round thy forehead fair,
" For all the treasures buried far
" Within the caves of Istakar." ' p. 16–18.

He then proceeds to tell her that he is not what he appears, and desires her to meet him after dark in the garden of the Serai.—She consents, though overcome with apprehension and surprize at the vehemence with which he expresses himself.—The night scene, and the interior of a Turkish *boudoir*, are given with great elegance and effect, though the outlandish epithets are rather numerous.

'Late, late to night will Dian cheer
The swain, and chase the boatman's fear;
Till then—no beacon on the cliff
May shape the course of struggling skiff:
The scatter'd lights that skirt the bay,
All, one by one, have died away;
The only lamp of this lone hour
Is glimmering in Zuleika's tower.
Yes, there is light in that lone chamber,
And o'er her silken Ottoman
Are thrown the fragrant beads of amber,
O'er which her fairy fingers ran;
Near these, with emerald rays beset,
How could she thus that gem forget?
Her mother's sainted amulet,
Whereon engraved the Koorsee text,
Could smooth this life, and win the next;
And by her Comboloio lies
A Koran of illumin'd dyes;
And many a bright emblazon'd rhyme
By Persian scribes redeem'd from time;
And o'er those scrolls, not oft so mute,
Reclines her now neglected lute;
And round her lamp of fretted gold
Bloom flowers in urns of China's mould;
The richest work of Iran's loom,
And Sheeraz' tribute of perfume;
All that can eye or sense delight
Are gathered in that gorgeous room—
But yet it hath an air of gloom.—
She, of this Peri cell the sprite,
What doth she hence, and on so rude a night?' p. 28, 29.

Attended by one faithful slave, she reaches the grotto where Selim had appointed to meet her; and speedily beholds him enter in the habit of a Turkish sailor. He then announces to her, that he is not her brother;—and while she is lost in the agony of that discovery, which she innocently—rather too innocently—supposes is to put an end to their intimacy and affection, he proceeds to tell a long story of his being the son of Giaffir's only brother—of the murder of that brother by his unnatural uncle—of his own occasional escape from the bondage in which his jealousy has hitherto held him—and of the party he had secretly formed in the very household of the tyrant. He then draws an enchanting picture of the bliss which his enthusiastic fancy had conjured up to gild their united days, at a distance from the crimes and restraints of their present royal residence.

' " Ay! let me like the ocean-Patriarch roam,
" Or only know on land the Tartar's home,—

" My tent on shore—my galley on the sea—
" Are more than cities and Serais to me;
" Borne by my steed, or wafted by my sail,
" Across the desart, or before the gale,
" Bound where thou wilt, my barb! or glide my prow,
" But be the star that guides the wanderer—Thou!
" Thou, my Zuleika, share and bless my bark—
" The Dove of peace and promise to mine ark!
" Or since that hope denied in worlds of strife—
" Be thou the rainbow to the storms of life!—
" Soft—as the melody of youthful days,
" That steals the trembling tear of speechless praise;
" Dear—as his native song to Exile's ears,
" Shall sound each tone thy long-loved voice endears.
" For thee in those bright isles is built a bower
" Blooming as Aden in its earliest hour.
" A thousand swords—thy Selim's heart and hand—
" Wait—wave—defend—destroy—at thy command!
" Girt by my band—Zuleika at my side—
" The spoil of nations shall bedeck my bride:—
" The Haram's languid years of listless ease
" Are well resign'd for cares—for joys like these!" p.44-5.

When he has finished his agitating tale and impetuous solicitations, the catastrophe is introduced with inimitable pathos and judgment.

' Zuleika—mute and motionless,
Stood like that statue of distress—
When, her last hope for ever gone,
The mother hardened into stone;
All in the maid that eye could see
Was but a younger Niobê!—
But ere her lip, or even her eye,
Essayed to speak, or look reply—
Beneath the garden's wicket porch
Far flashed on high a blazing torch!
Another—and another—and another—
" Oh! fly!—no more—yet now my more than brother!"
Far—wide through every thicket spread
The fearful lights are gleaming red;
Nor these alone—for each right hand
Is ready with a sheathless brand:—
They part, pursue, return, and wheel
With searching flambeau, shining steel;
And last of all, his sabre waving,
Stern Giaffir in his fury raving,
And now almost they touch the cave—
Oh! must that grot be Selim's grave?' p. 49, 50.

Though aware of the extremity of the danger, he prepares

to meet it with heroic resolution. He steps to the mouth of the grotto, and fires his pistol as a signal to his party on the water—takes an agonizing farewell of Zuleika, whom he conjures to remain within its shelter—and, rushing through his bewildered assailants, springs at once from the garden-wall to the beach. The following narrative is as interesting as it is rapid and picturesque.

'One bound he made, and gained the sand—
Already at his feet hath sunk
The foremost of the prying band—
A gasping head, a quivering trunk;
Another falls—but round him close
A swarming circle of his foes:
From right to left his path he cleft,
And almost met the meeting wave;—
His boat appears—not five oars' length—
His comrades strain with desperate strength—
Oh! are they yet in time to save?
His feet the foremost breakers lave;
His band are plunging in the bay,
Their sabres glitter through the spray;
Wet—wild—unwearied to the strand
They struggle—now they touch the land!
They come—'Tis but to add to slaughter—
His heart's best blood is on the water!
Escaped from shot—unharmed by steel,
Or scarcely grazed its force to feel—
Had Selim won—betrayed—beset—
To where the strand and billows met—
There as his last step left the land,
And the last death-blow dealt his hand—
Ah! wherefore did he turn to look
For her his eye but sought in vain?
That pause—that fatal gaze he took—
Hath doomed his death—or fixed his chain—
Sad proof—in peril and in pain
How late will Lover's hope remain!—
His back was to the dashing spray—
Behind but close—his comrades lay—
When at the instant, hissed the ball,
"So may the foes of Giaffir fall!"
Whose voice is heard? whose carbine rang?
Whose bullet through the night-air sang?
Too nearly—deadly aimed to err—
'Tis thine—Abdallah's Murderer!
The father slowly rued thy hate,
The son hath found a quicker fate—

Fast from his breast the blood is bubbling,
The whiteness of the sea-foam troubling,
If aught his lips essayed to groan
The rushing billows choaked the tone!'— p. 51—53

The sequel of the tragedy is given with no less power and feeling.

' Morn slowly rolls the clouds away—
Few trophies of the fight are there—
The shouts that shook the midnight-bay
Are silent—but some signs of fray
That strand of strife may bear—
And fragments of each shivered brand—
Steps stamped, and dashed into the sand,
The print of many a struggling hand
May there be marked—nor far remote
A broken torch—an oarless boat—
And tangled on the weeds that heap
The beach where shelving to the deep—
There lies a white Capote!
'Tis rent in twain—one dark-red stain
The wave yet ripples o'er in vain.
The only heart—the only eye—
Had bled or wept to see him die,
Had seen those scattered limbs composed,
And mourned above his turban-stone—
That heart hath burst—that eye was closed—
Yea—closed before his own!
Thou didst not view thy Selim fall!
That fearful moment when he left the cave
Thy heart grew chill—
He was thy hope—thy joy—thy love—thine all—
And that last thought on him thou could'st not save
Sufficed to kill—
Burst forth in one wild cry—and all was still!
Peace to thy broken heart—and virgin grave!
Ah! happy! but of life to lose the worst,
That grief—though deep—though fatal—was thy first!
Thrice happy! ne'er to feel nor fear the force
Of absence—shame—pride—hate—revenge—remorse!
And, oh! that pang where more than Madness lies—
The Worm that will not sleep—and never dies—
Thought of the gloomy day and ghastly night,
That dreads the darkness, and yet loathes the light.'
p. 53-56.

What follows, borders perhaps a little upon the fantastic; but it is beautifully written; and, in the close of a wild and sad Eastern story, is likely to meet not only with indulgence, but applause.

'Within the place of thousand tombs
  That shine beneath, while dark above
The sad but living cypress glooms
  And withers not, though branch and leaf
Are stamped with an eternal grief,
  Like early unrequited Love!
One spot exists—which ever blooms,
  Ev'n in that deadly grove.—
A single rose is shedding there
  Its lonely lustre, meek and pale,
It looks as planted by Despair—
  So white—so faint—the slightest gale
Might whirl the leaves on high;
  And yet, though storms and blight assail,
And hands more rude than wintry sky
  May wring it from the stem—in vain—
To-morrow sees it bloom again!
  The stalk some spirit gently rears,
And waters with celestial tears.
  To it the livelong night there sings
  A bird unseen—but not remote—
Invisible his airy wings,
But soft as harp that Houri strings
  His long entrancing note!
It were the Bulbul—but his throat,
  Though mournful, pours not such a strain;
For they who listen cannot leave
The spot, but linger there and grieve,
  As if they loved in vain!
And yet so sweet the tears they shed,
  'Tis sorrow so unmixed with dread,
They scarce can bear the morn to break
  That melancholy spell,
And longer yet would weep and wake,
  He sings so wild and well!
But when the day-blush bursts from high—
  Expires that magic melody.
And some have been who could believe,
(So fondly youthful dreams deceive,
  Yet harsh be they that blame),
That note so piercing and profound
Will shape and syllable its sound
  Into Zuleika's name.
'Tis from her cypress' summit heard,
That melts in air the liquid word—
'Tis from her lowly virgin earth
That white rose takes its tender birth.' p. 57–59.

After these long extracts, we can afford to say but little of Lord Byron's poetical peculiarities. We still wish he would present us with personages with whom we could more entirely sympathize. At present, he will let us admire nothing but adventurous courage in men, and devoted gentleness in women. There is no intellectual dignity or accomplishment about any of his characters; and no very enlightened or equitable principles of morality. We have made the best apology we could for this tribe of heroes, in the remarks we have ventured upon at the beginning; and are aware of the difficulty of exhibiting strong passions in respectable persons. But it belongs to a genius like his, to overcome such difficulties; and he will never be thoroughly nor universally pleasing, till he learns to bespeak our interest for beings a little more like those whom we have been accustomed to love and admire.

We must say a word or two, also, upon the faults of his style and diction—some of which seem to be growing into manner and habit with him. He has a sort of emphatic obscurity, for instance, every now and then, that is always distressing, and sometimes absurd. Speaking of the wild ditty sung by the pirates, for example, he says,

"Such were the sounds that thrilled the rocks among,
"And *unto ears as rugged seemed a song.*"

And a little after,

———" she that day had past
"In watching all *that hope proclaimed a mast.*"

And again, in the latter poem, with a still more lamentable failure of the intended effect—

"A cup, too, on the board was set,
"That *did not seem to hold sherbet.*"

His construction too is often ungrammatical or imperfect—as when giving directions to alter the guard of his sword, he says,

"Last time, it more fatigued my arm than foes."

To *fatigue* foes with a sabre, is at all events a very strange mode of annoyance. In a subsequent passage, it is said,

"He sate him down in silence, and his look
"Resumed the calmness which before forsook;"

Forsook what?—The verb is unquestionably active, and not neuter. The whole passage indeed is clumsy in diction, and, we would almost say, vulgar in expression. For example,

"The feast was ushered in; but sumptuous fare,
"He shunned as if some poison mingled there.
"For one so long condemned to toil and fast,
"Methinks he strangely spares the rich repast.
"What ails thee, Dervise?—eat—dost thou suppose
"This feast a Christian's? or my friends thy foes?"

The following triplet is heavy, and almost unintelligible—it would be agreeably lightened by striking out the middle line.

> " But he has said it—and the jealous well,
> Those tyrants teazing, tempting to rebel,
> Deserve the fate their fretting lips foretell."

There are various imitations of living authors—who would, no doubt, have been proud to have had the noble author acknowledge his obligations—and there is no one certainly who can better afford to acknowledge them. All that we object to however, is, that he sometimes imitates what had better be let alone—as the quaint jingle of Crabbe in such a line as this—

> " Or fallen too low, to fear a farther fall."

And the dangerous simplicity and daring pathos of Campbell, in such as this—

> " Another—and another—and another."

These are small matters, we allow; and if every one thought as little of them as we do, we doubt whether we should have condescended to take any notice of them. But many who have a good deal to say in awarding poetical glory, consider them as of no light importance; and therefore it becomes us, as professed critics, to admonish the noble author of their existence. —We hope he is not in earnest in meditating even a temporary divorce from his Muse—and would humbly suggest to him to do away the reproach of the age, by producing a tragic drama of the old English school of poetry and pathos. He has all the air, we think, of being the knight for whom the accomplishment of that great adventure is reserved.

Art. X. *A Literary History of the Middle Ages; comprehending an Account of the State of Learning, from the close of the Reign of Augustus, to its Revival in the Fifteenth Century.* By the Rev. Joseph Berington. 4to. pp. 743. London, 1814.

Among the various revolutions which literature has experienced, none are more remarkable than those which it underwent in the period included in the work before us. The high and dazzling prosperity of the Augustan age; the rapid and deep decline of the succeeding times; the long period of ignorance and barbarity which ensued; and the commencement of a new state of things, destined to no retrogression, present a spectacle interesting to every imagination, and a series of phenomena of which the causes and effects may justly be rank-

ed among the most interesting subjects of philosophical investigation.

The causes by which literature is promoted, are so nearly the same with those by which human happiness is advanced, that one cannot be surprised at the deep interest which mankind have taken in tracing its progress through the different stages of society. It is in fact regarded, and with justice, as the most infallible criterion of the point of civilization at which any people have arrived.

It is not however so much, perhaps, to its intimate connexion with the general happiness of society, as to its connexion with the happiness of individuals, that literature is principally indebted for the favour which it has enjoyed. As the manners of men are refined, and the taste for the coarse or boisterous enjoyments of the barbarian declines, no amusement is found to occupy so delightfully the vacant hours of life, even to those whose principal pursuit is amusement. No pleasure is so little subject to wear itself out, by exhausting either the materials or the faculty of enjoyment. It is one of those tastes which grow by indulgence; of which the objects become more numerous, and the emotions more exquisite, the greater the cultivation which it receives. It is more independent of the will of other men; more independent, in point of all external circumstances, than almost any other source of enjoyment. The objects about which it is conversant, too, fill the mind with a consciousness of its own elevation; while it traces the innumerable events which are passed, or pierces through the veil that covers the future; ranges over the globe upon which it is placed, or flies from planet to planet, and world to world, through the regions of infinite space. The indulgence of a literary taste is naturally attended with a perception of increasing power—of a more enlarged dominion over the objects of nature, animate and inanimate, rational and irrational. It is attended with the delightful conviction of giving a higher claim upon the love and esteem of mankind, and of acquiring a greater command over those feelings and passions which render men odious to their fellow-creatures. How naturally it combines with the best feelings incident to every condition of life—with what advantages it engages and employs the thoughts of the wretched, tempers and moderates the elevation of the prosperous, directs the enthusiasm of the young, and relieves the ennui of the old, has been so long felt, and so often expressed with all the powers of language and of genius, that it may well be regarded as one of the laws to which universal assent is attached. 'If the riches of both Indies,' said the elegant and amiable Fenelon; 'if the crowns of all the kingdoms

'of Europe were laid at my feet, in exchange for my love of 'reading, I would spurn them all.'

In surveying the extended field which Mr Berington presents to our view, it is of importance to set out with an accurate estimate of the original standard by which all that follows is to be measured. Literature, to whatever perfection it was carried in the Augustan age, in the branches on which culture was bestowed, must be allowed to have possessed but a narrow, and by no means a very elevated range. The departments of Roman literature were in number hardly more than three; poetry, history, and rhetoric. In regard to philosophy at least, their pretensions, we think, cannot be ranked very high. Of physical science they were altogether destitute. And of their most celebrated writings, or what they dignified with the name of Moral Philosophy—those, for example, of Cicero—besides that they were only transfusions from the Greek, we should hardly, in the present day, allow that they were of the nature of science or philosophy at all. Though moral precepts are enforced with persuasive elegance, and practical questions of morals discussed in our Spectators and Ramblers, we are not accustomed to rank these popular productions among our works of philosophy. But, unless where he enters upon the trite and puerile questions,—whether the *summum bonum* consists in pleasure, or in the absence of pain,—whether it consists in virtue along with riches and pleasure, or in virtue alone;—or where he undertakes to prove that all opinions are doubtful, and that, with regard to the human mind, there is no such thing as truth or falsehood, frivolities which still less deserve the name of philosophy, and are of kin to those with which the human mind is uniformly caught in the infancy of civilization,—the writings of Cicero certainly ought not to be considered as of a higher cast than the serious papers in the Spectator, or the moral sermons of Blair.

If we carry our criticism even higher, to the masters of the Romans in literature—the Greeks, we shall find that their legitimate pretensions lie within a very limited compass. In Geometry, one of the branches of mathematical science, they had, indeed, made a noble and astonishing progress; but, into the properties of physical bodies, or the order of physical events, they had hardly pushed their inquiries beyond the obvious results of vulgar observation. In regard to the Philosophy of Mind, the writings of Xenophon, and even those of Plato—exquisite models as they are of the arts of disputation, and instructive beyond example in all the resources of attack and defence—are by no means entitled to rank higher than the works of Cicero. Among all the philosophers of antiquity, Aristotle alone appears to have made any considerable attempts in what,

we now should think, worthy to be called the philosophy of mind. But even he appears not to have conceived the scheme of collecting and arranging the phenomena of thought, and ascertaining the order of their succession. His Logic is undoubtedly an attempt—astonishing for the powers which it displays, and instructive by the lights which it communicated—to analyze the process of general reasoning, one of the complicated operations of the mind; the nature of which, after all, he entirely mistook. It is indeed a remark, which is worthy of mention, that not one of the ancient philosophers had any conception of the real nature of general terms, or of the operation of mind, which is called Abstraction;—and that it is chiefly by this radical defect that they are perpetually perplexed, and led into all their trifling and absurdity. The Metaphysics of Aristotle, are either an effort to explain the various uses which were made of the most general terms of the language, without an attempt to explain their real nature, or to penetrate into what is placed beyond the reach of human faculties, the essence and causes of things. His Ethics are a sort of manual of practical morality, to explain and enforce the four cardinal virtues. His Politics are an attempt, and an attempt which exhibits the vigour of his genius, to explain some of the most striking phenomena of government, which had been exhibited among the states of Greece, or the neighbouring countries. But to penetrate to the general principles of government,—to show the powers which it implies,—the mode in which they are formed, and in which they operate,—the ends at which they aim,—the causes of their aberration, and what is necessary to keep them true to those ends;—these are inquiries, to which it is evident that his mind had never expanded itself. The feebleness of his general speculations is indeed so remarkable, that the most wretched pamphleteer of the present day would be ashamed of the trifling and absurd remarks, of which the greater part of his treatise is composed. It is however melancholy to relate, that this treatise, destitute as it must be of any instruction to men of the present age,—is the only work on the science of politics, which the most opulent and powerful of our seminaries of education thinks proper to teach.

It thus sufficiently appears, that in the most useful branches of literature, the Romans had made no progress at all, and the Greeks very little. That the chief object of poetry is to delight and amuse, we suppose will be allowed; and we know, that some of its most exquisite specimens have been produced when intelligence and civilization were at a very low ebb. When Horace therefore pronounces Homer a more instructive teacher of moral

and political wisdom than Chrysippus and Crantor, the condemnation of the philosophers, we dare say, is just enough; but for the *instruction* to be derived from the poet, we must be permitted to think that it is infinitely inferior to that which may be gained from the fables of Esop.

With regard even to historical composition, it is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the exquisite perfection to which, in one of its branches, the antients carried this art, a perfection to which, the moderns, perhaps, have never attained, it is yet the meanest of its branches, if useful knowledge be the measure of esteem. In the hands of the antients, history is only the art of weaving an exquisite narrative out of the common and vulgar recollections of events. From the profound research of materials, they were no doubt debarred, because events in those days left, in writing at least, but few traces of themselves behind. But the antient historians appear to have had little or no conception of the dependence of the events which they related upon the most remarkable of their causes, upon the state of government, and the state of society, among the people to whom the events related. To learn that one people made war upon another, and that a number of incidents of such and such a description ensued, is a tale, how frequently soever repeated, of which the instruction is soon exhausted. To make appear, in relating the transactions of nations, in what they were guided towards their real interest, and in what they were led astray from it; what were the chief circumstances by which they were deceived in regard to their true interest, and suffered from their mistakes; what the circumstances which most contributed to give them a perception of their real interests, and to protect them from those delusions which would have plunged them in misery, is the only means of rendering history a school of experience; is the only register of the past, which is pregnant with instruction for the future.

As for oratory, the only remaining branch of Roman literature, it was rather an instrument for the performance of certain kinds of public business, than either calculated or designed for the promotion of knowledge. It cannot, therefore, be set down as a branch of literature to which the human mind is much indebted. That it is an instrument of which the tendency is to do good, rather than evil, we should upon the whole allow. It is not, however, by diffusing knowledge, nor by strengthening the mind, that its beneficial effects are produced. Considered merely as a branch of literature, not as an organ of power, it seems not to stand upon any higher level than poetry. With whatever

delight, then, we may have perused,—and who has not perused with delight?—the poetry, history, and oratory of the Augustan age, it is nevertheless obvious, that it was only in the entertaining branches of literature, and not at all in the useful and instructive, that the Romans (and the same thing nearly may be said of the Greeks) had made any extraordinary progress.

From the time of Augustus, it is universally allowed that literature, among the Romans, degenerated and declined. The causes of this, present an object of inquiry to which great attention has been called, and from which the most important practical conclusions may be deduced. The great change which had taken place in the condition of the Romans, was the loss of liberty; and although their rude and ill constructed republic was a most imperfect instrument of government, the difference in the state of the human mind, under a free and a despotic constitution, was prodigious. It is one of the most decisive experiments which has ever been made upon human nature; and upon the circumstances on which its degradation or its excellence really depend. The disadvantages under which the Romans laboured, from the defective construction of their republican government, nourished in them many vices, and retarded their progress in improvement. But the despotism to which they afterwards submitted, speedily eradicated from their minds every amiable and respectable quality, and reduced them to almost the lowest, and most disgusting, condition of human nature. Without this great experiment, it might have been deemed impossible, that a people who had once attained a high degree of civilization, could, without any external calamity, and merely by the vices of their government, sink back to a condition in many respects inferior to that of the barbarian; a condition which, had it been described to us without any intimation of their former state, we should have regarded as one of the first removes from the savage life; displaying the ignorance, the falsehood, the sordid misery of the savage, without his manliness and constancy. The most instructive circumstance by far in the history of the Greeks and Romans, and one of the most instructive which the annals of the human race present, is the contrast exhibited between the qualities which they displayed under an ill-regulated liberty, and the qualities engendered in them by despotism.

Few words will here be sufficient for describing the decline and fall of literature under the horrid system of misrule to which the Roman world became subject, after the loss of the republican government. According to the natural order of things,

the astonishing success which had attended the literary efforts of the Augustan writers, ought to have excited the flame of ambition, and multiplied the candidates for fame. But the calamities of the times, calamities produced by the government alone, repressed the generous impulse; and notwithstanding the improved state of education, and the taste for reading and for literary pursuits which the Augustan age must have produced, the succeeding generations passed away with little addition to the stores of literature. The satires of Juvenal, and the historical writings of Tacitus, are perhaps the only productions which display any vigour of genius, or of thought, subsequent to the age of Horace and Livy. A sort of mental torpor seems to have come upon the human race; every motive for exertion died away; and men took refuge in stupidity and indifference from the evils of the oppression which they had not manliness to shake off.

It is curious enough, that even poetry, which seems more ready to flourish under unfavourable circumstances than any other branch of literature, gradually disappeared under the second barbarity of Roman despotism, and left nothing behind excepting some chronicles, for the most part contemptible, of passing events.

It will occur to every body, that there was however another, and a very copious set of writings, we mean, those on theological subjects. But we entertain some serious doubts whether we ought to class them under the head of literature at all. With many persons indeed it is a question, whether Christianity was not one of the causes of the corruption and decay of literature. From this opinion we unequivocally dissent; but it is an opinion held by very orthodox Christians; and the reverend Mr Berington, we find, does not hesitate to give it, in some measure, the sanction of his authority.

'The sons of Constantine,' he observes, 'though two of them had their stations in the west, were still solicitous to repair the injury which the removal of the seat of empire had occasioned; and when, after some years, Constantine became sole master, so engaged was he with the necessary defence of his widely extended dominions, or so absorbed in the Arian controversy, which then distracted the Christian world, that classical literature in vain implored his fostering care. Besides, at this time, the systems of Grecian philosophy had gained so many admirers among the converts to Christianity, and, by their alluring theories, had so far succeeded in perplexing its simpler truths, that men of the brightest abilities eagerly engaged in the new pursuits; and that harmonious and manly language, which the sages, the poets, and orators of Greece had spoken, was alienated to the purposes of sophistic disputation.'

Though we shall presently state the considerations which incline us to form a different opinion, we cannot help allowing, that circumstances present themselves in abundance, which may appear, on a superficial view, to give a colour to this proposition. Nothing, certainly, can be conceived more wretched, than the lying stories of miracles, the fabulous lives of pretended saints, the degrading conceptions of the Divine Being, and the endless disputes about the most contemptible questions, with which the writings of the early Christians are almost universally filled. Dr Middleton, accordingly, in the outset of his Free Inquiry, observes,

'In order to free the minds of men from an inveterate imposture, which, through a long succession of ages, has disgraced the religion of the gospel, and tyrannized over the reason and sense of the Christian world, I have shown, by many indisputable facts, that the ancient fathers, by whose authority that delusion was originally imposed, and has ever since been supported, were extremely credulous and superstitious; possessed with strong prejudices, and enthusiastic zeal, in favour not only of Christianity in general, but of every particular doctrine which a wild imagination could engraft upon it; and scrupling no art or means by which they might propagate the same principles: in short, that they were of a character from which nothing could be expected that was candid and impartial; nothing but what a weak or crafty understanding could supply, towards confirming those prejudices with which they happened to be possessed; especially where religion was the subject, which, above all other motives, strengthens every bias, and inflames every passion of the human mind. And that this was actually the case, I have shown also by many instances; in which we find them roundly affirming as true, things evidently false and fictitious; in order to strengthen, as they fancied, the evidences of the gospel, or to serve a present turn of confuting an adversary, or of enforcing a particular point which they were labouring to establish.'

To the same effect, Dr Whitby, speaking of Papius, and Irenæus, those of the Christian writers who were the nearest to the days of the Apostles, says,—'It is very remarkable, that these two earliest writers of the second century, who, on the credit of idle reports, and uncertain fame, have delivered to us, things said to be done by the Apostles and their scholars, have shamefully imposed upon us, by the forgery of fables, and false stories.'

Of the credulity of those wretched times, and the facility with which any delusion might be imposed upon the people, for which their leaders had occasion, a proof may be taken from what St Augustin relates, upon the testimony, he says, of credible persons, 'that at Ephesus, where St John the apostle lies buried, he was not believed to be dead, but to be sleeping only in the grave, which

he had provided for himself, till our Lord's second coming; in proof of which, they affirmed, that the earth under which he lay, was seen to heave up and down perpetually, in conformity to the motion of his body in the act of breathing.'

When the taste for fabulous legends was somewhat exhausted, that of subtle disputation succeeded. Whether, of the divine beings concerned in the scheme of redemption, the Father alone was God, and the Son and the Holy Ghost only secondary, though exalted beings;—whether the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, were three equal, coeternal, and separate beings, concordant in will;—whether they were three beings, coincident in nature, and separate only in the forms or aspects under which that undivided nature was pleased to manifest itself—which are the distinguishing opinions of the Arian, Tritheistic, and Sabellian sects;—or whether the Trinity included three distinct persons, but consisting of one substance, and constituting but one God, which the Council of Nice ultimately adopted as the orthodox creed,—were questions that engendered disputes which had no end; which engaged the attention and the passions of men to a degree at which we now stand amazed; and which appear to have extinguished the taste and the regard for every other species of mental exertion.

The contests which regarded the Trinity, were succeeded by those of the Incarnation. Whether Christ was purely God, and his corporeal appearance a mere illusion;—whether the divine nature was one thing, namely, the Eternal God; and the human nature another thing, namely, a real man, though the best and wisest of the human race;—whether the Godhead was united and mingled with the body of a man,—the divine Logos, supplying, in the person of Jesus, the place and office of a human soul;—or whether perfect God was in the second person of the Trinity substantially, and indissolubly united with a perfect man;—whether it was pious or impious, to denominate the Virgin Mary the mother of God;—whether Christ was of one nature, or two natures;—whether he had one will, or two wills: These disputes, and the different shades by which they approached or receded from one another, occupied not only the pens of the writers, but the sword of the magistrate; and men sought with greediness each other's lives in the violent pursuit of these unavailing controversies.

Whether images should be worshipped or broken, occupied in fierce disputes the eighth and ninth centuries, and finally separated the Western from the Eastern Church; while monks and relics occupied all the attention which controversy left disengaged.

Such is the unfavourable aspect on a first or hasty review under which the operation of Christianity upon the state of literature, presents itself. Upon a full inspection, however, it will be seen, that the corruption of Christianity, of which we thus complain, was itself the effect of that vitiated state of the human mind, of which the vices of the government were the great and primary cause. It was only in a weak and perverted state of the human mind, that those opinions and practices which we now contemplate with disgust, could have been either engendered or approved. And Christianity purged them off, exactly in proportion as mankind threw off their chains, and the human mind acquired liberty and strength. Christianity has not prevented the modern nations of Europe, wherever the government attained any tolerable goodness, from making progress in science. But where the government was utterly bad, as in Spain for example, there Christianity has retained its pernicious form, and literature its barbarity. It is because the government of Spain has degraded the human mind, that its religion retains its deformity. Had the government been ameliorated, religion would have improved. Had the purest religion been introduced while the government continued bad, it would have speedily acquired a similar degree of corruption.

The irruption of the northern nations, induced a new feature upon the barbarity of the Roman world. Whether it deepened the gloom which already overshadowed the human mind, is a question perhaps not very easy to be answered. That a large proportion of the ancient inhabitants suffered, and very severely, can hardly be doubted; though not much more, it is probable, than the inhabitants of some countries are often made to suffer under the ravages of modern wars. But it does admit of very serious dispute, whether the human mind was in a worse situation among the Goths, or among the Greeks and the Romans. If the latter retained, perhaps as relics, some of the trappings or exterior ornaments of a higher state of civilization, all the essential ingredients had long been lost. The virtues, both intellectual and moral, were extinct: No strength, no activity of mind, no curiosity, no ingenuity, had been known for ages. Sloth and cowardice, and falsehood and venality, with squalid poverty on the one hand, and tasteless profusion on the other, completed the picture of the times. The Goths were uncouth in their dress, and not very delicate in their food; but they had already begun to cultivate letters, and with the eagerness of a people to whom they were new. Their minds had as yet been little subject to discipline; but they had not been deadened by slavery: They were full of curiosity, full

of activity, vigorous, and persevering. They either brought with them, or they speedily imbibed, a taste for literary pursuits; and, though it has been often adduced as a proof of the barbarity of the times, that even the upper ranks themselves could not universally read, it is to be observed, that among the Greeks and Romans, in their most cultivated state, it is probable that this talent was not very generally diffused; and before the art of printing, it is certain that its diffusion could not be very wide.

We cannot, it is true, adopt, without considerable limitations, the character of the invaders which in the sixth century Jornandes, the bishop of Ravenna, has left; whose statement our author thus abridges.

'They surpassed the Romans in figure, and in bravery. They had among them, even at the time of their early migrations, men of extraordinary erudition, who were their masters in the schools of wisdom. Hence, the Goths were esteemed more learned than other barbarous nations, and *almost* comparable with the Greeks. He proceeds to describe their devotion to the god Mars—whom they propitiated by human victims; their further advances in civilization, and their skill in music. He observes, that about the time of Sylla and of Julius Cæsar, the Goths, whom the latter could not conquer, were wholly guided by the advice of the sage Diceneus. Sensible of their docile disposition, and their natural talents, there was no part of philosophy which he withheld from them. He instructed them in ethics, in order to civilize their manners; in the laws of nature, to show them that these laws were to be observed; and he taught them logic, which rendered them more expert than other nations in the art of reasoning. He proposed to their contemplation the theory of the twelve zodiacal signs, the revolutions of the planets, and the whole science of astronomy, which shows the increase and wane of the moon, and how much the fiery globe of the sun exceeds the earth in magnitude. With what pleasure then, says he, when the repose of a few days allowed a respite from arms, did these brave men turn their thoughts to philosophy! You might observe one scrutinizing the face of the heavens; another exploring the nature of herbs and fruits; a third calculating the uses of the moon; and a fourth pursuing the labours of the sun in its diurnal course. By these, and many other lessons, the fame of Diceneus had become so great, that all orders of men, and even the chiefs obeyed him. Comiscus, his successor, and not his inferior in wisdom, was held in almost equal veneration. He became the king, and highpriest of the Gothic people, whom he ruled in justice.'

If we believe that the Gothic monk praises the people too highly to whom he belonged, it may even from this panegyric be inferred, that the horrid pictures which terror and abhorrence dictated to the pens of the alarmed and distracted Greeks and

Romans, from whose accounts our notions of them have commonly been derived, were at least as highly exaggerated on the opposite side. All the turbulence and distraction incident to the rudest form of the feudal government, which ensured a state of society bordering upon a perpetual civil war, were less injurious to intellectual vigour than centuries of calm, unruffled despotism; and it was not long before a new species of literature began to arise,—a new species of poetry,—a new species of physics,—and a new species of metaphysics.

Under the head of poetry, we do not purpose to speak of the leonine verses, which had nothing in them of poetry but the jingle. We shall pass over several generations to the appearance of the Trouveurs and Troubadours in the thirteenth century. The remarkable circumstance in their history, is the order of its commencement; not till many years had been zealously spent in the new physical and metaphysical labours. For this, however, it is not difficult to account. The vernacular language, since the change which it had undergone by the admixture of the conquering nations, had not been the written language; and, it would appear, that poetry can never really thrive in any but the vernacular language. The general rule was so far observed, that the first specimens of literature in the modern languages of Europe, were the poems of the Trouveurs and the Troubadours. It is unnecessary to describe what is so generally known, as the species of life by which these itinerant minstrels were distinguished. The nature of their poetry is all we are here called upon to illustrate. Tales of heroism, ludicrous and satirical tales, and tales of war, without any objection to episodes of indecency, were the common subjects of the poems to which at present we advert. As the exploits and the manners of chivalry constituted the grand subjects of admiration to the age, it follows of course, that the feats and the loves of the knights, composed both the lofty and the tender themes for the muse of the minstrels. For the subject of their merriment, they took a wider range. But the manners of the monks, the priests, and the physicians, form the principal topics of their ridicule. It is surprising to what a height they carry the severity of their satire against the clerical body; and it either proves the great forbearance and good nature of the priesthood of those days, or the high delight which the men who were powerful enough to yield protection, took in listening to the ridicule of the priests.

Much inequality pervades the rude poems to which these observations relate. But, amid many prosaic and contemptible passages, fine bursts of sentiment occasionally break forth; and sublime, as well as tender emotions, are very powerfully pro-

duced. Their influence upon the progress of mind seems to have been salutary, and far from weak. By presenting something to delight in the vernacular tongue, the taste for reading was diffused; and the consciousness of exercising so flattering a power over a growing multitude of readers, increased the motive to improve the language, as well as to render it the vehicle of more important ideas. The astonishing perfection which, at this early period, and almost in its first attempts, the Italian poetry attained, in the hands of Dante and Petrarch, is one of the most remarkable circumstances of those obscure times. The character of this poetry is too generally known to require any description; and its superior refinement may in part be accounted for, by considering that the circumstances which made Rome the capital of the Christian world, made Italy the centre of all the little improvement which was then known.

The degree to which the study of physics was carried in the period under our review, is by no means unworthy of consideration. Its origin and the motive to it, were worthy, indeed, of the darkest periods of human history: but the pursuit itself, was attended with great advantages. The studies to which we allude, it will readily be understood, were those of the alchemists, originally pursued for the discovery of the *elixir* of life, and the philosophers' stone. The absurdity of the end, of necessity, occasioned a great misapplication of the industry which was bestowed; but the greatness of the motive, excited industry to the highest degree; and, of the innumerable experiments which were made, an important discovery was from time to time the result. At the same time that alchemy introduced in Europe one great branch of physical science astrology kept alive the attention to another. By the opinion which prevailed, and prevailed to a late period, (for it was habitual with many of the most eminent persons in the court of Charles the Second), that the positions of the heavenly bodies were prophetic of terrestrial events, men were powerfully excited to observe, and to record the phenomena of the heavens; and the noble science of Astronomy, arose in this manner out of the most absurd of superstitions. It is not, we suspect, sufficiently considered, to how great a degree we are indebted for that spirit of discovery in the physical sciences, which burst forth so wonderfully after the discovery of printing, to the ardour of the alchemistical and astrological studies of the antecedent times. It is not even considered how many of our most important inventions those times and those studies produced. If we mention only those of glass and of gunpowder, we shall convey no trivial idea to those who are unacquainted with the details.

But it is now necessary to advert to what constituted the most important branch of the literary pursuits of the ages under our review, their Logic and Metaphysics. As this, however, is a subject which much care has been employed to illustrate, and with which most persons who read, are to a certain degree acquainted, it will be less necessary for us to dwell long in the discussion. It is surprising, not only how much ardour, but how much talent was wasted upon the art of syllogising, and of playing tricks with abstract and general terms. One remark may be considered of some importance;—that the passion for verbal subtleties and refinements, is one of the characteristics of a low stage of improvement, and will be found to have perverted the application of most nations in the infancy of their literary pursuits. The first speculators in Greece, for example, were the sophists, whose art consisted in puzzling and surprising their hearers, by the tricks of a quibbling dialectic; and the great merit of Socrates, and after him of Plato, consisted in exposing the folly of that verbal jugglery, and introducing a taste somewhat less irrational, into moral speculation. Among the Persians, the Hindus, and generally speaking, all the lettered nations of Asia, the business of moral speculation never ascended beyond this inferior level; and their endless and mischievous distinctions in grammar (for they hardly get the length of logic) have been set down by superficial inquirers, as a proof of great civilization, and a high state of mental improvement.

In considering the intricate and useless disquisitions into which the scholastic disputants were led by the obscurity of abstract, general terms, it is of great importance to observe, that they were the first to start a question, to which, in no former age, philosophy had been sufficiently improved to give birth. They originated the grand inquiry—What is the *nature* of abstract or general terms?—A question, upon the right understanding of which, more, perhaps, than on any other question whatsoever, the progress of the human mind depends. The disputes of the nominalists and realists, though not very wisely conducted, and of course not leading, in their hands, to any very definite results, pointed distinctly at the real difficulty; and led the way to that knowledge of the true character and use of general terms, which alone can explain the nature of general reasoning, and preserve the mind from those illusions which the abuse of general terms is so apt to impose upon it.

The most important light, however, in which the scholastic studies are to be viewed, is that of the influence which they had in laying the foundation of the modern institutions of education; and the influence which, by their means, they continue to ex-

ert upon the existing generation. Before the prevalence of the scholastic ardour, the state of the schools is by our author thus described.

'The subjects taught in the schools, were comprised under the general heads of *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*,—words which are sufficiently indicative of their barbarous origin. *Trivium* included, what were deemed the introductory and less noble arts—Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric: *Quadrivium* closed the circle by Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. The following lines served to fix them in the memory.

Gramm. loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colorat:
Mus. canit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra.

Why the place of honour was rather given to the latter, than to the numbers of the *Trivium*, does not distinctly appear. But whatever may have been its temporary ascendant, Logic, or rather the scholastic art of disputation, was afterwards pursued with so much ardour, that it absorbed all its sister arts, and triumphed over the circle of the *Quadrivium*.'

It became in fact the leading object of education; and all other parts of tuition, were regarded as only paving the way to this noble attainment. New institutions were erected, for the purpose of training up youth in this popular science;—institutions which were regarded, as crowning the work of education. 'Never,' says Roger Bacon, speaking of his own times, 'never was there such a show of wisdom, such exercises in all branches, and in all kingdoms, as within these forty years. Teachers are every where dispersed, in cities, in castles, and in villages, taken particularly from the new monastic orders.' In fact, these new orders, whose activity was whetted by a desire to distinguish themselves, and who took up the ground of education, as left unoccupied by their predecessors, contributed not a little to diffuse the ardour for study, and to obtain the foundation of schools and colleges, for the advancement of their favourite science. Most of the universities and colleges, for the higher branches of education, throughout Europe, owe their origin to those times, and to the passion for those studies. To the scholastic logic, after the fall of Constantinople, was added the study of the ancient Latin and Greek; and at that point, in most of the institutions of education in Europe, especially where unhappily they became united with a rich ecclesiastical establishment, the business of improvement stopt.

Though the body of Mr Berington's work, relates to the state of literature in the western parts of Europe, he presents us, in a long appendix, with an historical sketch of the learning of the Greeks, from the sixth century, to the fall of the

Eastern Empire in 1453. It exhibits nothing but the uniform effects of that degrading despotism which had extinguished the virtues of the Latin world, before the irruption of the nations, whom, as compared with the people they invaded, it is hardly just to denominate barbarous.

A second Appendix to Mr Berington's History, contains an account of the learning of the Arabians or Saracens, whom, as they occupied at that period one of the most considerable kingdoms of Europe, he regards as falling within the scope of his work. He was no doubt excited to make this addition, by the account which is commonly given of the excellence of the Saracenic attainments, in part of the period under his view. His opinions, however, appear to be taken up at second hand; and they certainly throw no light upon the state of Arabian civilization, during the splendour of the Caliphate, or of the Arabian monarchy in Spain. The literature, the manners, the arts of that people, were at no period of their history, other than those of semi-barbarians; and the praises which have been bestowed upon them, are the exaggerations of those, who having learned their language, and studied their literature, conceived a fond partiality for that which it concerned them to represent as a great distinction and advantage to know. At no period did their literature, in any of its branches, surpass, in few of them did it equal, that of the Europeans during the middle, or semi-barbarous ages. That during the prosperity of the Arabian monarchs, boundless wealth and power surrounded their thrones with a dazzling splendour, which captivated the imaginations of the more indigent Europeans, is perfectly true. But this, after all, was only 'the barbaric pearl and gold which the gorgeous East showers upon her kings;' and which is no proof of more than some very early steps in the progress of civilization.

We cannot characterize the work before us as very profound, either in research, or in reflection. For materials, the author has contented himself, in general, with those which were nearest at hand; and without any extraordinary care or sagacity in the selection. And of that philosophical discernment which traces the connexions of events, and discovers the causes of human happiness and misery, in the circumstances in which human nature is placed, we cannot say that he exhibits any very splendid examples. The work, notwithstanding, is very respectably executed; and contains many specimens both of boldness and liberality of thinking, which more than compensate for an occasional narrowness of principle or timidity of induction. Speaking of the corruptions of the Roman church, for example, and of

the circumstances which tended to bring forward the day of improvement, he says, 'If in tracing the progress of the human 'mind through darkness into light, I could, in the intercourse 'with Rome, discover the germ of some improvement to less 'polished nations, that subject ought not to be overlooked; 'when, *by engendering grievances, it generated complaints which 'brought on inquiries, and terminated in the revival of letters.'* If we will but generalize this manly observation; apply it wherever it is applicable; rejoice in complaints wherever there is a grievance; and account that grievance a comparative good, which generates complaint and produces inquiry, we shall speedily arrive at important results for the improvement of human affairs.

He can even speak with contempt of the baseness of a people who submit not only to the oppressions but to the contumelies of despotism. 'From the death,' he says, 'of Constantine X. 'in 1028, who, with his brother Basil, had enjoyed the title of 'Augustus more than threescore years, a *disgraceful* period of '28 years ensued, during which, the Greeks, degraded below 'the common level of servitude, were transferred, like a herd 'of cattle, by the choice or caprice of two contemptible females, 'the daughters of that Constantine.' There is much matter for reflection, even at the present hour, in such an observation. The following however will probably be thought still more rash and inconsiderate by the practical politicians of the day. 'Through a period,' he says, 'of five and twenty years, the 'administration of John Comnenus was distinguished by many 'virtues. That he had speculated, and not idly, may be collected from a certain measure of government which only a philosopher would have projected in so large and so vicious a community. *He abolished the penalty of death*; and, during his reign, not a single person suffered death, or was corporally punished. He likewise moderated the expensive magnificence of the court; and, whilst himself set the example, he attempted a laudable reformation in the public and private manners of the people.'

NOTICE.

WE owe an apology to our readers for having so long delayed noticing one of the most important works that has appeared in our times, we mean, the New Edition of the State Trials by Mr Howell, a person eminently qualified for executing this arduous task, by his zeal, industry, and profound learning in the history of the constitution and laws of his country. It is impossible to doubt that he has conferred the most essential benefits on all who either seek to understand, or know how to value those great subjects. Nor has any question ever been raised as to the great ability and success with which he has executed his laborious undertaking. At the same time, we were desirous of pointing out, more in detail, in what its merits principally consisted, and of explaining the great additional value which the talents and diligence of the Editor have bestowed upon this edition of a work so deservedly celebrated; and an accident only has prevented us from accomplishing this purpose in the present Number. The work was originally projected, we believe, by Mr Cobbett, and went for some time under his name. Mr Howell, however, is understood to have been all along the conductor of it; and the former gentleman has long ceased to have any concern with the publication.

[Though we have found it indispensably necessary to adhere to our resolution, of publishing none of the controversy in which we may happen to be involved, we have always professed our readiness to print any explanation of matters of fact, as to which we may have been the means of producing any misconception; and it is with the most sincere pleasure that we give a place to the following letter from Governor Farquhar of Mauritius, relating to our notice of certain frauds which had been practised in that settlement upon the laws against slave-trading in any quarter of the globe. With the information which we then possessed, it was scarcely possible for us to avoid feeling and expressing ourselves as we did upon that occasion. But that we were actuated by no hostility to Governor Farquhar, is manifest, we trust, from the tenor of our original observations, as well as from the terms in which we felt ourselves called upon to speak of him, after we had learned a little more of the proceedings in question at p. 469, &c. of our Twenty-first volume. It is extremely gratifying to us, however, to be en-

abled to lay before our readers, not only the distinct disavowal of this eminent person, of all toleration or connivance at the transactions we reprobated, but the expression of his marked *abhorrence* of all such atrocities.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

MAURITIUS, 20th November, 1813.

SIR,

IT is unnecessary for me to express the mortification I felt in seeing my character the object of a pointed attack, for a conduct I abhor, in a Work, deservedly ranking high in English literature; and it is in the assurance that you will do me the justice of giving the same publicity to my defence—if a statement of the plain fact may be called so—that I now address you.

In the third article of your Forty-first Number, the trial of slave dealers gives occasion for some speculations, which, however just in other respects, I trust you will acknowledge to be erroneous and inapplicable, so far as regards myself and the officers under me. The facts, which may be authenticated by a reference to the papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, are as follow.

Shortly after the surrender of Port Louis, Captain Lynne, of his Majesty's sloop Eclipse, was sent down to Tamatare, authorized to grant terms of capitulation to that settlement, by the naval Commander-in-chief. Its governor and commandant, Mr Roux, capitulated, under the guarantee of private property to all the settlers; and immediately proceeded to Mauritius, where he delivered to Government a list of 863 slaves, which he declared upon honour were the private property of the French inhabitants of Tamatare. This list having been minutely examined and scrutinized into, was received by the Government, as well with a view of preventing any further acquisition of slaves to the settlers, by commerce with the natives, as to assure to them, permanently, the property thus guaranteed.

General Warde succeeded me for a time in the government of Mauritius, and withdrew the garrison of Tamatare. The settlers were thus unprotected by a military force, which alone could save them from the hatred of the natives; and, warned by a similar event in their former history, felt that no chance of permanent safety remained but by removal of their persons and property to Mauritius and Bourbon. On repeated applications, therefore, to this effect, with the advice of the English judicial assessor, and the senior naval officer, I issued a permission for the French settlers at Tamatare to remove with those slaves, for

which the British faith was pledged, to Mauritius and Bourbon; —gave them passports agreeably to the best forms, and accompanied with all the checks that I could devise, so that the senior naval officer declared that he conceived it impossible to overreach or abuse them. I sent a sworn agent to Madagascar, to identify the slaves of the capitulation, agreeably to the roll;—placed all the government vessels at the disposition of the senior naval officer, to prevent the introduction of slaves in such places as could not be watched by the ships of war;—and called on the collectors of customs, and magistrates of the districts, to exercise the strictest vigilance on the coast. These were some of the precautions adopted by this Government to prevent any possible abuse of the permission. That they were adequate to the object, is best proved by the captures which took place, not only at sea, or in Port Louis, but on shore, in the distant settlement of Seychettes, and in the most unfrequented part of Bourbon.—Those were forwarded by me for adjudication to the Cape of Good Hope.

Exclusively of the circumstance of Admiral Stopford's residence here for some weeks after the permission was granted to the settlers at Tamatare to remove their property, with the concurrence of his Majesty's senior naval officer, to which the Admiral never started the smallest objection, you will observe, by the enclosures subjoined, how entirely the Admiral must have entertained the same view of the justice of the measure as myself, from his subsequently granting similar passports, with some alterations only in the form of them.

I wish to be as concise as the relation of the mere facts, now adverted to, will allow. From the charge, the constant tenor of my life, and tendency of my opinions, would defend me, without a more elabotate purgation. But I owe this statement to those who act under me, and to the respect I feel for public opinion, which your criticisms have so much influenced. Had the obloquy I complain of appeared in any of those ephemeral productions, which hardly survive their birth, I should have disdained to notice it; but I am unwilling to be handed down to future times in the state and company with which I am associated in your pages. It has been said, that he that injures, seldom forgives. That which I have experienced I believe to be as unintentional as unprovoked. Error is the lot of the wisest and greatest; but, with such also—acknowledgment and reparation are the consequences of its discovery.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. T. Farquhar.

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No. XLVI.

ARTICLE I. *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight, late President of the Royal Academy, &c.* By JAMES NORTHCOTE, Esq. 4to. London, 1814.

WHERE moderate wealth and superficial education are so widely diffused as in these Islands, it is natural that a great number of persons should betake themselves to reading merely to relieve the tediousness of mental vacancy and inaction, and should consequently have recourse to books that merely excite, without straining or fatiguing attention, and keep the faculties of thought awake, without harassing them with the toil of thinking. Hence histories of private and domestic life, whether real or fictitious, whether in the form of biography or novels, become the most popular, and consequently the most lucrative and abundant species of writing; till, by continually pampering and satiating, without at all contributing to feed, nourish, or invigorate public taste, they completely vitiate and enervate it; and render that merely passive and solitary dissipation which assumes the name and form of study, more debasing and destructive to every useful or ornamental power of intellect, than the most constant and frivolous distractions of the most frivolous and promiscuous society.

From this charge, however, the histories of those lives, which have been successfully devoted to the cultivation and improvement of the useful and elegant arts, should be most honourably exempted: since it is chiefly by being made acquainted with the details of their progress, the method of their studies, and the means of their acquirements, together with the adventitious aids which accelerated, or the obstacles which impeded them, that others are enabled to arrive at the same end, by a nearer and more direct road; and to extend the benefits of improvement and discovery still farther. Successful results seldom carry any internal evi-

dence or information of the means by which they have been obtained; more especially in those arts, whose last refinements of excellence are to conceal the difficulty of their means, and make that masterly facility, which has been acquired by the methodical study and toil of years, appear to be the random effusion of playful negligence, or the accidental felicity of a lucky moment. for ignorant and eager students, youths of more rapidity in conception than acuteness or accuracy in observation, continually mistake them; and consequently pursue their studies in an inverted progress:—They begin by effect without labour, and end by labour without effect.

In no art has this preposterous method of imitation been more pernicious than in that of painting; especially among what are called students of genius; whose natural confidence, arising from consciousness of talent, being further exalted by the unmeasured and unqualified applause usually bestowed on the first efforts of premature success, almost always inspires them with a notion that they are born with faculties to overleap the outworks of art, and take the citadel by storm without the drudgery of a sap, or the irksomeness of a previous progress through safe and regular, but slow and circuitous approaches. This impatient celerity of vaulting ambition, which so constantly overleaps itself by premature exertions of strength, might without doubt have been in many instances restrained in its erroneous career, and put into the right road, by timely and accurate information that such was the road, and the only road, by which those, who had most rapidly and effectively obtained its object, had ever pursued it. No one, who had duly traced the gradual and regular progression of Titian and Rubens, from the laborious minuteness, and dry exactitude of their first beginnings, to the rich and pure luxuriance of their full maturity, would ever hope, at least without vanity almost superhuman, to obtain the powers of that maturity, by merely copying their results; or, indeed, by any other means than those by which they had been obtained. Yet such hopes have been entertained, and acted upon, by students of considerable natural talents, and of the greatest zeal and activity in the pursuits of their profession;* and their success has been such as might have been reasonably expected. Painting is, in its nature and principle, an imitative art; and consequently, fidelity of imitation must be its first object. Felicity can only be acquired by assiduous practice, guided by just taste and discernment.

Of those, who may properly be called the secondary Reviver-

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* See Barry's Account of his Studies at Rome

or Restorers of this art,—that is, those who have raised it, not from a state of total extinction, such as prevailed in the fourteenth century, but from a very low state of debasement and corruption, none is more deserving of honourable notice and consideration, both from its lovers and professors, than he whose life has here been written by a favourite pupil, who had every means of information and observation. Others may have raised it higher; but no one artist ever raised it so high from so low a state of degradation;—and none perhaps, except Rubens, ever held so high a situation, both in society and art, at the same time. Of his immediate predecessors, indeed, Hogarth had not only pre-eminent talents in his own particular line of satyrical and moral composition, and expression of character and sentiment in ordinary or familiar life, but also a correct eye for harmony and effect in colours, and a just sense of all other technical excellences. He was not, however, sufficiently master either of his tools or materials, to employ them with any certainty of success; and his still greater deficiency in the academical science of forms, and the power of rendering them with facility and fidelity, increased his perplexities, and frustrated the intentions of his taste, in the embarrassments of his execution. Where he was fortunate enough to succeed by a single effort, as in the first picture in the *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, and *the Lady's Last Stake*, his pencilling is clean and neat; and his colouring clear, chaste, and harmonious: But when he was obliged to go over his work again, it becomes crude, harsh, and heavy; and seems to have grown more and more so on every repetition. His contemporaries were not, indeed, much disposed to acknowledge technical merit, when he displayed it; nor was he much disposed to acknowledge the deficiency, where he most evidently wanted it; and those abortive attempts at heroic expression, into which his preposterous vanity led him, inclined men still more to take the scale of his talents from his worst, rather than his best performances, in the style which suited his genius.

The restorers of art from a state of mere debasement and depravity, when the models of better days still exist, have obstacles to encounter unknown to its first founders, or the restorers of it from a state of utter extinction. Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Giorgione, and Correggio, were so unquestionably superior to all their immediate predecessors, that the most prejudiced lover of antiquity could oppose no objects of humiliating comparison; for even the most impudent quack in criticism could not pretend to produce a wreck or counterfeit of the works of [illegible], or Apelles. But in the last century, still

more than in the present, every auctioneer's, dealer's, and collector's catalogue, exhibited all the great names of Italy and Flanders; and though the productions imputed to them were either counterfeits below criticism, or ruins in which the painter could scarcely have discovered a trace of his own pencil, they carried all the weight of his authority in the estimation of the possessor; and the living artist, who did not acknowledge and conform to it, was deemed a tasteless barbarian, incapable of perceiving or feeling supreme excellence in his art, and therefore incapable of reaching even mediocrity. Hence the art had dwindled into a mere manufactory of face painting and copying; and theorists began seriously to doubt, whether the English climate and physical organization were competent to produce any thing better.

Unfortunately, however, for these geographical distributions of taste and talent, the same moral causes which operated here, operated in a proportionate degree in those climates, where, in the preceding centuries, the most perfect models that ever the art could boast, were produced. Neither had the leading artists at Rome to lament the want of adequate employment, as they had here; for Pompeo Battoni, and afterwards Raphael Mengs, received the most liberal commissions from the principal sovereigns of Europe; and annually covered sheets of canvas, of whatever dimensions they chose, with simpering virgins, weeping Magdalens, cherry-cheeked angels, and all the allegorical personages of heathen mythology, twisted into every possible variation of the undulating lines of grace and beauty, and trick'd out with all the splendours that the most expensive colours could afford. Still, however, it was mere manufacture, carried on with a larger capital, and with more depth and accuracy of technical science, particularly by Mengs; but yet without any of that expression of feeling and sentiment—that spontaneous and seemingly fortuitous facility and felicity of execution, which is acquired by practice guided by taste, but can neither be learned nor limited by rule; and which, more than any thing else, distinguishes liberal from mechanic art, and the artist from the artisan. Mr Mengs was, however, not only convinced of the efficacy of his rules, but could trace their principles in the abstract ideas of the perfection of harmonic beauty, defined, or at least attempted to be defined, in the Platonic and Leibnitzian schools of philosophy.* So consistent with these sublimated principles was his practice, that his friend and panegyrist found him preparing his mind for the composition of a

* Mengs' Reflexions, &c. p. 1.

grand picture of the Annunciation, not by exploring and examining the notions entertained of that great event by scriptural commentators, theologists, and preceding artists, or any such vulgar means of supplying, purifying, and guiding invention, but by whistling a sonata of Corelli! and though the friend and panegyrist is not prepared to subscribe his faith to all the ineffabilities and incomprehensibilities of the system, he is satisfied that the artist did not spend his breath in vain, but whistled much of the style and spirit of the Fiddler's composition into his own; notwithstanding the ridicule which he apprehends from profane and ignorant moderns, who, not having studied the art deeply, are incapable of duly appreciating its recondite mysteries. †

Among those profane and ignorant was of course Reynolds, whose knowledge and principles Mr Mengs held to be superficial, and whose writings he thought only calculated to lead students into error. ‡ Our own, indeed, have incurred similar censures from certain bards of the same German metaphysical school, who seem to have sought inspiration from similar sources, and to whose sublime and exquisite conceptions, diffused over many a closely printed page, we have shown no less insensibility than Reynolds did for those of Mengs, diffused over a no less ample space of thickly covered pannel and canvas. We are nevertheless so incorrigible as to think, that even this philosophical, poetical, and musical painter, could he have so far overcome his abhorrence for all that is low and vulgar, as to have studied a picture of Rembrandt, instead of whistling a sonata of Correlli, by way of preparation, would have gone to his work much better prepared. The sound good sense, and just and appropriate expression, both of countenance and gesture, which always distinguish the works of that artist, might have been combined with characters of more dignity and elevation, and thus produced that perfection of imitative composition, which shows nature preserved in every part, but purified, refined, and exalted in the whole; at the same time that his unrivalled knowledge of the powers of his materials, and skill and taste in the use of his tools, might have been applied to forms of grace and elegance, and thus produced works fit to contend with the finest left by Correggio, who certainly united more excellences, and approached nearer to general abstract perfection, than any other artist of modern times; and whose transcendent merit it is

† Azara Memorie di Mengs, p. xxxix. Reflessioni, &c. p. 1. c. iv.

‡ Azara, ib. p. lix.

now doubly pleasing to contemplate, since the person, to whom Britain principally owes her safety, and Europe her deliverance, has first made us fully acquainted with them.*

The knowledge of forms, and accuracy in delineating those of Mengs, or even Battoni, would unquestionably have been of great advantage both to Rembrandt and Reynolds; but nevertheless, if the condition of acquiring it had been the receiving even the smallest portion of their crudeness, stiffness, coldness, monotony, and insipidity, it would have been too dearly bought, since purity of drawing in painting is what purity of speech is in poetry. The want of it is a blemish which nothing but great and splendid excellence can cover or excuse: but the possession and use of it is a mere negative merit, that can excuse no blemish or defect. Inaccuracy, too, is merely the occasional vice or failing of the individual; but methodical and operose dulness and insipidity are chronical and contagious. They become engrafted upon system; consecrated by prejudice; spread from academy to academy; and are transmitted from generation to generation, in crudities, growing still harder and colder, through the chilling and petrifying progress of successive imitations. Such has been the state of the art in every part of the Continent of Europe, from Carlo Maratti inclusively to the present day. Splendid geniuses, of premature growth and vigour, have been perpetually announced; but all have soon been absorbed in the general mass of tame uniformity, and become academicians only distinguished from each other by a little more or less methodical precision in their respective lines. The great Baron David can probably delineate the human form and countenance with more accuracy, promptitude and facility, than most of his brethren; but exactly in the same style and manner; and with as little feeling for the real beauties of liberal art, as he showed for the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, when a member of Robespierre's committee. It would have been, indeed, degrading to the art, to find such a man any otherwise excelling in it: for, as good taste and good morals spring from the same sources of sound sense and refined feeling, it is for the general honour and interest of humanity, that the corrupt habits of individuals should never separate them; but that, whatever commands the applause and admiration of mankind, should be inseparably conjoined with what commands their respect and esteem.

Such was the happy union which preeminently distinguished

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* In the small picture of Christ in the Garden, stolen from the royal collection in Spain by Joseph Buonaparte, and taken in his carriage at the battle of Vittoria by the Duke of Wellington.

the subject of the history now under consideration; and which enabled him not only to raise the art which he professed, from a low state of degradation to a high state of excellence; but also to raise the rank and estimation of its professors higher in society, than they had ever been before, in any age or country. This rank and estimation we hold it to be of no small national importance, that they should continue to deserve and enjoy: since elevation of sentiment is best nourished and sustained by dignity of situation; and from elevation of sentiment flow elevation of style and purity of taste in every branch of art; which, when firmly established in the head, circulate undebased and uncontaminated even to the remotest and minutest extremities. Of between two and three hundred students usually employed in pursuit of professional improvement in the Royal Academy, not more than five or six become painters or sculptors of the higher class. The rest spread themselves through our various manufactures of porcelain, pottery, foundery, cotton-printing, &c. and give them that elegance of design and beauty of finish, which, added to our superiority in capital and machinery, secures to them the command of the markets throughout the world; and makes the mightiest and remotest nations our tributaries, in a mode equally beneficial to the payer and receiver.

We therefore feel ourselves much indebted to Mr Northcote for the work before us; and should have felt ourselves more so, had he made it more professional; that is, had he entered more fully into a critical and chronological examination of the progress of his preceptor in his art,—of the obstacles that occasionally impeded, and the errors that frequently misled him: for though his improvement on the whole was progressive to the end of his professional life, and his last pictures unquestionably his best, yet it was not regularly so; but his powers were sometimes stationary, and sometimes even retrograde. We say his *powers*: for he always exerted them to the utmost, and spared neither thought nor labour, how unfavourable soever the subject on which he was called upon to employ them. He was still studying nature; and in that study no difficulties ever repressed, and no success ever relaxed, the ardour of his pursuit,—though the authority of example in some instances, and mistakes in the nature and combination of his materials in more, diverted or frustrated his endeavours. Of all these matters we should have preferred a critical detail, such as the author seems fully competent to give, to those circumstantial narratives of occurrences which happen to every man in society, which are wholly uninstructive, and only rendered interesting by the interest felt for the person of whom they are told.

For these, however, Mr Northcote has made so candid and modest an excuse, that it would be unjust to examine or judge them with the rigour of stern criticism. 'I have given,' he says, 'all that I could recollect, and would not make myself the 'judge by selection.' (Pref. p. 3.) This is repeated in the body of the work (p. 240.), on an occasion where it was certainly least wanted: for of Sir Joshua Reynolds's Maxims and Apothegms, whether professional or moral, we should have rejoiced to have found more. Of those that are given, we particularly recommend the last to the attention of all those young adventurers in the highest style of art, whose heads are so inflated with the froth of genius, that they cannot degrade their talents to any humbler efforts of imitation, but think nothing wanting, except Vatican chambers and a Sistine chapel, to make them at once Raphaels and Michael Angelos. 'A good portrait-painter,' said the President, 'may not be capable of painting history: 'but an historical painter has for certain the ability to paint 'portrait.' (p. 245.) This we should regard as one of those self-evident propositions called truisms, did we not find it continually controverted by the obtrusive pretensions, and denunciations of public barbarism and insensibility to merit from the aforesaid adventurers: for historical painting is, in reality, nothing more than an aggregate of selected or embellished portraits, so disposed and expressed as to exhibit some event in history; and nothing surely is more self-evident, than that he who cannot represent a part, cannot represent the whole well. It is true, indeed, that the farther the figures, which compose an historical or poetical picture, are removed from individual peculiarities, and the closer they adhere to the general characteristics of the species, the more dignified and poetical will the composition be: for all individual peculiarities are in some degree comic; and heroic or poetic nature is only Nature abstracted, and elevated above them. Still, however, it must be Nature, or it will be nothing; and the power of abstracting, elevating and combining, can only be obtained by a thorough knowledge and ready use of the materials to be employed in the process; which are no other than the common objects of sense and daily observation. Dreams of inspiration and mystic lights of philosophy are, indeed, much more flattering both to indolence and vanity: and we believe that the artist who trusts to them as the sources of his success, will be as likely to obtain them by whistling a sonata of Corelli with Mr Raphael Mengs, as by any other means.

Happily the sources, which the founder of the British school of painting applied to, were of a different kind. What is commonly called genius for any particular calling or pursuit, he held

to be nothing more than a disposition towards it, generally given by accidental causes; and the superiority attainable in it not to depend on any innate propensity of the mind, but on the general strength of the intellect, and on the intense and constant application of that strength to a specific purpose (p. 8); and it was upon this axiom that he steadily regulated the whole course of his professional life. Having very plainly manifested this disposition, he was, at the age of eighteen, placed by his father, Curate of Plympton, in Devonshire, under the tuition of Thomas Hudson, a native of the same county, and then exercising the profession of a portrait painter in London, with the reputation of being the first of his age. In London he had opportunities of seeing works of the old masters; and with his natural taste and discernment, could not fail to discover, by comparison, the very slender portion of merit, which entitled his preceptor to his reputation—less, indeed, than any other man ever obtained or held it by, in this or any other country. He therefore continued with him only two years; and then returned to his native county, where he continued three years, painting portraits in different towns, at only three guineas for the half length, and thus getting the benefit of practice, free from the caprices and restraints of fashion.

On seeing some of these works painted in the year 1745, (one of which has supplied the portrait of himself prefixed to the volume now before us), more than thirty years afterwards, he expressed shame and mortification at having made so little progress during so long a period of continued encouragement and employment; and added, what his biographer has not noticed, that during the next ten years, he actually fell off,—though nearly three of them (1749–51) were spent in studying the great works of ancient and modern art at Rome, Parma, and Venice. This judgment was confirmed by the comparative view of his pictures, afforded by the exhibition in 1813; and the fact is so curious and important, that the causes of it may be worth investigating as a warning to others. That he should have conformed to the public taste which admired Hudson, is indeed perfectly natural; but that he should not have emancipated his own in Italy is wonderful; which he certainly did not, as the pictures of Admirals Keppel and Boscawen, painted soon after his return, were the most dim, heavy, and opaque of the whole collection. His own account of the impressions which his mind received there, may perhaps lead to an explanation.

On first viewing the fresco paintings of Raphael in the Vatican, he says that he could discover nothing at all answerable to the high notions which he had formed of them; and found all

his brother students, except such as concealed their insensibility in affectation, equally insensible with himself.

'Notwithstanding,' continues he, 'my disappointment, I proceeded to copy some of those excellent works. I viewed them again and again; I even affected to feel their merit; and to admire them more than I really did. In a short time a new taste, and a new perception began to dawn upon me; and I was convinced that I had originally formed a false opinion of the perfection of art; and that this great painter was well entitled to the high rank which he holds in the estimation of the world. The truth is, that if these works had really been what I expected, they would have contained beauties superficial and alluring, but by no means such as would have entitled them to the great reputation which they have so long and so justly obtained.' p. 391-2.

Again, in 1769, he writes to Barry, then studying at Rome, 'If you neglect visiting the Vatican often, and particularly the Capella Sistina, you will neglect receiving that peculiar advantage which Rome can give you above all other cities in the world. In other places you will find casts from the antique, and capital pictures of the great painters; but it is there only that you can form an idea of the dignity of the art, as it is there only that you can see the works of Michael Angelo and Raphael. If you should not relish them at first, which may probably be the case, as they have none of those qualities which are captivating at first sight, never cease looking till you find something like inspiration come over you,—till you think every other painter insipid in comparison, and to be admired only for petty excellences.' p. 113.

Of all the faculties and modes of exertion of the human mind, there is none so flexible and ductile as taste in highly polished societies; and consequently no class so small as those who think, feel, and act for themselves in matters belonging to it. Authority begets prejudice—prejudice, fashion—and fashion soon modifies nature to receive all its impressions in their full force. Hence, when we are once thoroughly convinced that any particular work of art is superlatively fine, we find no difficulty in looking at it till we become really enraptured with it, and feel all the extravagant admiration which we had been taught to think the criterion of true taste. This admiration in the artist naturally produces imitation: but, as he admired without feeling, so he imitates without discriminating, and succeeds only in acquiring all the vices and defects of his original; the rest, perhaps, being only imitable by those who have the science, skill, and capacity to rival it. Even to these the attempt at imitation has sometimes been fatal; as it was to Annibal Caracci, who went to Rome, the best painter, generally considered, that Italy ever produced: but by endeavouring to become chaste and severe,

like what he there admired, he became crude, hard, cold, and feeble.

Reynolds had at that time much less to lose; but, nevertheless, he seems to have lost the best of what he had, without acquiring any equivalent to replace it: for, though he improved his drawing, he still continued, even to the last, very deficient in that branch of the art. His good sense, however, and just taste soon emancipated him from the trammels in which a prejudiced and predetermined admiration of what he was never competent to feel and enjoy, had involved him; and he employed all the powers of his mind, and efforts of his industry, in perfecting himself in colouring, light and shade, and all those harmonious and magical combinations of richness and splendour, relieved by transparent obscurity, which form the charm and essence of the art; and which the natural disposition of his mind, and the structure of his organs, eminently qualified him to cultivate with success. In this pursuit, his eagerness and activity were such, that he tried every combination of colours mineral and vegetable, applied in every species of vehicle that oils, waxes, gums, and spirits could afford; and, in quest of something still better, often obliterated happy effects, which he could not again restore. Of the great picture, which went to Russia, he said to a friend, when taking his last view of it, that 'there were ten pictures under it, some better and some worse.'

In such an accumulation of heterogeneous materials, spread layer upon layer, so as to preclude absorption and evaporation, many of his works of course perished, even before they were mellowed and matured; and, as he kept no regular account of his experiments, the benefit of them has been in a great measure lost both to himself and others. Nevertheless, in spite of occasional failures, the general progress of his improvement, in the line which he pursued, was constant and steady; and his last and best productions, such as the Nativity, Iphigenia, Cardinal Beaufort, Holy Family, General Tarleton, &c. are equal to any that the art can boast; uniting in a great degree the merits of Titian, Correggio, and Rembrandt, without being imitations of any of them. But his professional merits and defects have been so ably and impartially discussed by his biographer in the general view of his works, p. 387, &c. that we have only to recommend it to the attentive perusal of every lover and practitioner of the art.

We also earnestly recommend to the consideration of the former, the means by which those merits were obtained, namely, continued and unrestricted employment; for it is mere mockery and insult to recommend industry and exertion to the artist, and

to furnish him with models for study and imitation, unless we at the same time afford him a market for their products. Whatever may be his success, and whatever may be the applause with which it is received, if all the wealth that he acquires is to consist in his own works piled round his room, his faculties will soon stagnate, and consequently perish, before they are half matured. What our author relates of the late Mr Opie, affords an apt, but by no means singular illustration. When he came first to settle in London, the novelty and originality of his manner, and the premature ability displayed in his pictures, drew universal attention, and he was immediately surrounded by all the principal nobility of England, while he was in reality only the embryo of a painter. Yet, when he had proved himself to be a real artist, they left him with disgust, because he was no longer a novelty. They now looked out for his defects alone, and he became in his turn totally neglected and forgotten; and, instead of being the sole object of public attention, and having the street where he lived so crowded with coaches of the nobility as to become a real nuisance to the neighbourhood, and to make him think, as he jestingly observed, that he must place cannon at his door to keep the multitude off, he found himself as entirely deserted as if his house had been infected with the plague, (p. 285.)

Opie was hailed as a heaven-born genius; and such has been the fate of all the heaven-born geniuses, which have been hailed and abandoned in continued succession for this century past, in this and every other country of Europe. As wonderful boys, they have been received with a burst of applause, and employment sufficient to intoxicate and unnerve them; but, as soon as the wonder ceased, and they became merely meritorious artists, their works were tried by the ordinary standards of comparison, and condemned to neglect; not because they were not good—even much better than those which had been admired—but because they were no longer prodigies. Thus artists are multiplied and art degraded; and that patronage, which, in the aggregate, might call forth splendid talents, and raise monuments of eternal honour to the country, becomes so diluted as only to nourish abortions.

This baneful effect is still further extended by well-meant but ill-directed benevolence, in charitable provisions for decayed artists, subscriptions for the maintenance of their widows and orphans, &c. &c. which, how well soever intended, or however beneficial in particular instances, operate generally only as rewards to negligence, and premiums for failure. It has been often observed, that those parishes which are endowed with any

unalienable provision for the poor, are always most burdened; and the same effect will follow in professional as in local communities. Occasional donations to those who have deserved, but not obtained competence, may be as beneficent in their general effects, as in their particular motives; but predetermined and prescriptive charities will always create their own objects, which will naturally increase faster than their cause; so that the proposed remedy will go on augmenting the actual evil. To produce excellence in a most difficult and laborious art, for which the utmost exertion of human capacity, during the utmost extent of human life, is scarcely sufficient, there must be the terrors of poverty and disgrace to impel, as well as the lures of wealth and honour to entice. The best charity to artists and their families, is timely and liberal employment to those who have capacity and industry for liberal art. The rest had better betake themselves to some other calling, in which they may still be useful, though they could not be ornamental to their country. The number of those endowed by nature with capacity, is probably considerable in all large communities: but that of those who can possibly have employment sufficient to nourish and support it in painting, is necessarily small: wherefore we should limit employment to those whom early inclination and favourable circumstances have duly qualified to proceed; and not go in quest of heaven-born geniuses, and inflate hope, only to embitter disappointment.

Though we are, in general, no friends to painting upon a large scale, it was with much satisfaction that we heard of a plan of the Society, which is doing so much to promote the art, for adorning the churches and public buildings in London, with works of their contemporaries, and hope no obsolete prejudices or jealousies will arise to obstruct or frustrate it. There is something more stimulating and invigorating to ambition in public, than there ever can be in private employment; and the triumph of raising a monument, consecrated as it were, and placed beyond the reach of individual caprice, is far more flattering and exhilarating than any that can be felt from the most successful exertions in producing what the barbarism or folly of an accidental proprietor may at any time efface or destroy. A very general prejudice, too, in favour of pictures on a large scale, has been derived from the great artists of Italy and Flanders; it having been observed that all who could paint large figures well, could also paint small ones well; while the converse was not true, but several, who excelled in small, totally failed in large. Now, though we think that all the art ever has produced of real excellence, has been displayed in the smaller pictures of Correggio,

the Caracci, Rubens, and Rembrandt, and therefore believe that all it ever will, or ever can produce, may be displayed in the same scale, we are by no means disposed to check the spirit of exertion by curtailing its space, notwithstanding our opinion that the advantages of that space are purely imaginary. Indeed we think it disadvantageous; and hold that the most favourable size for an historical or poetical composition in the art, is that in which the details of expression and execution in every part, and the general effect of the whole, may be distinctly seen and enjoyed at the same time. In subjects of humble and familiar life there can be no dispute; as that simplicity and neatness of character and manner, which properly belong to them, become vulgarity and stiffness when exhibited on a large scale, as was abundantly exemplified in the works of the late Mr Opie. Had their size been that of half or one-third of life, he might possibly have recovered a part of his popularity: but the extravagant applause with which his first specimens had been received, prevented his ever varying his manner, or looking out of himself for improvement.

What is called public opinion in matters of this kind, is rather impulse than opinion; and that impulse is always given by the authority of a few. The mass repeat with increased violence the expressions of wonder and admiration which they hear from the few who pretend to direct them, till grown familiar with the object; when their admiration suddenly ceases, and all of wonder that remains, is, that they ever could have admired. The few, in the mean time, indulge their vanity in new discoveries; and start fresh game, which is immediately pursued and abandoned with the same inconsiderate levity,—keeping the art in a perpetual state of experiment through continued successions of artists, each starving the other out, before any of them have had sufficient practice to mature their talents. Great Britain has now artists capable of the highest efforts in every branch of the art, and of rivalling the best productions of former days, if their talents were not choked by crowds of embryo competitors, or crampt by imitation imposed by pedantry which can see no merit that is not sanctioned by the authority of example.

Every improvement that the art has received was new once; and the reason why the founder in every school has been usually the best, is, that he has been the only one whose talents were allowed free exertion. The works of the rest were not estimated according to their intrinsic merit, but according to their similitude with his; so that they became mere copies, destitute of all that character of inspiration, which can only arise from the hand working under the immediate influence of the mind. The impressions of youth too, generally continue through life; and men

are apt to imagine that the superior enjoyments of their early days arose from the superior excellence of the objects, and not from the superior vigour and freshness of their organs; whence they make similarity to those objects the sole criterion of their approbation; and, if they do not find it in their contemporaries, hunt for prodigies in the rising generation to rival those of the past. This has been the principal cause why excellence in art has never been long permanent in any country; and therefore it behoves us to use every effort to obstruct its influence in our own.

It is observed by Mr Northcote, that not one of Sir Joshua Reynolds's numerous pupils was successful; owing to their immediately imitating the mature results of his practice, instead of gradually tracing its principles, and adapting them to their own respective taste and talents. His modesty has prevented him from excepting himself, which he might with justice have done; and also have held himself forth, with more justice than Barry did, as an example of merit that has not been duly appreciated. The same modesty seems also to have restrained him from entering into any critical examination of his great preceptor's Discourses, of each of which he has given a short analysis; a deficiency which we much lament, though we respect the cause, and shall therefore endeavour to supply.

These discourses, we consider on the whole as containing the soundest and best body of critical instruction that has ever been produced on the subject; notwithstanding that Mr Raphael Mengs, who, in the estimation of his biographer, raised the art as high as Raphael Santio would have raised it had he lived so long, pronounced them only calculated to lead students into error, by teaching them those superficial principles, which were all that the author ever knew. * He had, indeed, the good fortune to be ignorant of, or the good sense to despise, those profound principles of the system of universal harmony, which taught the German painter to prepare his mind for a sacred historical composition by whistling a tune; and it is probable that had any philosopher of that school suggested such an expedient, he would have ranked it with that of the tragic poet in Aristophanes, who endeavours to elevate and purify his mind into a fit state for composition, by hanging himself up in a basket. To study nature, and the works of others who had succeeded in imitating and embellishing her, he thought the most effectual means of acquiring excellence in an imitative art; and gave no credit to any of those stimulants of genius or emollients of taste, which pretend to substitute inspiration to labour, and intuitive to practical discernment.

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* Life of Mengs, by Azara, p. liv–v., &c.

Genius and Taste, indeed, though transformed by the jargon of scholastic and academic criticism into certain invisible and intangible demons presiding over courts of ultimate appeal, are in reality nothing more than intellectual energy, and the sound sense of sound organization, directed by accident or habit into particular channels; and invigorated and refined by active, steady, and persevering industry and application. It is by temperate and moderate, but at the same time active and constant exercise, that the faculties of the mind, as well as those of the body, are strengthened and preserved; and whether the philosophical quack offer a substitute for the one, or the medical quack for the other, the patient who takes it will find the same result of impotence and debility. It is true, indeed, that no exercise or regimen can turn debility into strength, or make a Thersites an Achilles; but in imitative art no great strength or capacity either of mind or body is required; so that persevering and well directed industry and observation, guided by that just tact, which almost every unprejudiced and unperverted mind, where there is no defect of physical organization, naturally possesses, have seldom or never failed of success: but then it has been the industry of the mind as well as of the hand—fixt, steady and undeviating attention; which is a rare endowment, and one which early success is very apt to relax. This is among the causes why what are called students of genius have so seldom become artists of celebrity; a melancholy fact, of which we believe every academy in Europe can afford as abundant illustration as our own; and in our own we have sought in vain among the names, which now so preeminently adorn it, for one of those, who won the prizes, which gave occasion for these discourses. Some of these early victors may, indeed, have become academicians; but, we apprehend, of a class that rather owes, than does, honour to the title.

The president was too well acquainted with what had happened in other academies, as well as with human nature in general, not to be aware of this danger; and too zealous for the success of the institution over which he presided, not to exert all the influence of his talents and authority in opposition to it. From the first to the last of his fifteen biennial discourses, the inevitable failure of early presumption, founded on the premature excellence of an occasional effort, and the equally inevitable success of well directed industry and steady attention, advancing gradually and perseveringly to its end, is the theme upon which he constantly expatiates; and upon which he employs every argument that reason, learning, and experience could suggest. He who accurately and ably distinguishes that active, alert, vigilant, and inquisitive industry, which not only

digests, appropriates, and turns to nourishment, all that it acquires, but is constantly augmenting and embellishing it with its own creations, from that torpid, methodical, and mechanical habit of labour, which drudges through its task and its hour, without looking to the right or the left, or ever transgressing the boundaries of rule, for want of spirit and capacity to reach them. His own practice, too, was in perfect conformity with his precepts, during the whole of his professional life: and yet neither the pupils to whom his practice was exposed, nor the students to whom his precepts were addressed, seem to have been much benefited by them; neither class having supplied those artists, which have since done the greatest honour to the arts of the country.

There seems, indeed, to be something in the very nature and essence of academical instruction adverse to the ultimate object and end of the art which it professes to teach; since not one of the numerous and magnificent establishments of this kind, which have arisen in Europe within this last century, has produced a great artist. Those who have adorned them, either preceded their institution, in their respective countries, or sprang up beside them, and became members to give, not to receive instruction. There is something, perhaps, of more prolific energy and active vigour in the acquisitions which a man makes himself, than in those which he receives from others. They have at least a tone and character of originality derived immediately from Nature; and neither crampt, enfeebled, nor distorted by passing through any other vehicle than that of the mind which conceived them. The course of employment is formed and regulated by the feeling which prompted inquiry; and, if it is vitiated by peculiarities of manner, they are the characteristic peculiarities of an eccentric individual, and not the dull, uniform, and pedantic peculiarities of a sect; in which every one knows and practises all that is prescribed by the general creed, and no more. Rubens and Salvator Rosa were mannerists of the former class; Carlo Maratti, Raphael Mengs, Sebastian Conca, Placido Costanza, and Pompeo Battoni of the latter; of which, indeed, every academy in Europe can now supply an abundance.

Those who follow must necessarily go behind; and an animal that has been trained to go behind, and accustomed to follow the steps of a leader, will not easily be taught to lead; and even if compelled to choose a track for himself, will always look out for the most beaten—the most like what he has been used to, and best adapted to those regular paces, which habit has rendered him incapable of varying, whatever might have been his natural ac-

tivity and docility. The highest bred racer or hunter may be trained to the manege or the shafts; but when once thoroughly so trained, nothing can ever make him a racer or hunter again. He is become a creature of method; and those powers of free and desultory action, the modes and degrees of whose exertion were derived from and adapted to his physical organization, can never be recovered. He is still a horse no doubt; but a horse that has lost the characteristic excellences of his own, by being forced to acquire those of another species; which, not being congenial to his nature, are necessarily constrained and imperfect.

An academy may be considered as a sort of manege, in which every one learns his paces according to the fashion of the day, and not according to the natural structure of his organs. Thus they get into a style of blameless mediocrity, which, though not best adapted to the talent of any one individual, is the best adapted for a central point of union, at which all talents may meet; and therefore becomes the favourite and characteristic style of the academy. Salvator Rosa and Carlo Dolce were both Italians and contemporaries; and had they been also students in the same school of instruction, each would without doubt have sacrificed much of the peculiarities of their respective manners to the admonitions of their teachers; and each would probably have endeavoured to acquire, in compliance with the same admonitions, some of the excellences of the other to blend with his own. Both might perhaps by these means have corrected their characteristic faults; but both would infallibly have extinguished their characteristic merits, and become merely respectable academicians, such as now abound in every civilized country of Europe.

We are not, however, by any means, disposed to deny the utility of an academy, in supplying models and other requisites for study, to those who could not otherwise obtain them. What we object to, and deprecate, are academic rules, fashions, and systems; and, above all, that corporate taste and spirit, which sets up a sort of central style of its own; to which every individual student, whatever be the diversity of his taste and talents, must in some degree conform, to bring his works into fair competition.

The natural modesty of Sir Joshua Reynolds's disposition, induced him to admit generally, in his Discourses, those rules, which his good taste and discernment caused him to violate in his practice, when reputation and experience had given him confidence to think and act for himself; and had he lived to see some monuments of art, which the country has since acquired, he might perhaps have violated others, whose infallibility he does

not appear to have suspected. For instance, he admits, as a general rule or maxim, taken from the conduct of the great Venetian and Flemish masters, 'that the masses of light in a picture be always of a warm mellow colour, yellow, red, or a yellowish white; and that the blue, the grey, and the green colours, be almost kept entirely out of the masses; and be used only to support and set off these warm colours.'—'Let this conduct be reversed,' says he; 'let the light be cold, and the surrounding colours warm, as we often see in the works of the Roman and Florentine painters; and it will be out of the power of art, even in the hands of Rubens or Titian, to make a picture splendid and harmonious.' *

Nevertheless, in the most splendid and harmonious of all pictures, the Christ in the Garden, of Correggio, brought from Spain by the Duke of Wellington, this is completely reversed; the principal, and even sole mass of light, the robes of the principal figures, being of as pure and bright a sky-blue as ultramarine could produce; and the surrounding shades, by which it is relieved and set off, of as warm and deep a brown, as is penetrable by vision; nor do we believe there is any one who can see the picture, without rejoicing that the genius and taste of the painter were never limited and crampt by any such exclusive maxims.

Another rule, which he lays down with more confidence, is, that the historical painter should not debase his conceptions with minute attentions to the discriminations of drapery. 'It is the inferior style that marks the variety of stuffs. With him, the clothing is neither woollen nor linen, nor silk, satin, or velvet:—it is drapery; it is nothing more.' † Yet in his own greatest historical work, the death of Cardinal Beaufort, how much is the magical effect of its rich and splendid harmony indebted to the crimson velvets, which are so powerfully and happily imitated! Extinguish the distinct and peculiar brilliancy of this material, and you will chill and paralyze the whole composition. It is true, that excessive attention to minute and discriminate imitation in such matters, is affected and vicious; as they are always mere accessaries, which sink, as the objects to which they belong, rise in importance. But nevertheless we cannot think that the discriminations of Rembrandt would have, in any degree, debased or misbecome the figures of Raphael; nor does the great patriarch of the Roman school seem to have thought so himself: for in his easil pictures, he has discriminated, as far as his powers of imitation, which in these matters were but

* Disc. VIII. p. 182. † Disc. IV. p. 60.

imperfect, would allow: and in his great works in fresco, neither the quality of his material, nor the mode of his process, admitted it in any degree.

It was, however, from these great works in fresco, and from those still greater by Michael Angelo, in the Sistine Chapel, that Sir Joshua Reynolds seems to have formed exclusively his notions of excellence, in that grand, chaste, and severe style, which he almost exclusively recommends to the cultivation of the rising generation of artists; though his own experience and observation must have taught him, that there was no probability, or even possibility, of their ever having the means of practising it, or consequently of succeeding in it; for, in painting, continued practice is absolutely necessary, both to obtain and maintain success. Even if a disposition to revive this form of the art should arise in any of the Sovereigns of Europe, such is the rapidity of its process, and the extent of space which its professors require for the development and display of their powers, that the resources of the most wealthy and potent would scarcely be sufficient to build churches and palaces so fast, as even one painter could cover the internal surfaces of their walls. If, therefore, any rising genius in the art should take the resolution, which the late President says he would have taken, had he been to begin his professional career again, of making Michael Angelo his model, we advise him first to secure the patronage of a Pope Julius; or his labours and studies will all end in the production of abortive designs; as those of so many students of vast hopes and pretensions have done in every academy of Europe.

The encouraging such hopes and pretensions, and the directing them in this line of pursuit, we hold to be the great predominant error of these excellent Discourses; and that which has principally prevented their author's instructions from cooperating with his practice, in advancing the art. Men of modest and diffident tempers, are naturally prone to admire extravagantly what they have been taught to think admirable, without having learned to know exactly why. Even their ignorance of the cause convinces them of the justness and potency of the effect; since that merit, which has so strongly impressed other minds, must necessarily be most exalted in its kind, and superlative in its degree, by being above the comprehension of their own. Hence admiration becomes eager and enthusiastic, in proportion as it is blind and indiscriminating: and that Sir Joshua Reynolds's admiration for the grand, chaste, and severe style of painting was both the one and the other, some properties which he has imputed to it, and selected for approbation, leave no room to doubt.

The early artists, who have left us the principal examples of this style, never having thoroughly learned the nature and use of oil colours, nor the theory of that splendid and mellow richness of blended harmony, which our learned president admired in the works of the Venetians and Flemings, and exhibited in his own, often transgressed in the opposite extremes of crude harshness, and tame monotony; both of which he therefore thinks appropriate ingredients of it, and one or other absolutely necessary to a complete and perfect specimen.* By an unaccountable mistake, too, of the meaning of the words of Vasari, the authority of Michael Angelo is adduced in confirmation of this doctrine; he having said, on seeing a picture of Titian, 'that the colouring and manner of it pleased him much; but that it was to be regretted that the art of design was not learned from the beginning at Venice; and that the painters of that city had not a better method of study:'† that is, it was to be regretted that they did not, by a more regular and early course of academical education, learn to draw well, and combine that knowledge of form and composition, in which his school so much excelled, with their own knowledge and taste in colouring, and so produce works of greater excellence than either could produce separate; not, as Sir Joshua has supposed, that he agreed with him in thinking their colouring too brilliant, and even too harmonious, to produce that solidity, steadiness, and simplicity of effect, which heroic subjects require.‡

That such was by no means the opinion of M. Angelo, but that he thought a combination of Venetian colouring, with Florentine design, capable of producing greater excellence in sacred and heroic composition than either could do alone, is proved by his uniting his own talents with those of the Venetian colourist Sebastiano, to paint the Resurrection of Lazarus, in competition with the Transfiguration of Raphael; and the result of their joint exertions has been a work unquestionably superior to what either of them could have produced alone, and which *was*, perhaps, altogether superior to any that the art has ever produced; but those who have only seen it since the fatal operation of cutting away the pannel on which it was painted, and gluing cloth to the back of the colour in its place, can form but very imperfect

* Disc. IV. p. 59.

† Dicendo che molto gli piaceva il colorito suo, e la maniera; ma che era un peccato che a Venezia non s'imparasse da principio a disegnare bene, e che non avessero quei pittori migliora modo nello studio. *Vita di Tiziano.*

‡ Disc. IV. p. 63.

notions of what it was before. The glue penetrated to the surface, and diffused over it that general hue of dim and opaque brown, which now obscures it, and which the operator then endeavoured to remove by the usual process of scouring away all the delicate and transparent glazing, by which the various splendour of the various parts had been tuned and harmonized together into one brilliant mass; so that at length he embellished it with both the abovementioned requisites of the grand style, monotony and crudeness, as far at least as it was susceptible of qualities so incompatible with its original character. Its ancient rival, the Transfiguration, has undergone a similar process from similar operators, since its arrival in Paris; and acquired, without doubt, the same advantages in a proportionate degree; though, as it had originally less of their opposites, it may be less altered by them.

This debasement and falsification, as it were, of the noblest monuments of the art, is more fatally injurious to it than their utter destruction and annihilation could be; for, if totally obliterated and extinguished, they would only leave the world in the state it was before their production; destitute, indeed, of some of its choicest ornaments, yet equally ready to receive others, and applaud and reward the talents which should produce them: but in this depraved state they retain their reputation without the excellences by which it was procured; and impose, both on the artist and the lover of art, defects for merits, and the basest corruptions for the highest perfections. Hence the former imitates what he ought most to shun; and the latter requires what he ought most to reject. Works are no longer judged by their intrinsic merit, but by comparison with something which, perhaps, its original author would no longer acknowledge, and only think himself calumniated by the applauses which it received. The general style of art is thus debased—counterfeits multiply—the manufacturers and venders of them are enriched—talents are neglected—and vanity is every where the dupe of imposture.

The only means of remedying or counteracting these evils, must be to restore the principle of public taste to what it was before they existed, and teach men to judge the works of contemporary artists, as the contemporaries of Raphael, Titian, and Correggio judged theirs, and not as we are now too apt to judge either. The niches in the Temple of Fame were not then full; and those who sought places there were not obliged to seek them at the feet of others. Their performances were estimated by their own intrinsic merits and demerits; and not by their resemblance or difference with authorities, which had no

longer any thing authentic but their names. The recent structure was judged as such, and not expected to display, in the first stage of its existence, all the properties, whether of mellowness or decay, that belong to the ruin. Painting is an imitation of nature, as seen by the eye, and not, as known or perceived by the aid of other senses; and this consideration, if duly attended to, is alone sufficient to guide both the artist and the critic to the true principles of imitation; the details of which are very ably, and, except in the instance of the incompatibility of the ornamented and grand styles with each other, very justly and learnedly explained in these discourses. If there be any other error that requires to be noticed, it is perhaps in the recommendation of general forms and effects too much, to the exclusion of particulars; which was also one great fault of his practice, as it has been of that of others of the English school. We remember a much admired, and in many respects admirable picture, of Gainsborough, in which it was carried to such an excess of affectation, rather than negligence, that the foot of the principal figure had but four toes!

Titian, in the last period of his very long life, grew too indistinct and indiscriminate in his forms, more probably through feebleness of hand, and decay of sight, than negligence or affectation; for in his early time he erred in the contrary extreme; and in that of his greatest vigour, observed the exact medium of perfection. The species of the trees and trailing plants in the picture of St Peter Martyr, are all accurately discriminated; but still, by those general characteristics, and with that breadth of massing, which leaves no trace of any drudgery of detail, but seems more like creation than imitation. Such imitation, indeed, can never be too exact; and the fault of some of the late German and Dutch, as well as of the early painters in general, who distinguished every filament in hair, every leaf in foliage, and every brick in buildings, was not that they imitated the objects too faithfully, but that they copied what the mind knew from closer examination, rather than what the eye actually saw at the given distance. Sensual and intellectual perceptions are, indeed, so mingled and confounded by habit in matters of vision, that it is necessary to be somewhat of a physiologist, as well as painter, to disentangle and separate them.

The cause, which Sir Joshua Reynolds assigns for the incompatibility of the ornamental with the grand style, and the unfitness of splendid richness, or even perfect harmony of colouring for grave historical composition, is, that the pleasure arising from the one is sensual, and that from the other intellectual; and that it is impossible for sublime ideas and low sensuality to

be united in the mind, or exist together at the same time.* Yet he admits such colouring to be, in painting, what well turned periods and harmony of numbers are in eloquence and poetry; † and surely no one ever found sublime ideas, in either, debased by being communicated through such vehicles. On the contrary, all the great epic and tragic poets raise the tone of their diction with that of their subject, and express the most heroic actions and sentiments in the most splendid, copious, and harmonious flow of numbers. It was justly observed by Hogarth, that the style of Dr Johnson's conversation was like Titian's colouring; and surely his friend and admirer never deemed that most brilliant and ornamented style an unfit vehicle for the sublimest moral truths, or the gravest and most pathetic sacred and heroic narrations. No more was the colouring of Titian; as he who would exclude it by his theories, has proved by his practice,—the pictures of the Nativity, Count Ugolino, the Infant Hercules, and Infant Jupiter, exhibiting all the gravity and grandeur of the highest style of heroic composition and expression, heightened and embellished with all the splendours of the most rich, copious, and various harmony of colours.

None of these admirable works, indeed, displayed any profound knowledge of form, or technical expertness in delineating it: but neither do they contain any affected or false display of such knowledge or expertness, with both which those of the artist, whom he so much admired and so little understood, are frequently tainted. Michael Angelo appears to have studied every thing belonging to his art most profoundly; but, as profoundly learned men are apt to do, he relied upon the knowledge acquired by intense study and deep research, where common observation would have supplied him with much better. He was a great anatomist, and knew the form and position of all the bones, veins and muscles of the human body; but as he had only traced them in dead bodies, he could only give them the forms which they assume in the various motions and actions of living ones, by reason and inference, which in such cases always fail. Accordingly, the pedantic display of gigantic muscles in violent action, which he makes in many of the naked figures of the Sistine Chapel, is not only affected, but false; the forms being not only extravagant and out of proportion, but such as the parts would not assume in such actions. Frequent and attentive observation in an academy of naked wrestlers or boxers, would have supplied him with all he wanted; and it was from such sources, and not from dissecting dead bodies, that

* Disc. IV. p. 63-71. &c. † Disc. VII. p. 144. XI. 229.

the Greeks drew all that physiological science, of which they have left us such exquisite illustrations, even in the small remains of their art, which barbarism and bigotry have spared.

This working from inference, instead of observation, not only engenders falsehood generally, but peculiarity of manner of the worst kind:—not that which exhibits, more or less exclusively, any individual peculiarities, or those of any particular rank, class, or nation of men; but that which exhibits peculiarity of character, or rather of no character, which never existed but in the painter's misconceptions:—not man, exalted and refined from the dross of nature, and abstracted from the peculiarities and defects of each individual of the species, as in the Grecian statues; but a new and peculiar species of defective, though uniform individuals, observable only in the productions of one artist, or of one school or academy. To this new creation every thing in nature and in art is made to conform; and as all feeling for either is concentrated to one point, and absorbed by one idea, whether the artist copy a figure in the academy, or a scene in the country, he only takes an attitude from one, and an arrangement of parts from the other, but copies both the parts themselves, and the general character of the whole, equally in each, from his preconceived idea; which has been so long the sole object of his contemplation, that neither can his eye perceive, nor his hand imitate any thing else. Continued practice in one mode gives him manual dexterity and precision, which renders him popular with his pupils and associates; and his manner becomes that of a school, or academy, where it is soon established by rule; and every member who grows weary of his own monotony, and feels the want of a stimulant to his invention, betakes himself to some such expedient as that of Mr Mengs, in whistling a sonata of Corelli.

Such has been the progress, and such, we believe, is the actual state of all the schools and academies on the Continent; and it gives us no small comfort and satisfaction to observe, that our own continues entirely free from this negative vice of sameness and monotony. Every other is curable; but this is a sort of paralysis, which leaves no hope. We observed too, with equal satisfaction, in late exhibitions, instances of the utmost purity and dignity of heroic character and composition, embellished and not impaired by the most rich and splendid harmony of colouring, in Mr Westall's Grecian Marriage, &c.; and no less decisive instances of the grandeur and majesty of the highest style of historical composition, preserved on a small scale, in Mr Bird's Job, and Burghers of Calais before Edward III.

It was also with still increased satisfaction and pleasure, that

we learned, that this last excellent picture, not unworthy certainly of the greatest of the Bolognese school, had been purchased by the Presumptive Heir of the British throne. Happy are the subjects of a sovereign, whose taste is gratified by such objects, instead of silly and unmeaning shows, and wasteful and expensive pageants;—who seeks to employ the surplus of what is raised for the exigences of the state in promoting useful and elegant art, cherishing virtuous talent, and rewarding honest industry; instead of multiplying indulgences for vicious sensuality, or idle curiosity; and extending crime and immorality by temptations to dissipation, or examples of profusion;—and who is guided, even in matters of amusement, by the noble ambition of adorning her age and country with the permanent productions of genius, skill, and intellect; and not by the childish vanity of diverting and distracting it with the transitory glitter of operose and costly follies, only remembered for their absurdity, and the disgrace which they entail on those who contrive, and those who can relish them.

That real good taste, which is the offspring of sound sense and just feeling, is as moderate in its means, as moral and beneficent in its ends. All that the Directors of the British Institution asked of Government, to extend and promote it, by giving employment to artists of acknowledged ability, in works of public ornament worthy the attention and respect of the most accomplished prince, and most enlightened people of Europe, was five thousand pounds a year for four years:—and for what nobler purpose was this mighty sum withheld?—to be squandered, in a single night, on squibs and crackers;—in a wanton waste of timber, gunpowder, and lamp-oil—to attract the stupid gaze of a dissolute populace—encourage the profligate and the prodigal in their depraved habits and propensities—and excite the scorn and indignation of all the rest, for those whose rank and situation should ensure esteem, and command respect.

But it is said that there are precedents for it:—similar exhibitions, upon as large a scale, followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Unquestionably, there are precedents for every folly that wealth and power can commit. History is full of them:—

Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illa
Fortuna.

Nero, Domitian and Commodus, exceeded all that the most gigantic vanity of any modern potentate can hope; and, by diverting the public expenditure from the promotion of useful and liberal arts, plunged the world gradually into barbarism.

It is not by the magnitude or importance of single instances of prodigality and folly, that we are to estimate their effects;

it is by their principle and progress. Every one is made the precedent for another, till they become systematic and habitual, corrupting the stream, as well as the fountain. The unassuming charms of all that is addressed to the rational faculties of the mind then appear tame, insipid, and unattractive. Noise, tumult, glitter and bustle, become the sole objects of taste; and all the quiet elegances of liberal art, and intellectual gratification, sink neglected, and expire.

We do not mean to stimulate discontent, or inflame indignation for what is past; but to prevent, as far as our humble animadversions can prevent, a repetition of such causes of them for the future. The appetite for tawdry and nonsensical show and glitter, like every other vicious and depraved appetite, grows more voracious, the more it is pampered and indulged. One repletion only furnishes precedent, and points out new occasions for another. Every royal birth, christening, marriage, or visit, creates a festival; and centennial, decennial, annual, and even monthly and weekly celebrations arise in succession; each to be distinguished by increased extravagance of device, and profusion of expense. The restless inanity of minds, which can neither use, retain, nor even receive any of the materials of intellectual enjoyment, require, as the gratifications of sensuality cease, a continued and endless succession of novelties, at once violent and frivolous, to relieve them from the painful sense of that vacancy which it is impossible to fill, and that lassitude of self-disgust which it is impossible to fly.

The desires of avarice have an end; but those of prodigality have none: The one is a monogastric bloodsucker; which fills itself, grows torpid, and falls off: the other is a living syphon, which discharges as fast as it receives; and enlarges its tube, and accelerates its transmission, the longer it adheres, and the more copiously it exhausts. It is like the lust of impotence, which is never satiated, because it never enjoys; and ever covets what is absent, because it can never relish what is present.

So long, however, as the evil is confined to private station and limited power, it is only ruinous to itself, and contemptible to others: but when let loose to revel in the unbridled license of despotic sway, it becomes productive of the most atrocious crimes, and extensive calamities. *Spectacula, assiduè magnifica et sumptuosa edidit—deinde inopia rapax, metu sævus,* is the summary history of most of the tyrants, whose names are uttered with a mixture of abhorrence and contempt. Their parent vice was a taste for frivolous and expensive shows.

Even the monster Nero, had he occupied a private station of middle rank in this age and country, would have been neither

more nor less than a well-bred, well-drest, accomplished, and selfish voluptuary; who gave splendid entertainments, frequented polite assemblies—sung and danced like a gentleman, and talked and wrote like a singer or dancer—bilked taylors,* toymen, and upholdsters—squandered his patrimony, and died insolvent, in prison, or in Parliament. All those enormities, which, in the lord of universal empire, shook the civilized world to its centre, had no higher or deeper origin, than similar vanities, frivolities, and depravities of taste, indulged upon a more extended scale of prodigality.

Under similar circumstances, similar causes will always produce similar effects. Intellectual pursuits and occupations will strengthen, regulate, and organize the mind; and fit it alike for enjoyment and exertion; while those of vain ostentatious frivolity and gross sensuality will relax and disorder it at first; and ultimately harden, debase, and demoralize it. Whenever, therefore, early indications of a sound, discreet, and well-directed taste, manifest themselves in those who may inherit power, it is equally the duty and the interest of all who may become subject to it, to spare no means that may serve to cultivate, extend, and gratify it. Let the young and Illustrious Personage, who has given so honourable a specimen of it, proceed as she has begun; and the most parsimonious public economist will be proud to enable her to do it in a style of munificence suited to her high rank and expectations.

The truth, the chastity; the moral as well as technical purity of the pencil which she has so honourably distinguished, render it every way worthy of her patronage; and form a notable contrast with the false and tawdry glitter, and glaring licentiousness of that of a certain foreigner; who, with a degree of proficiency in his art, which would scarcely qualify him to be elected into the Royal Academy, has been honoured, or has honoured himself, with the title of *Historical Painter to the Prince Regent!* By whatever tenure, or under whatever authority, this high title is, or has been held, we equally hope that it has been so far sinecure and inefficient, that none of the performances, which principally distinguished his own house, have been suffered to pollute the walls of one, which being the sanctuary of public honour, must be deemed no less so of private virtue; and that, whether the late short abode there of the above mentioned Illustrious Personage was voluntary or compulsory, so much respect was paid to her sexual and moral, if not to her critical delicacy, as to exclude all such objects, as innocence must blush to recollect. When an alien, who, compared with many of our own countrymen, hath not reached even mediocri-

ty in his art, becomes thus distinguished, astonishment naturally excites surmise and conjecture concerning motives and causes; and if none that are worthy and honourable occur, others necessarily will, even without the prompting which this case affords. Fortunately, however, titular distinctions only confer honour in proportion as they receive it; so that the prostitution of them, without lucrative employment or endowment, neither raises the dauber, nor debases the art. It only degrades the dispenser: —all else remains as it was.

In commending *moral purity*, and reprehending *licentiousness*, let us not be understood to favour, in the slightest degree, that hypocritical prudery, or sour fanaticism, which, because nudities may be indecent, would exclude the human form from the imitations of art. Decency or indecency to ordinary observers depends entirely upon the character and expression; and not at all upon the degree of exposure of the figure; and it is only in the pruriently vicious imagination, or stupidly perplext understanding, that the nudity of the savage is confounded with that of the prostitute; or the heroine of Milton with that of Aretine. In the representations of painting and sculpture, the difference arises entirely from association; which is regulated by the *disposition*, not the *exposition* of the body, limbs, and features.

The only moral and beneficial effect of either of these arts, beyond the furnishing matter of intellectual amusement to withdraw the mind from pursuits of low sensuality or wasteful frivolity, consists perhaps in raising man in his own estimation, by exhibiting the perfections of his nature in the abstract; exempt from those faults and defects, with which almost all individual instances more or less abound. There is in every product of creation a certain central combination and proportion of relative form, which we are taught by observation and inference to consider as most appropriate to its particular species; and where this is most complete, the object appears most perfect and beautiful in its kind. This, painting and sculpture can express, as far as it consists in exterior structure; which is, indeed, but a comparatively humble and unimportant part in a rational and intellectual being; but is nevertheless all that can express the qualities of the higher and more important, to the most universal medium of perception, vision. To accomplish this end, the artist must exhibit the genuine man, as formed originally by his Creator, undisguised by any adscititious trappings of ornament or concealment; and if such exhibitions excite any improper associations, it will only be in those whose minds are more habituated to such associations, than to any of a purer kind; —vice-hunters, who still delight in the pursuit of what they are no long-

er able to retain or enjoy; and eagerly follow the scent or the shadow, when the substance has escaped them;—who are continually prying every where in quest of their game, and equally ready to worry whatever their prurient and morbid imaginations invest with its semblance.

As for the delight afforded by rich, mellow, and splendid harmony of colours and light and shade, we cannot but think that Sir Joshua Reynolds, though so successful in producing it has unreasonably debased it in his Discourses, by treating it as a pleasure of mere sensuality. There are unquestionably some colours or modifications of light more grateful to the eye than others; but the mere organic pleasure that any of them afford, is so imperceptible amidst the higher gratifications, that it can in no case be properly called sensuality, any more than that arising from the melody of verse. Both are only grateful when employed as the vehicles of meaning; no person, we believe, having ever found pleasure in hearing verse recited in a language, which he did not understand; or in contemplating the materials of a picture spread out on the pallet. Yet, as far as they affect the organs of sense only, each must be the same in both instances.

Even when painting or sculpture are unworthily employed to excite sensuality, they only do it through the medium of the imagination. Neither is it in the power of either to excite much sympathy of passion or affection,—which require more complete scenes than either of them can afford. The productions of both are fixt and stationary, exhibiting but one momentary action or event, and making but one unvaried impression; so that the most impassioned and expressive figure tells no more than one dumb attitude on the stage. We admire the taste and skill of the artist in expressing the sentiments and feelings of the mind in corporeal forms; and our delight arises more from that admiration, than from any sympathy with the sentiments or feelings exprest in his work.

Art. II. *Correspondance Literaire, Philosophique et Critique; Adressée à un Souverain d'Allemagne; Depuis 1753 jusqu'en* 1769. Par le Baron De Grimm, et par Diderot. 6 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1813.

When the first portion of this learned person's lucubrations was under our notice, we were unwarily led to express a wish for the publication of the rest:—and behold! we have now eleven thick volumes of them on our table! We have not

been able, we confess, to get regularly through the whole of this great mass; and only consider ourselves, at present, in a condition to give an account of the first six,—which extend from the year 1753 to 1769, and end where the part originally published, it will be recollected, began. The concluding part of this last publication takes up the Journal where the first ended; and brings down the literary and philosophical history of Paris from 1782 to 1790.

It would certainly have been agreeable, and might have been instructive, to have considered the whole work at one view; and thus to have been enabled to trace the change of tone, and the succession of leading subjects, that cannot fail to have occurred in the critical annals of half a century. But the size of the work, and the mode of its publication, have made this impracticable; and while we may venture perhaps upon something of the sort when we come to the last part of the worthy Baron's Chronicles, our readers must be contented, for the present, with such desultory remarks as are suggested by the portion more immediately before us.

Of this we cannot help saying, at the outset, that it strikes us as being, on the whole, less interesting than that which we formerly examined; but whether this arises from its having been earlier written, or later read, we really cannot presume to determine. The Baron may have been less practised in his vocation, when he indited these philosophical despatches; or we may have been more fastidious in ours, when we perused them. The difference, however, if there actually be any, seems rather to be in the manner than the matter of his miscellaneous speculations. There is the same cheerful sagacity, and intrepid good sense here, as formerly;—but rather less, we think, of playfulness, or of that petulant extravagance of pleasantry which so frequently enlivened us on his first introduction to our notice. We are far, however, from intending any disparagement to the worthy Baron, even in his present habiliments—or from lowering him down to any comparison with the common herd of discoursers on literature and philosophy. We think indeed, that the principles of both have been considerably enlarged and exalted since the period when his creed was finally adjusted; but he has bright glimpses even of those coming glories; and frequently anticipates, with wonderful precision, the sentiments and opinions of a more experienced and impartial posterity. He does not indeed exhaust the many interesting themes on which he touches, with the careful and comprehensive analysis of our Smith or Reid; and still less does he soar up, like his own Madame de Staël, to a point above the sphere of their per-

plexities, and solve high disputes by transcending the element in which they are generated. He does not, like Johnson, leave behind him, in his casual excursions into the region of speculation, those giant vestiges that serve for ever to guide the track of more laborious adventurers;—nor scatter, like Burke, from the sportive wings of his genius, those precious gleams of diviner light that seem to reveal to us, for an instant, the inner shrines and recesses of Philosophy. His eloquence is not often lofty, nor his philosophy exalted or exalting; but his conceptions are always clear and vigorous, and his judgments, for the most part, comprehensive and exact. He is no idolater of the brilliant and seducing talents which illustrated the society in which he lived; and not only commemorates their defects with all the freedom of an impartial spectator, but gives a liberal allowance of praise to foreign and to ancient genius. Though surrounded with the frivolous amusements and petty cabals of an idle metropolis, and chiefly occupied indeed in chronicling their succession, he never forgets that they are frivolous, or affects to magnify their importance in the eyes of his readers. He fairly admits, that he is busy about trifles; and only seeks to justify himself by representing all human occupations as almost equally trifling:—although, in the midst of all this levity, we must do him the justice to say, that he seems to be continually actuated by an enlightened, though not very enthusiastic, philanthropy; and to keep an observant, though unimpassioned eye, upon every thing that promises to affect the happiness of the great body of mankind. There is a tone not only of gayety but of good humour throughout all his lucubrations:—And a perpetual recollection of the infirmity of human reason—the mutability of systems and opinions—and those successive 'follies of the wise,' which have so often made the boast of one age the derision of the next, all tend to maintain in him a tone of great temperance and moderation, and to save him from that dogmatism of affirmation, which alone seems to be without the pale of his toleration. Upon the whole, we are of opinion that he would have made an excellent reviewer—and though we certainly think that we could have given him some hints worth attending to, if he had had the good fortune to live in our time, we confess, on the other hand, that there is much, both in respect to temper and to manner, in which it would be well for us and for our fellows, if we could imitate him. It is his opinion, and it is also ours, that it is the duty as well as the privilege of a literary journalist to examine, and if necessary to refute, the doctrines of the authors he notices, and that no trade is so useless to society as that of a mere maker of extracts and abstracts. There are some works, however, which can

scarcely be noticed in any other way; nor shall we often have occasion for the exercise of our high functions in pointing out to our readers what has struck us as most remarkable in the volumes now before us.

One of the very first discussions we meet with, seems to us not a little interesting. It is upon the nature and effects of that peculiar constitution of society in France, of which Frenchmen have been allowed to boast so loudly and so long, that its unrivalled superiority is now become an article of faith over the greatest part of civilized Europe. We have already ventured, on more than one occasion, to call in question this stupendous excellence; and tried to console our countrymen for the want of certain pastimes, the value of which we suspected to be prodigiously exaggerated; and which, at any rate, we thought could never be obtained, but by the sacrifice of far greater advantages. We are delighted to find M. Grimm upon our side in this controversy also. He is decidedly of opinion, that the peculiar character of French society was produced entirely by their want of political freedom, and the consequent absence of all great and interesting occupations—and that its chief effect was not only to efface every thing like national character, but to obliterate the substantial distinctions between talent and imbecility, and to substitute in the place of natural sentiments and varying expressions, a certain conventional jargon, which all were capable of acquiring, and no one permitted to go beyond. 'It may appear surprising,' he observes, 'that among the infinite multitude of 'novels which every day produces at Paris, there should be 'none that afford a tolerable picture of our domestic manners 'or national character:—This, however, he adds, I am persuaded, is not for want of painters, but of originals.—Our 'laws of *bienseance* and politeness have confounded all shades, 'and levelled all distinctions;—and when we have once fairly 'painted our *petit maîtres* and *petites maîtresses*, there is an end 'of the matter; and all that is national among us is exhausted. 'In free countries, antient and modern, there is nothing of this 'uniformity—but, with us, little else is visible round the whole 'horizon of polished society. Let a stranger go into a company of fifteen or twenty persons, and listen for three hours to 'their conversation—at the end of that time, the odds are, that 'he will not be able to distinguish the greatest blockhead of 'the party from the man of the highest talents. Every one 'speaks of the same things, and in the same jargon—so that 'all who live in what is called society, seem fashioned upon 'one pattern, and cast in one mould. All professions and conditions too are confounded, and every thing that is character-

'istic of them carefully avoided—or rather, every one assumes 'the tone and character of one profession—that of a man of 'the world: and the only absurdity that presents itself, is that 'of overdoing this character.' In another place this subject is resumed, and more carefully investigated—with the same or more disadvantageous results.

'En effet, pour que la société puisse subsister, il faut nécessairement que la pointe des caractères soit, pour ainsi dire, émoussée et que tout le monde se ressemble; car, pour être bien dans la société, il faut apprendre dès l'enfance à soumettre sa volonté à la volonté générale, et il faut finir par n'en point avoir à soi. Or, comme chacun de son côté s'exerce à cette complaisance et à ces sacrifices continuels, il en doit résulter nécessairement une ressemblance générale, et chacun de son côté doit perdre de son caractère, et sur-tout de cet air original dont on ne se défait jamais quand on en a un. Du moment qu'un homme choque la volonté générale, et qu'il s'avise d'en avoir une à lui, on dit: c'est un homme insupportable dans la société. Mais cette fausse et excessive délicatesse qui fait que, dans le commerce journalier, nous souffrons si impatiemment la dissemblance des manières des autres avec les nôtres, ayant banni les caractères de la société, y a établi l'ennui et l'uniformité; et nous ne remédions aux tristes effets de ces maux que par une vaine et inutile agitation, en changeant continuellement de place et volant d'objet en objet, sans plaisir, sans besoin et sans motif.'

He then proceeds to show, that this perpetual restraint and vigilant attention to so many trifling observances, not only takes away all variety and originality from manners and conversation, but in the long-run from character also—and that it is next to impossible for a great and sublime genius to arise in such a society—or at least without setting all its petty ordinances at defiance; the only effectual safeguards against its debasing influences being, according to M. Grimm, to be very short-sighted and very dull of hearing! Besides all this, he candidly admits certain more substantial evils in this vaunted society.

'D'ailleurs, il résulte deux inconvéniens de notre habitude de vivre en société. Le premier, que nous restons superficiels et frivoles. Rien ne nous affecte vivement, rien ne nous intéresse à un certain point; une mollesse efféminée et la paresse se glissant dans les cercles des oisifs, énervent bientôt l'âme et l'empêchent de sentir, et notre esprit engourdi aime mieux juger au hasard que de se donner la peine d'approfondir; la beauté mâle et touchante des grands objets ne nous remue plus, nous nous attachons au colifichet, et notre goût devient mince, inconstant et frivole. Un autre inconvénient non moins dangereux et plus humiliant encore, est qu'il s'établit des goûts factices dans tous les genres de littérature, d'arts et de profession, qui ont trouvé leur naissance dans le cerveau de quelque pédant (car il y en a dans toutes les classes et dans tous les métiers) et qui sont adoptés par la multitude sans autre examen. Aussi n'y a-t-il

rien de si commun parmi nous que de voir qu'un sot qui a la constance de répéter quelque temps la même chose, est cru à la fin, non-seulement par des gens plus sots que lui, mais par une multitude de gens d'esprit qui redoutent la peine d'examiner. C'est ainsi qu'il s'établit de certaines réputations de société aussi brillantes et aussi durables que les feux follets, et suivant lesquelles le cercle n'oserait prononcer sur l'ouvrage ou la pièce du jour, sans savoir la décision de M. un tel, qui est en droit de donner le ton, et qui est ordinairement le plus sot de tous. Aussi jugeons-nous tous les jours les lettres, les arts, les spectacles, suivant des règles établies par la pédanterie et la sottise, adoptées par la frivolité et la paresse, dont nous serions bien étonnes qu'on nous demandât le principe, et encore plus de n'en pouvoir indiquer aucun de fondé ni de raisonnable. Il est inutile d'ajouter que dans un tel pays, on n'a pas le temps d'avoir des passions vigoureuses, fortes et durables. La dissipation absorbe tout; elle vous fait changer d'objet sans plaisir, sans besoin et sans jamais vous fixer. Ce sont les passions que développent le génie et qui enfantent les grandes et belles choses; et, de tous les vices, la légèreté est le plus funeste, parce qu'elle rend toutes les vertus incertaines et inutiles, et qu'on ne peut jamais compter un instant sur un peuple qui est sans consistance.'

These observations are the more entitled to regard, not only because they are made by a person who passed his days happily, and with distinction, in the society which he thus characterizes, but because they are delivered by him without the least mixture of bitterness or sarcastic exaggeration, and repeated in several places as the final and deliberate judgment of one, whose opportunities of observation were as ample, as his qualifications were undeniable. We are glad, we own, to have the assistance of a Parisian, to disabuse some of our countrymen of their pitiable admiration of Paris,—and to help to *unfrenchify* them, by an authority which no one in France will question or refuse.—Of the substantial justice of M. Grimm's observations, no candid or competent judge, we believe, will make any question. Those to whom the copious and brilliant jargon of good company in France is altogether new, will always be apt indeed to mistake the familiar use of it for individual wit and vivacity;—and the travelled vulgar, of all ranks, will never be able to resist the temptation of disparaging homebred merit, and aiming at a cheap distinction, by dwelling on the prodigies with which they were surrounded abroad:—But all independent and fair observers, we are persuaded, will concur in the censure of M. Grimm, and will not hesitate to acknowledge the monotony of French society,—a monotony that in the long-run is but the more oppressive for its factitious vivacity and perpetual pretension; and which is but poorly relieved, while it is tacitly ac-

knowledged, by the *besoin du spectacle* which prevails so conspicuously through all its orders; or the dexterous gladiatorship of a few professed talkers, who are condescending enough to give themselves *en spectacle* in private, and without any other hire than that of distinction.

It is from this want of character and variety in their society, that M. Grimm accounts for the French having no true comedy, and no tolerable novels, in which domestic manners are represented.—He speaks with unmeasured praise of various English productions of this description; and in the end, carries his zeal so far, as to make a comparison between Fielding and Rousseau, infinitely to the advantage of the former.—After contrasting the uniformity of the 'langage emphatique' which Rousseau lends indiscriminately to all his characters, with the infinite variety of style which the English writer has invented for his, he concludes—'C'est que Fielding, n'en deplaise à Madame Riccoboni, a du genie,—et Jean-Jacques n'est qu'un écrivain!' He is very fair, and even very indulgent, however, to Jean-Jacques, through the whole of these speculations;—and we may as well report what he has said about him in this place, as in any other.

It is no slight proof of the general accuracy and fairness of both these eminent persons, that the little sketch which M. Grimm has here given of Rousseau's early life, under the year 1762, coincides almost exactly with what that illustrious lunatic recorded of himself so long after in his Confessions. There are two or three little traits, however, that the Confessor has omitted:—one is, the sudden and extraordinary change in his character and manners, which took place upon his first rising into notoriety, on the publication of his paradoxical Essay on the miseries of Civilization.

'Jusque là' says M. Grimm 'il avait été complimenteur, galant et recherché, d'un commerce même mielleux et fatigant à force de tournures: tout à-coup il prit le manteau de cynique, et, n'ayant point de naturel dans le caractère, il se livra à l'autre excès; mais en lançant ses sarcasmes, il savait toujours faire des exceptions en faveur de ceux avec lesquels il vivait, et il garda, avec son ton brusque et cynique, beaucoup de ce raffinement et de cet art de faire des complimens recherchés, surtout dans son commerce avec les femmes. En prenant la livrée de philosophie, il quitta aussi madame Dupin, et se fit copiste de musique, prétendant exercer ce métier comme un simple ouvrier, et y trouver sa vie et son pain; car une de ses folies était de dire du mal du métier d'auteur, et de n'en pas faire d'autre.'

Akin to this, was his subsequent and latest transformation, from a rude despiser of the great, to a considerable courtier of some of the most eminent among them,—a change of which

M. Grimm has recorded a very trivial, but rather striking example.—In the height of his cynical fit, he was every where followed by an ugly cur, to which he gave the name of *Duke*;—because, according to him, it was as peevish and puny as a nobleman of that denomination. When he condescended to take up his abode in the park of the Duke of Luxembourg, he was still accompanied by this amiable attendant;—but he took care to change his name from *Duke* to *Turk*; and was visibly annoyed, if ever he was reminded of his former appellation.

Another singularity, which we do not remember to have met with in the Confessions, is, that besides his new plan for noting music by cyphers, he had a project, at his first coming to Paris, for teaching men to fly,—and actually worked for many years on a machine for that purpose; though he never had confidence enough in its principles, to venture himself off the house-top in it. He continued, however, it seems, all his life, to think so well of the invention, that he would never allow even his most intimate friends to treat it as chimerical. What M. Grimm has said of his celebrated *Lettre sur les Spectacles*, is happily characteristic we think of the greater part of his writings.

'M. Rousseau est né avec tous les talens d'un sophiste. Des argumens spécieux, une foule de raisonnemens captieux, de l'art et de l'artifice, joints à une éloquence male, simple et touchante feront de lui un adversaire tres-redoutable pour tout ce qu'il attaquera; mais au milieu de l'enchantement et de la magie de son coloris, il ne vous persuadera pas, parce qu'il n'y a que la vérité qui persuade. On est toujours tenté de dire, Cela est très-beau et très-faux. Quoique le nouvel ouvrage de M. Rousseau dont il est question ici, m'ait paru diffus, languissant et même plat en beaucoup d'endroits, je ne doute point que vous ne l'ayez lu avec bien du plaisir; seulement en le quittant vous serez étonné qu'il ne vous ait fait changer de sentiment sur rien. De la façon dont M. Rousseau s'y prend, il est sûr qu'il n'y a rien au monde qu'on ne puisse renverser, sur-tout avec une cognée comme la sienne.'—'Je remarquerai donc que c'est bien peine perdue que de répondre sérieusement à M. Rousseau sur ce qu'il a dit contre la comédie en général, et quand on n'a pas autant de force et d'énergie dans le style que lui, c'est encore une entreprise maladroite. Les gens d'esprit et de sens réfutent les argumens de M. Rousseau à mesure qu'ils lisent; ils n'ont besoin de personne pour les avertir. En rendant justice au talent de l'auteur, ils ne remarquent pas moins un défaut de logique général dans tout l'ouvrage, qui fait que ce que l'auteur établit dans un tel endroit, est détruit quelques pages après par une assertion qui, sans lui être directement opposée, ne laisse pas que de lui être contradictoire. C'est ce choc de principes de toute espèce avancés suivant le besoin qu'on en a, et puis oubliés un moment après pour d'autres qui ne peuvent plus s'accorder avec les premiers, qu'on a toujours reproché

avec raison à M. Rousseau, et qui n'est nulle part si sensible que dans sa philippique contre la comédie, sans compter les raisonnemens captieux et de mauvaise foi, que l'auteur avance ordinairement avec beaucoup de véhémence et de chaleur, comme s'il voulait s'étourdir lui-même sur le faux qu'il y aperçoit.'

There is a long critique upon the Emile of the same author; the most remarkable thing in which is, that M. Grimm assures us that he had himself drawn up a sketch of a system of education upon a similar plan, which he communicated to Rousseau many years before the Emile made its appearance. He claims the glory, therefore, of having first conceived the project of illustrating the principles of education by the actual history of an ingenuous pupil; and maintains that Rousseau has stolen this and many other things from that original sketch of his, which he never afterwards found leisure to complete. One of the most remarkable is, the principle of keeping the mind absolutely free of all religious impressions till the age of reason. 'It was part 'of my project,' says M. Grimm, 'that my pupil, till he was 'fifteen years of age, should never have heard the name of 'God uttered.' We cannot conceive a plagiarism less worth resenting than this: and if we are to consider it as a fair specimen of the worthy Baron's system, we must be permitted to doubt whether the world has any great reason to lament its suppression, or whether Jean-Jacques would have made any very great profit by stealing the whole of it. How is it possible, in a country full of steeples and priests, to breed up a lad to the age of fifteen, without his ever hearing the name of God mentioned? And yet M. Grimm does not fail to perceive the extreme absurdity of other assumptions in the Emile, far less extravagant in general than this; and ends his enumeration of them with observing, that if it require the concurrence of so many impossibilities to give a young man a chance for a good education, it may perhaps be wiser not to make the attempt. The work, however, is characterized with great fairness and vigour, as follows.

'En général, on peut dire que son *Traité de l'éducation* est un recueil de choses vraies et fausses, de contradictions, de beautés grandes et sublimes, et d'impertinences plates et inutiles, de choses touchantes et de choses arides, de systêmes extravagans et absurdes et de vues justes, de choses consolantes pour l'humanité, et de satires et de calomnies contre le genre humain. Le grand défaut de M. Rousseau, c'est de manquer de naturel et de vérité; l'autre, plus grand encore, c'est d'être toujours de mauvaise foi. Ses raisonnemens sont composés d'une foule de vérités et d'une foule de faussetés et de mensonges. On ne saurait se promettre de les réfuter avec succes, et cependant tout lecteur attentif en sent le défaut et l'inanité. Voilà pourquoi M. Rousseau n'a persuadé à personne que les lettres étaient

la peste du genre humain, que le théâtre était une école de corruption, que l'homme était fait pour la vie sauvage, et non pour vivre en société ; et voilà cependant pourquoi il a trouvé si peu d'adversaires dignes de lui. On admire son talent ; mais on est fâché qu'il n'en puisse faire un meilleur usage. On peut dire encore que M. Rousseau a toujours raison quand les hommes ont tort, et toujours tort quand les hommes ont raison ; car il cherche moins à dire la vérité qu'à dire autrement qu'on ne dit, et à prescrire autrement qu'on ne fait. On est étonné de voir à côté d'une idée pleine d'élévation et de charmes une platitude qui n'a pas le sens commun.'

And a little after,

'Ce qui n'est pas moins étrange, c'est de voir cet écrivain prêcher partout l'amour de la vérité, et employer toujours l'artifice et le mensonge pour réussir auprès de son élève. Si M. Rousseau croit qu'il soit si aisé de dérober la vérité aux enfans, et de leur en faire accroire sur le vrai caractère de ceux dont ils dépendent, sur leur vraie situation, sur ce qu'ils peuvent et sur ce qu'ils ne peuvent point, on peut l'assurer qu'une des observations les plus communes lui a echappé. Il ne faut pas avoir vu beaucoup d'enfans pour savoir avec quelle justesse étonnante ils jugent de tout ce qui les intéresse, de tous ceux qui ont des rapports directs avec eux, et combien il serait inutile de vouloir leur donner le change là-dessus.

'Il faut donc regarder le livre de l'éducation, ainsi que les autres ouvrages du citoyen de Genève, non comme un livre utile aux hommes, non comme l'ouvrage d'un philosophe avec lequel vous aimeriez à passer votre vie, à philosopher et à vous instruire, mais comme un recueil immense de choses qui vous fait penser, sur toutes sortes de matieres, dont l'auteur, par un art infini, par un style rempli de chaleur et de force, vous intéresse encore, lors même qu'il s'égare et qu'il est de mauvaise foi, et dont le caractère sera toujours précieux, tantôt par le talent de l'auteur, tantôt par sa singularité.'

There is a candid and indulgent account of Rousseau's famous quarrel with David Hume ; in which M. Grimm conceives that the philosopher who retained his senses ought to have had so much consideration for his brother who had lost them, as to have withheld from the public the melancholy story of his extravagance.

'Au reste,' he concludes, 'je pense que personne ne peut lire cet étrange proces sans se sentir une pitié profonde pour ce malheureux Jean-Jacques ; car s'il lui arrive d'offenser ses amis, il faut convenir qu'il s'en punit bien cruellement : et quelle déplorable vie que celle qui se consume dans d'aussi folles et d'aussi pénibles agitations ! Je défierais son ennemi le plus acharné de lui suggérer, dans la position où il est, un plus mauvais conseil que celui qu'il a pris de lui-même, de se brouiller avec M. Hume sans l'ombre de sujet. J'avais toujours été persuadé qu'il prenait un fort mauvais parti en préférant l'Angleterre à d'autres asiles ; mais je ne m'attendais pas à une révo-

lution aussi bizarre et aussi prompte. Il est aisé de prévoir qu'il ne pourra pas long-temps résider dans ce délicieux séjour de Wootton, et que la première réforme tombera sur l'ami Davenport, la seconde sur la nation anglaise. Mais il n'est pas aussi aisé de prédire en quel coin de la terre l'ami Jean-Jacques pourra finir ses jours tranquillement. Il parait démontré qu'il mène avec lui un compagnon qui ne le peut souffrir en repos nulle part. Il aura du moins pendant quelques mois la douce satisfaction de préparer une réponse non succincte à l'*Exposé succinct* de M. Hume. Cela soutient d'autant. Si mes conjectures se vérifient, celui de tous ses amis et ennemis qui n'attrape pas une bonne taloche dans cette réponse, pourra se vanter de l'avoir échappé belle.

'Jean-Jacques est venu deux cents ans trop tard; son vrai lot était celui de réformateur, et il aurait eu l'âme aussi douce que Jehan Chauvin Picard. Au seizième siècle, il aurait fondé les frères Rousses ou Roussaviens, ou Jean-Jacquistes; mais, dans le nôtre, on ne fait point de prosélytes; et toute la prose brûlante n'engage pas l'oisif qui lit, à quitter le livre pour se mettre à la suite du prosateur.'

Of the matters of fact recorded in these Chronicles, none, perhaps, are more curious than the minute and authentic account of the sufferings or performances of those unhappy women called *Convulsionaires*, who pretended to receive particular visitations of the Holy Spirit, during which, they either fell into violent convulsions, or were irresistibly impelled to court certain severe bodily inflictions, at the hands of their spiritual confederates and assistants. M. Grimm has preserved an exact detail of what took place on two of these occasions, from the notes actually made out on the spot by M. de Condamine and M. de Gastel, who found means to be present at the whole exhibition. The first scene was that of the crucifixion of the Sœur Rachel and the Sœur Felicité, two women from thirty to forty years of age, who were inwardly moved, as they pretended, to exhibit this lively image of the passion of our Saviour, in a mean lodging in Paris, in August 1759. These two wretched creatures were actually nailed to two wooden crosses, through their hands and their feet, and continued fastened to them for upwards of three hours; during which they sometimes pretended to slumber in a beatific trance, and at other times uttered a quantity of infantine nonsense and gibberish, asking for sweetmeats, and threatening and fondling the spectators, in lisping accents, and all the babyish diminutives of the nursery. The nails were at length drawn out, and a considerable quantity of blood flowed from all the wounds; after washing and bandaging which, the patients sate down quietly to a little repast in the midst of the apartment. Although their votaries and ghostly advisers maintained that they experienced no pain, but, on

the contrary, the most exquisite delight from those operations, the respectable reporters concur in testifying that it was easy to see throughout that they were frequently in the utmost agony; and that in driving in and drawing out the nails in particular, they could not refrain from all the contortions and writhings of the most dreadful suffering—though they had the incredible fortitude and self-command to suppress any audible indications of their misery, and not to utter the least murmur or groan in the midst of their torments. After this tragedy, there was a kind of afterpiece by the inferior performers and pupils of this school of imposture.—Various women were stretched on the floor, and beat with bludgeons on the head and breast, and trodden violently under the feet of their spiritual assistants, to their infinite relief and gratification, as the managers of the spectacle most solemnly asserted—but with more or less apparent dread and suffering, according to M. Grimm's informers, as they had made a less or a greater progress in this strange and barbarous imposture. They had also the points of swords pressed forcibly against their sides and bosoms;—and were not only miraculously protected from wounds, but received the greatest consolation from the most serious and continued thrusting. This, it seems, illustrated in a wonderful manner, the invulnerability of the church under all the persecutions of unholy power!—and their insensibility to blows and kicking, typified, in the same pitiable jargon, the insensibility of the worldly-minded to all the solicitations and impulses of divine grace.

The second exhibition, the particulars of which M. de Condamine wrote down while it was going on, consisted in the crucifixion of the Sœur Françoise and the Sœur Marie,—and a great deal of beating and thrusting with swords on the bodies of some of their unfortunate apprentices. M. de Condamine handled and examined the nails as they were driven in and taken out. They were rough and square, upwards of three inches in length, and entered the wood of the cross nearly half an inch; but little blood flowed on driving them in, but a good deal on their extraction. Françoise remained upwards of three hours on the cross; which was shifted into a great variety of postures during this period: But the Sœur Marie wanted faith or fortitude to edify the beholders to the same extent—she shuddered at the fastening of the nails, and in less than an hour fairly cried out that she could stand it no longer, and must be taken down:—she was unfastened accordingly, and carried out of the chamber in a state of insensibility, to the no small discomfiture of her associates. The spectacle was concluded with a still more unlucky performance. The Sœur Françoise had announced that

God had commanded her on that day to burn the gown off her back, and had assured her of much comfort from the operation. After a great deal of grimacing accordingly, fire was actually set to her skirts—but, instead of appearing to experience any delight, the failing saint very speedily screamed out in terror; and they were obliged to pour water upon her petticoats, and carry her off half roasted—half drowned—and utterly ashamed of her exhibition. Those horrible and degrading practices had been going on in the heart of Paris for upwards of twenty years. A few profligate priests were supposed to be at the bottom of the contrivance: but all the agents, or victims rather, were women; and such appears to have been their heroic constancy, and willing devotedness, that it is difficult not to suppose that there was a mixture at least of real enthusiasm with their knavery:—and a combination, not quite unintelligible, of an actual illusion, with a design to impose upon others. Shortly after this visit of M. de Condamine, the exhibition was put down by the police.

Among the eminent persons whose deaths are recorded in this Chronicle, one of the most remarkable is Fontenelle; who departed this life in January 1757, just one month before completing his hundredth year. His character, both personal and literary, is admirably given by M. Grimm. Utterly without heart, generosity or sympathy with any human being, he was extremely complaisant and amusing in general society—where he dealt out his epigrams to the very last, with a neatness and vivacity that was extremely engaging; and continued to be universally acceptable, without even pretending to take an interest in any thing but himself. In the whole course of his long life, it was remarked of him, that he was never known either to laugh or to cry: and he even came at last it seems to make a boast of this insensibility. On one occasion, when a friend of his, in recounting some melancholy occurrence, involuntarily shed some tears, he inquired with affected alarm, what was the matter with him—and, upon being told that his feelings overpowered him, replied—'Your feelings!—it is now about four-'score years since I bade adieu to feeling, and to pastoral poetry.' The most decidedly characteristic story however, is that of the asparagus. He had a great liking, it seems, for this vegetable, and preferred it dressed with oil. One day a certain *bon vivant* abbé, with whom he was extremely intimate, came unexpectedly to dinner. The abbé was very fond of asparagus also—but liked his dressed with butter. Fontenelle said, that for such a friend, there was no sacrifice of which he did not feel himself capable—and that he should have half the dish of asparagus which he had just ordered for himself—and that half moreover should

be done with butter. While they were conversing together very lovingly, and waiting for dinner, the poor abbé falls suddenly down in a fit of apoplexy—upon which Fontenelle instantly springs up, scampers down to the kitchen with incredible agility, and bawls out to his cook with eagerness, 'The whole with 'oil! the whole with oil! as at first!'

While he was thus brutally indifferent to individuals, he did not even profess any regard for mankind in general. He used frequently to say, that if he held the most important truth like a bird in his hand, he thought he should rather crush it there, than let it take its flight. He was entirely without any sentiment of religion; and altogether indifferent to posthumous glory or disgrace. If he had a paper in his bureau, the disclosure of which would make his name infamous and detestable for ever, he said he would not take the trouble to destroy it, if he could be quite sure that it wou'd never appear in his lifetime. A character of such revolting selfishness, could never have been tolerated, we think, in England, with whatever graces it might have been palliated—but, in France, where amusement was every thing, his wit and vivacity made him an universal favourite. M. Grimm has preserved one or two little specimens of his pleasantry. In one of the last years of his life, when talking in a gallant manner to a beautiful young woman, he exclaimed, 'Ah Madam, if I were but fourscore again!'—On another occasion, about the same time, when a contemporary of his, an old lady of an hundred and three, came to see him, and observed that Providence seemed to have forgotten him and her upon earth—he put his finger on his lips, with an air of affected alarm, and said, 'Hush! do not put them in mind.' When he was just dying, some one having asked him if he felt any pain, he answered 'No—none but that of existing—Je sens une 'grande difficulté d'être.'

His literary character will be best given in the words of M. Grimm himself.

'M. de Fontenelle, est un de ces hommes rares, qui, témoin pendant un siècle de toutes les révolutions de l'esprit humain, en a luimême opéré quelques-unes, et préparé les causes de plusieurs autres. Né sans génie, il doit tous ses succès à la clarté, à la netteté et à la précision de son esprit; à un certain style brillant, ingénieux et fleuri dont il a été le créateur, et dont il y a eu depuis de si mauvais copistes.'—'Son principal merite est d'avoir rendu le premier la philosophie populaire en France. *Les Mondes*, *l'Histoire des oracles*, et plusieurs autres ouvrages de M. de Fontenelle sont devenus des livres classiques. Les gens du monde, alors si ignorans et si bornés, les femmes même, dont les goûts et les occupations ont une si grande influence dans ce qui concerne l'esprit et les mœurs des Français, ont

puisé dans ses ouvrages les principes d'une philosophie saine et éclairée. L'esprit philosophique, aujourd'hui si généralement répandu, doit donc ses premiers progrès à M. de Fontenelle. Tout, jusqu'aux agrémens de son style qu'un goût sévère condamnerait sans doute, a contribué à étendre les limites de la lumière, l'amour de la vérité et l'empire de la raison. Il est vrai que M. de Fontenelle, en nous éclairant ainsi, a pensé porter un coup funeste au goût de la nation. Son style, son coloris et sa manière d'écrire offrent une vaste carrière au faux bel esprit; et si ses opinions et celles de M. de la Mothe eussent prévalu dans le public sur le cri plus fort de la nature, et sur l'effet tranquille, mais constant de ses beautés, c'en était fait de notre goût; nous aurions vu renaître le siècle des Voiture et d'autres écrivains plus minces encor. Nous aurions bientôt ressemblé à ces enfans qui troqueraient volontiers l'Hercule-Farnèse ou la Vénus de Médicis contre une poupée de nos boutiques de la rue Saint-Honoré.'

That this dreadful consummation did not take place, M. Grimm thinks was entirely owing to the providential appearance of Voltaire, whose style, at once brilliant and natural, exhibited a model, in comparison with which, the false glitter and eternal epigrams of Fontenelle could not fail to appear paltry and contemptible; and he really seems to think, that the formation of such a style was a matter of mere accident, and depending altogether upon the peculiar talent and temperament of an individual. In all this we think the Baron is a little out of his philosophy. A taste for little prettinesses and strained ingenuity, is one of the stages by which the literature of all nations must pass in its progress to perfection; and at which there is no instance, we believe, of any one ever stopping short. In this country we got over it in the time of Cowley and Waller; and Dryden was not more their natural successor than Voltaire was that of Fontenelle. The progress, indeed, is not less uniform in individuals than in communities: all lads of sixteen are smitten with false points of wit and turns of ingenuity; and all that are good for any thing get over that propensity by the time they are five-and-twenty. The theory of all this too is almost as obvious as the fact is certain. Art, while it is new, is considered as an object of admiration in itself, and for its own sake:—when it is more familiar, it is valued only as the means for attaining an end. In the first stage, it is ostentatiously displayed; in the latter, it is sought to be concealed; and as the progress from novelty to familiarity may be taken for a necessary progress in all arts of importance, so, this change in the sentiment with which its display is regarded, may be safely considered as equally certain and inevitable. M. Grimm, however, is not the less correct in his character of Fontenelle and Voltaire; nor can any thing be better expressed than his brief summary of the peculiarities of the former.

'Le simple, le naturel, le vrai sublime ne le touchaient point: c'était une langue qu'il n'entendait point. J'ai eu souvent occasion de remarquer que dans tout ce qu'on lui contait ou disait, il attendait toujours l'épigramme. Insensible à tout autre genre de beauté, tout ce qui ne finissait pas par un tour d'esprit, était nul pour lui. Il avait vu tous les grands hommes du siècle de Louis XIV; il avait été leur contemporain et même leur rival. Il en parlait peu. Je présume qu'il ne faisait pas grand cas de Molière et de Racine. Pour La Fontaine, il n'en parlait jamais sans en dire du mal. Il y a cependant tel vers de La Fontaine que j'aimerais mieux avoir fait, que tous les ouvrages de Fontenelle ensemble.'

The personal character of Louis XIV. has seldom been more justly represented than in the following short paragraph; nor indeed were we aware that public opinion in France had settled so early into so sober an estimate of that long flattered sovereign.

'L'époque de son règne est sans doute merveilleuse; mais quel mérite d'être le contemporain de Turenne, de Colbert, de Corneille, de Molière et de La Fontaine, si l'on ne partage leur gloire par quelques qualités supérieures, ou du moins solides. La postérité ne verra en Louis XIV qu'un homme sans esprit, assez porté aux grandes choses, mais pédant; assez honnête homme, mais rendu sot et injuste à force d'adulation; abymé dans un tas de préjugés plus plats les uns que les autres; croyant pouvoir créer à volonté les gens de génie dans toutes les classes, et ne pouvant jamais se dépêtrer de l'empire des femmes et des prêtres.'

His great airs of authority are noticed too with becoming spirit; and happily contrasted with the proceedings of another sovereign—to whom, indeed, it must always be easier to find a contrast than a parallel.

'On cite encore le jour où Louis XIV vint au parlement en bottes fortes, le fouet à la main, pour faire enrégistrer ses édits. Il était du devoir de M. de Voltaire de relever l'indécence de cette action, au lieu de l'aprouver. Je n'y vois rien de grand. Les bottes ne vont aux rois qu'à la tête de leurs armées. J'aime mieux voir Henri IV venir au parlement pour porter des édits bursaux, et observant au sortir du palais que le peuple ne criait pas vive le roi, revenir chez lui triste, et dire à ses courtisans: ils ne sont pas contens de moi, ils ne m'ont rien dit; et puis retourner tout d'un coup au palais pour retirer ses édits, disant: Il vaut mieux que je n'aie point d'argent, et qu'ils soient contens. Voilà des traits que l'historien doit consacrer dans ses fastes, et que la postérité doit honorer de ses larmes.'

If he is sober and neutral in his estimate of the sovereign, it must be admitted, we think, that he gives way to a little spleen on the subject of the favourite:—and indeed he is candid enough to confess it.

'Madame de Maintenon,' says he, 'Madame de Maintenon est une de mes aversions; et la lecture des *Souvenirs* n'a pas augmenté mon goût pour elle. On voit dans toutes ses actions le manège, les mœurs et les sentimens d'une femme de chambre bien adroite, bien souple, bien artificieuse qui, à force de petites intrigues devotes, parvint enfin à faire de la cour une garde-robe. Tout, durant son règne, a un air si triste, si subalterne, si bourgeois, qu'on ne peut y penser sans dégoût. Ses défenseurs disent quelquefois que le chemin qu'elle a fait prouve seul son mérite supérieur; mais je le nie. Il est vrai que de veuve d'un Scarron, devenir reine de France, c'est franchir le plus grand intervalle possible; mais il n'a fallu pour cela qu'associer les petits artifices de l'ambition aux petites pratiques de la dévotion. En général, il n'est pas si difficile aux petites âmes de faire une fortune éclatante, il l'est bien plus aux grandes âmes d'arriver à la place que leur mérite leur assigne. D'abord l'élévation des sentimens est presque toujours un obstacle insurmontable à la fortune; elle vous prive de mille moyens d'avancement aisés et sûrs; l'esprit même est nuisible.'—'Il n'est pas croyable ce que l'importunité seule sait obtenir; et quel est l'homme d'esprit qui sache être importun comme il faut?'—'Le Maréchal de Belle Isle disait qu'il était essentiel de ne jamais perdre de vue aucun de ses projets. C'est en suivant cette maxime qu'il parvint, à l'âge de soixante-dix ans, à la place de secrétaire d'état de la guerre; c'était un peu tard, mais c'était avoir réussi. Madame de Maintenon avait sans doute la même maxime.'

He is more indulgent, and, we are persuaded, more just to a far superior certainly, though less fortunate female—we mean Madame De Staal, whose charming Memoirs he thus characterizes within a few days after their first publication. It is a great thing for a contemporary to anticipate thus correctly the decision of posterity; and to pronounce a sentence on a new book, which, after seventy years, may still be adopted without changing a syllable, as that of all its intelligent readers.

'La prose de M. de Voltaire à part, je n'en connais pas de plus agréable que celle de Madame de Staal. Une rapidité étonnante, une touche fine et légère, des traits de pinceau sans nombre, des réflexions neuves, fines et vraies, un naturel et une chaleur toujours également soutenus, font le mérite de ces mémoires, à un point d'autant plus éminent, que l'historique qui en fait le fond est peu intéressant en lui-même, et n'a d'autre charme que celui que les grâces légères et piquantes de Madame de Staal répandent sur tout ce qu'elles manient. Voilà donc un modèle pour ceux qui se mêlent d'écrire des mémoires.'—'C'est dans son livre qu'ils doivent étudier le secret de rendre intéressans les plus petits détails et les plus indifférens en apparence; c'est d'elle qu'ils doivent apprendre (si toutefois cela s'apprend) l'art de ne jamais dire que ce qu'il faut, et de le dire de la manière la plus piquante. Ces mémoires seront encore

d'une utilité infinie aux jeunes gens qui par leur naissance et par leur état, étant destinés à vivre dans le monde, ont intérêt à en acquérir de bonne heure l'usage—cette science si difficile à définir, si peu stable dans ses principes, dont le premier est d'en changer toujours, et qui donne tout au tact et rien à la raison. Aussi suis-je bien persuadé qu'un pédant de l'université ou un bon négociant, absorbé dans les détails pénibles de ses calculs, qui, après avoir lu les *Mémoires de Madame de Staal*, verrait l'éloge que je viens d'en faire, ne manquerait pas de me supposer la tête tournée; et, autant que je puis m'y connaître, je ne crois pas que ces mémoires, qui ont un succès si brillant et si complet dans le monde, fassent jamais grande fortune ni dans la rue St.-Denis, ni dans la rue St.-Jacques.'

'Nos faiseurs de portraits devraient bien aller à l'école chez Madame de Staal; elle fait ordinairement les siens en trois lignes avec une vérité étonnante. Elle conte toujours, ne loue et ne blame jamais dans ses remarques, et présente malgré cela la vérité avec un art singulier, et que je ne connais à personne; bien plus, elle ne dit jamais que du bien de Madame la Duchesse du Maine; malgré cela, on ne peut pas s'empêcher d'être indigné de la conduite de cette princesse à l'égard de Madame de Staal.'—'Voici comment elle peint les hommes dont elle a occasion de parler en passant; c'est le portrait du premier président, M. de Mesmes: "C'était un grand "courtisan et un homme médiocre, d'un esprit et d'une société a- "gréables, faible, timide, rempli de ces défauts qui aident à plaire "et empêchent de servir." Quel pinceau!'

M. Grimm gives us also a little history of this extraordinary woman. She was not pretty, he says; and not even uncommonly pleasing in general society. She had many lovers, however; and the two persons for whom she confesses a partiality, are said to have been both very disagreeable. With all this she was a little suspected of gallantry: and when her book was about to be published, one of her friends asked her whether it really contained a full and fair disclosure of all her affairs of the heart. 'Je ne me suis point qu'en buste,' repondit Madame De Staal.

The Reveries of Marechal Saxe are somewhat over praised, we think; but there is a very spirited sketch of his character, though traced no doubt with a favourable hand.

'Il était un des plus beaux hommes de son siècle; sa figure réunissait la majesté de la taille, la noblesse des traits, la douceur d'une physionomie simple et heureuse. Il faut compter parmi ses plus grandes qualités, cette fermeté inébranlable, cette inaltérable tranquillité d'esprit qui ne l'abandonnèrent jamais. Au milieu des plaisirs à Paris, il n'avait jamais perdu de vue son métier, il s'en occupait toujours. A l'armée, il n'avait presque jamais rien à faire; on eût dit que c'était là son temps de repos. Il se promenait la plupart du temps dans son cabinet en robe de chambre. Il combinait ainsi ses opérations en rêvant. La fécondité de son génie était si

grande, qu'il ne se donna jamais la peine de préparer les ressources d'avance; il était sûr de n'en point manquer, et c'est cette richesse qui lui donna une sécurité si entière: elle était au point qu'il ne se souvenait plus distinctement du détail de ses journées les plus brillantes. Il les traitait comme nous traitons nos jours ordinaires, dont les événemens peu mémorables ne laissent aucune trace dans l'esprit. Et je sais qu'au voyage qu'il fit en 1749 à Berlin, pendant lequel le roi de Prusse le questionna beaucoup sur ses campagnes de Flandre, ce monarque parut mieux instruit sur plusieurs détails que le maréchal lui-même. Il aimait le plaisir à l'excès; il s'ennuyait dans ce qu'on appelle la bonne compagnie; il n'y vécut point, et on lui en a fait un crime. Ceux qui ont connu ce héros ont pu remarquer que cela venait de la hauteur qu'il avait dans l'âme. Les projets de souveraineté et d'indépendance ne l'ont jamais quitté; et son âme altière ne pouvant exiger dans le monde les égards dus aux princes et aux souverains, ne savait plus s'accommoder que de subalternes et de femmes de plaisir; d'ailleurs il était bon, doux, modeste et simple. Tant de belles qualités ont cependant été ternies par quelques vices. Le plus grand tort qu'il eut, à mon gré, s'était de ne point croire à la vertu ni aux honnêtes gens. Ce terrible préjugé est cause qu'il a été souvent entouré d'*espèces* qui ont terni sa gloire, autant qu'il dépendait de la bassesse de leur conduite.'

That there is nothing new under the sun, is a reflection which is more and more impressed upon us, the more minutely we are enabled to inform ourselves of the events and opinions of former times. The same sanguine anticipations—the same groundless alarms—the same indestructible prejudices—and the same infallible panaceas—continue, with slight modifications, to amuse and occupy the spirit of successive generations; while the world goes on in its own grand and undisturbed progression, to the equal disappointment of the enthusiast and the alarmist.—Modern readers will scarcely believe, that, so long ago as 1757, it was firmly believed by one set of zealots, that the progress of philosophy was just about to bring on a millennium of wisdom and peace; and by another, that all the philosophers of the age were leagued in a conspiracy with traitors and adventurers, to subvert the foundations both of morality and good government;—and that, in the midst of all this, political speculators could perceive that Europe was on the eve of an eventful revolution,—and that the discontents of Austria, and the jealousy of Prussia, were threatening again to change the face of the world. How often the same hopes and fears—the same visions and conjectures, have agitated the world in earlier times, we have no correct means of ascertaining;—nor how often they are yet destined to recur, for the excitement of future generations.—But the work before us establishes abundantly, that they were all

current at the period we have mentioned,—at least fifty years before most of our contemporaries suppose them to have first originated.

'Il me semble,' says M. Grimm in 1757, 'que le dix-huitième siècle a surpassé tous les autres dans les éloges qu'il s'est prodigué à lui-même. Quelques pas que la raison humaine a faits vers une philosophie plus épurée, nous ont donné le change à cet égard.'—'Le vulgaire n'en est pas moins livré aux préjugés et à la déraison. Sur huit cent mille habitans que contient la ville de Paris, à peine en trouverez-vous quelques centaines qui s'occupent des lettres, des arts et de la saine philosophie; tout le reste est absorbé dans l'erreur et dans le fanatisme qu'elle engendre, ou dégradé par l'oisiveté, la paresse et la satiété des plaisirs.'

'Je suis donc bien éloigné d'imaginer que nous touchons au siècle de la raison, et peu s'en faut que je ne croie l'Europe menacée de quelque révolution sinistre, &c.'—'Toute l'Allemagne est en armes, cinq cent mille Allemands vont s'assembler pour s'entretuer sans sujet. Les prétentions de la maison d'Autriche, la jalousie du roi de Prusse, changeront peut-être la face de l'Europe.'

How much more like the year 1795 than the year 1755 are the following just observations!

'Les choses ont été poussées au point qu'il n'y a point d'homme en place aujourd'hui qui ne regarde les progrès de la Philosophie parmi nous comme la source de tous nos maux et comme la cause de la plus grande partie des malheurs qui ont accablé la France depuis quelques années. On croirait que les causes qui nous ont fait perdre les batailles de Rosbach et de Minden, qui ont opéré la destruction et la perte de nos flottes, sont assez immédiates et assez manifestes. Mais si vous consultez l'esprit de la cour, on vous dira que c'est à la nouvelle philosophie qu'il faut attribuer ces malheurs; que c'est elle qui a éteint l'esprit militaire, la soumission aveugle, et tout ce qui produisait jadis de grands hommes et des actions glorieuses à la France. En vain dirait-on que lorsque la loi est en vigueur, que la justice préside au choix des ministres de l'état, que le mérite est récompensé, que la médiocrité et l'intrigue n'obtiennent pas les honneurs de la vertu et des talens, l'esprit de la nation, le goût de la gloire et des grandes choses se conservent et se perpétuent de siècle en siècle. En vain observerait-on qu'il y a plus de cent ans que le peuple anglais est plus éclairé que nous ne le serons jamais; que, quoiqu'il ait eu des Hobbes, des Collins, des Locke, et qu'il ait encore aujourd'hui des Hume et des Johnson, cela n'a pourtant pas empêché l'infanterie anglaise de tenir, à la journée de Minden, contre les efforts de la meilleure cavalerie de France, et de remporter une victoire mémorable. Le préjugé contre la philosophie est trop bien établi pour céder à des remarques si sensées, et ne peut manquer de produire ses effets ordinaires.'

There is a great deal of metaphysical discussion in the volumes now before us, and in particular a long and very cu-

mated defence of metaphysics, as compared with physics or geometry; which will readily be conceived to have been most refreshing to our Scottish entelechies; though, for certain weighty reasons, we do our national propensities the violence of passing it over with this slight notice. There is likewise a spirited and sensible diatribe on the qualifications of ambassadors, in which the author laughs to scorn the vulgar idea of the importance of great cunning and duplicity; and maintains, that with fair and upright proceedings, a frank and simple manner, and no more than a moderate and discreet reserve, more business will be successfully done in a week, than could be accomplished by finessing and overreaching, in half a century. The grand talent for a diplomatist, he observes, is, that of perceiving, quickly and correctly, the whole consequences of any measure;—and being able to impress most strongly on those with whom he has to deal, the advantages which *they* will obtain by its adoption;—never dwelling upon any that are not real advantages,—though he may be permitted to cast a little into shade those that will be gained by the other party.

There is a liberal and reasonable dissertation on the character and condition of women;—written neither with the insulting condescension of masculine superiority, nor the still more insulting exggerations of ordinary gallantry; but, at the same time, so much adapted to the peculiarities of French manners and customs, as not to be entirely applicable to the women of any other country.—All that is essential to the formation of a sound opinion on this important subject, may be stated, however, we think, in a very short compass.

Women have by nature a little more sensibility—a little more modesty—and a little more impatience of intellectual application than men. In every other respect, they are, what circumstances have necessarily made them; and all the qualities by which they may be distinguished in any country, or in any condition, may be distinctly referred to the education, the laws, and the treatment to which men have subjected them. Their inferiority in bodily strength, and the constitutional accidents by which they are so liable to be unfitted for strenuous exertion, are no doubt the solid, though coarse, foundation of that actual power, which has enabled men to decide by what education, what laws, and what habitual treatment, their character and condition shall be determined.—If they really are such as displease our sex, therefore, we have ourselves only to blame; since we, and we only, have the power to controul the circumstances of which these are the necessary effects.

The laws over all Europe are pretty nearly the same; and go deeper into the question than we are always willing to allow. Wo-

men are universally incapable of political functions; and excluded from the exercise of most honourable and lucrative professions. They are also universally postponed to males in regard to property; and during the life of their parents and their husbands, have generally no property at all. The result of all this is, that it is only by marriage, and by living tolerably with their husbands, that they can hope for any thing like independence, influence, or respectability, after the first bloom of their beauty, if they should happen to have any, is worn off.—They are naturally led, therefore, to consider an advantageous marriage, as the great end of their existence; and to cultivate all the arts, and virtues—and vices, which they think may enable them to secure it. They have all the excuses, in short, for entering into mercenary connexions, from which men are excluded: But the necessity of marrying within a certain period, has an unavoidable tendency, we fear, to form a character of some little art,—and is favourable to dissimulation at all events, and concealment—if not to absolute simulation and deceit. The dependence in which they often continue, even after marriage, and the scantiness of the means which their legal incapacities leave them for attaining their objects, are not favourable to the acquisition of opposite qualities, or the correction of the habits they had previously been tempted to form.

This is the chief root of all that is peculiar, and of all that is defective, in the character of women in this country;—for their education, and their opportunities of improving in society, are nearly as good as those of the men;—and there is not much in the general conduct of the other sex towards them which can fairly be said either to degrade their understandings, or to taint their morality. In France, as M. Grimm has justly observed, their education, and their general treatment from men, were far more objectionable. Without having the slightest opportunity of seeing any thing of society, they were sent at once from the nursery to the dull seclusion of a nunnery; and were taken out of it to marry some one whom they had scarcely seen, and were not expected to love; and when thus plunged into a world of which they were utterly ignorant, and for which they had received no preparation, the general manners of all the men they met, whether married or unmarried, were such, as almost to exclude the possibility of their possessing the domestic virtues, —or any others than those they did usually possess.

'Quand on réfléchit,' says M. Grimm, 'de bonne foi sur les malheurs inséparables de cette situation, bien loin de dire du mal des femmes, on est tenté de croire qu'elles sont en général beaucoup mieux nées que les hommes. On ne saurait disconvenir qu'il en est un grand nombre qui, en dépit de tous les obstacles, en dépit de

nos épigrammes et de notre morgue philosophique, jouissent de l'estime publique, du prix et des honneurs dus à la vertu. Si c'est par un miracle que ce sexe aimable est préservé du naufrage, ce miracle fait honneur aux femmes.'

There is, in another place, a short dissertation on the good and evil of luxury, which is distinguished by all the author's usual liveliness and ingenuity. He very wisely considers the question as one, in a great degree, of definition, and of circumstances.

'Dans le fait, tout est luxe. Jean-Jacques Rousseau a raison de regarder le premier qui mit des sabots comme un homme qui introduisit le luxe dans son pays; mais cela même devait lui apprendre à nous passer nos souliers et les boucles d'or ou de diamans avec lesquelles nous les attachons. L'un est aussi naturel que l'autre, ou plutôt n'en est qu'une suite nécessaire. L'état de maladie est un état de luxe; car il y a des peuples entiers qui ne le connaissent pas; parmi ces peuples, il n'y a que deux manières d'etre, vivre ou mourir. Durant le premier de ces états, on se sent quelquefois plus ou moins dispos; mais on ne sait ce que c'est que de se coucher entre deux draps, et d'appeler un homme qui, en vertu d'un certain titre et en conséquence de certains systèmes, ordonne de certains remèdes dont il ne connaît pas l'effet, contre des maux dont il ignore la cause. Le luxe des médecins serait très-bon à retrancher dans un gouvernement éclairé, si l'on en connaissait les moyens.

'Le luxe était excessif dans Rome, sous le règne d'Auguste; mais il était bien différent du nôtre. Je ne sais si la somptuosité des tables romaines peut entrer en quelque comparaison avec la recherche des nôtres; mais je sais qu'on ne peut comparer leurs dépenses en habits et en commodités a celles que nous faisons aujourd'hui. Les besoins sont si multipliés, qu'encore une fois, l'homme qui vit le plus simplement met à contribution l'industrie de toutes les parties du monde, et qu'il ne peut guère rien arriver dans l Inde et dans les îles sous le vent, dont je ne ressente l'influence dans un carré de trois ou quatre toises, en tout sens, que j'occupe à Paris, rue Neuve-de-Luxembourg.

'Le luxe étant si différent d'un âge à un autre, d'une nation à une autre, ses résultats ne sauraient être les mêmes dans tous les temps. Si j'occupe, moi, petit particulier, pour ma subistence et mon entretien, plus de bras que n'en mettait en œuvre un consul, un prêteur de Rome, il est impossible, par exemple, que les peuples modernes entreprennent d'aussi grands travaux que les peuples anciens. Il nous faut trop de tailleurs, de tisserans, de rubaniers, de parfumeurs, de perruquiers, de manufacturiers de toute espèce, pour qu'il nous reste assez de bras pour des monumens publics. Un édile de Rome aura été en état de donner des fêtes plus magnifiques, plus réellement grandes qu'un roi de France, parce que celui-ci a dans ses états un trop grand nombre de petits commis à qui il faut des manchettes de dentelles et du galon sur l'habit. Il est évident que

deux genres de luxe si divers doivent produire des effets bien différens dans les mœurs et sur les esprits, et cette réflexion seule suffit pour juger quel cas il faut faire des écrits qui raisonnent sur le luxe en général, et qui appuient leurs raisonnemens de faits tirés au hasard de l'histoire de différens siècles.'

One of the most amusing passages in the work, is that where the worthy Baron, in a violent fit of spleen we suppose, falls foul of the invention of printing; and enlarges, with a whimsical ingenuity worthy of Jean-Jacques himself, on the manifold evils that have arisen from the prevailing habit of reading. When books were rare, and but few people could read them, those few, he observes, were persons of knowledge and discernment; and the writers adapted their compositions to the taste of that select party. Now, when we all write for the Public, we feel that we write for the vulgar, the stupid, and the prejudiced; and are tempted, if not compelled, to deal in false reasoning, false wit, and false eloquence, to obtain their approbation. Besides, when literature was of more difficult attainment, it was confined to persons of a higher rank, and more individual dignity and importance; and consequently assumed a more exalted tone than can possibly be maintained, where every hospital boy not only judges of the works of men of genius, but takes his place beside them in the library and on the bookseller's counter. In the remarks that follow, however, there is a greater foundation of justice.

' La lecture est devenue chez nous une espèce d'occupation réglée; les personnes de la plus grande distinction et les mieux élevées, y consument une partie considérable de leur temps, et il n'y en a point qui n'aient à regretter plus ou moins le temps employé à la lecture des mauvais livres. Mais n'eût-on jamais lu que des ouvrages supérieurs, rien n'est plus contraire au génie, que l'usage de lire par habitude. Le génie veut rester recueilli et concentré en lui-même; les idées des autres se dissipent, émoussent les siennes et en ôtent l'originalité, et pour ainsi dire la virginité. Il faut des alimens à un esprit supérieur, mais il lui en faut peu. Il doit lire, mais avec une extrême sobriété; et j'oserais poser en fait, que l'homme du plus grand génie ne pourrait lire habituellement pendant trois ans de suite, sans devenir un écrivain commun et ordinaire. Voilà pourquoi nous avons si peu d'auteurs originaux; au lieu que les anciens ne lisant que peu, après avoir étudié pendant leur jeunesse dans les écoles, ne pouvaient manquer de produire des ouvrages de génie, quand par hasard ils se sentaient tourmentés par leur démon de créer et d'écrire. Le goût n'a pas été mieux ménagé par la multiplication des livres. Comme l'imprimerie en a fait une profession, on a cherché des méthodes, des patrons, des tours de métier, et la maniere de faire un livre est devenue un art de manœuvre, comme celle de fabriquer du drap ou de la toile. C'est ce que nous appelons la méthode, et en quoi nous prétendons avoir une

grande supériorité sur les anciens. Pauvres sots que nous sommes, de prendre ainsi l'art trivial d'échafauder, pour le pouvoir de produire un bel édifice. Il n'y a dans nos livres méthodiques ni chaleur, ni trait, ni vue, ni génie ; en revanche, l'esprit de dissertation, de division, de discussion y abonde avec l'ennui.'

The Baron de Grimm is very favourable to English literature and English talent, throughout all this Correspondence. He prefers our novels beyond all degrees of comparison to those of his own country; and thinks that Shakespeare and Lillo came far nearer the standard of dramatic perfection, than any French writer whatsoever. He gives unbounded praise to the historical productions of Dr Robertson; and speaks of Hume* as among the most illustrious of European philosophers. Richardson is treated, and not without reason, as the greatest inventor of the age; and Fielding, as we have already seen, is, by a still bolder senteuce, placed above the level of Rousseau. Thomson is mentioned repeatedly as a poet celebrated over all Europe; and the letters of Lady Mary Wortley are commemorated with due praise—in defiance of the unpopularity she had earned from the ladies of Paris, by pronouncing them less beautiful than those of Circassia, and testifying against their manner of arranging their rouge. We have also a great deal of Lord Chatham, and his eloquence; and it is the opinion of the Baron, that there are grounds for instituting an ingenious parallel, after the manner of Plutarch, between the character of that great statesman, and that of Oliver Cromwell!—By far the most distinguished of our countrymen, however, in his opinion, and indeed of all the individuals whom he mentions, is David Garrick; and the testimony which is here borne to his inimitable talents, gives us, we will confess, a stronger impression of his excellence, than the suspected praises of any of the *laudatores temporis acti* among our own countrymen. 'The English,' says M. Grimm, 'are a little given to exaggerate the merit of all the excellence they produce; but in this instance they have been guilty of no exaggeration. Garrick is in reality above all the praise that can be bestowed on him. He must be seen, to be at all under-

* He takes notice of a ludicrous blunder in the first translation of this author's history. He had observed of our early feudal government, that 'it had a considerable resemblance to a *Polish* aris-'tocracy;' which the learned translator thought fit to render 're-'semblat assez à une aristocratie *polie!*' We remember a small slip of the same kind being made by a great scholar in this city, who, in translating from one of the French chymists, took into his head, by an unlucky synœresis, to render 'le precipitat *per se*—the *Persian* precipitate.'

stood; and he who has not seen him, cannot know what acting is.'

'Cet acteur est le premier et le seul qui ait rempli tout ce que mon imagination attendait et exigeait d'un comédien; et il m'a démontré, à ma grande satisfaction, que les idees qu'on se forme de la perfection ne sont pas aussi chimériques que certaines gens à tête étroite voudraient nous le persuader: il n'y a point de limites que le génie ne franchisse.'

This great performer spent the better part of a year at Paris; and M. Grimm seems fully to have understood his character. He says it was a standing maxim with him, that no man could play tragedy well who had not an equal capacity for comedy. He speaks of his petulant vanity, his restlessness, and his propensity to eternal mimicry and imitation. Riding one evening through the Bois de Boulogne with Preville, the great French actor, he said all at once, 'Now I am going to personate a 'drunk man—do you the same;'—and instantly he threw himself into such attitudes and movements, as brought all the people to their doors, full of fear, pity, and derision. When they had got into a lonely part of the road, he threw off his intoxication, and began to laugh:—'Well,' said Preville, 'did not I 'do tolerably well?'—'O yes,' replies Garrick, 'very well in'deed—but you were not drunk in the legs!' Such was the habitual nicety of his observation.

There is a reasonable allowance of anecdotes and *bon mots* scattered through these volumes; but we find it difficult to hunt them up among four thousand great pages of speculation; and our readers must be satisfied with such a poor specimen as we can hit upon in turning over a few leaves. The gallant extravagance of M. Bouret is the first that strikes us. M. Bouret was a Farmer-general, who had made an immense fortune. A lady to whom he had some obligation, agreed one day to dine with him; but being rigorously confined to a milk diet, begged that he would bring no green peas to his table, as the sight of them might tempt her to transgress her regimen. It was then the season when green peas sold for their weight in gold,—and Bouret promised that none should be offered to her. On entering the porch, however, he took occasion to point out to her a fine red cow, which he had provided for her accommodation; and, before this cow there was a vast tub full of green peas, on which she was most luxuriously browsing.—We think we have seen this story somewhere else: But there is another of the same personage, which we take to be original. His Most Christian Majesty, it seems, condescended to pay an annual visit to this magnificent publican. On his arrival in the year 1760, the first

thing he saw was a book superbly bound in two great folios, and titled on the back 'Le Vrai Bonheur.' Inside there was written upon every page, these words, and no more, 'Le Roi est venu 'chez Bouret,' with the date of a separate year to every entry, from 1760 to 1810; and, even then, there was no *finis* to this interesting treatise, but only 'The end of the Second Vo-'lume.' We doubt whether a Chinese Mandarin could have devised a more cumbrous and extravagant scheme of adulation.

There is something ludicrous in the dying words ascribed by the wits of Paris to old Restaut the grammarian. After spending fourscore years in settling the conjugation of the irregular verbs, he is said to have expired with this observation, 'Je m'en '*vais* donc, ou je m'en *vas* (car il n'y a rien de decidé la dessus) 'faire ce grand voyage de l'autre monde.'—There are also some very good *mots* of La Fontaine; but we can only recollect one.—A worthy antiquary was one day edifying the academy with a monstrous long detail of the comparative prices of commodities at different periods, when La Fontaine observed, 'Cet homme 'connait le prix de tout—excepté le tems.'—Of Voltaire we hear rather less in these volumes than in the former publication. His works, however, are criticized with great freedom and acuteness as they appear.—The *Pucelle*, it is positively asserted, was the joint work of the Patriarch and three *female* coadjutors, Madame De Chatelet being one.—There is a ludicrous account of his crowning Madame de Bocage with laurel one evening at supper, and pointing her out all the time to the derision of his guests by the most comical grimaces and contortions. The poor lady, however, was quite ravished with the honour, and published a long account of it in the next editition of her works; to which she prefixed her own portrait with this modest legend, 'Formâ Venus, arte Minerva.' She preceded Mr Joel Barlow, it seems, in writing a *Columbiad*, very nearly as illegible as his own. Voltaire happened to be in company with a pious old lady, when there came on a violent thunder-storm; upon which she fell to her genuflexions, and screamed out, that it was on account of his impiety that she was put in this danger; and that she had no doubt the house that contained him would be dashed to pieces on their heads. The Patriarch, after some compassionate pleasantries, at length lost patience, and said, 'Sachez, Madame, que j'ai dit plus de bien de Dieu dans un seul de mes vers, que vous n'en penserez de votre vie.'

There are some amusing stories of the deafness and insatiable curiosity of M. de Condamine, and the *etourderie* of the Chevalier de Lorenzi. It gives one a strong impression of the ex-

treme freedom of French society, to find that Madame Geoffrin, discoursing one day on the different sorts of awkwardness, proceeded to illustrate her positions by pointing to this M. de Lorenzi and M. de Beriguy, who were both among her auditors, and desiring the company to observe 'que celui-ci etait 'plus gauche de corps, et l'autre plus gauche d'ésprit—ce qui 'fournit les deux points du sermon.'

'Among the uniform *personnages de representation* of French society, the Comte de Caylus seems to have been regarded as a very great oddity, chiefly because he wore worsted stockings and thick shoes, with a plain coat, and spent most of his fortune in patronizing the arts, and domineering over the taste of his protegés. His death, however, it must be admitted, *was* a little singular. Having been suspected of a want of orthodoxy, his near relations, and among the rest a pious bishop, were anxiously waiting during his last illness, for some opportunity of suggesting the propriety of some spiritual attentions, when he suddenly relieved them by saying, 'I see perfectly that you wish to converse with me on 'the state of my soul;' and when they were all delighted with this happy opening, he proceeded—'I am very 'sorry, however, to be obliged to inform you, that I actually 'have none.' And, notwithstanding the fervent admonitions of the attendants, he persisted in this statement,—and maintained, with great seriousness, that it was a matter of which he was certainly better entitled to judge than any one else. When reduced almost to the last extremity, he still persisted in going out in his carriage, and eating and drinking all sorts of things as usual,—and ended with a bad pun on the name of his parish priest. This worthy person, who was called M. Chapeau, having come to see him the day before he died, the Comte told him with great politeness, that he need not come again till he was sent for, which, however, would be very soon, for, as the weather was beginning to be bad, he rather thought he should not go out again 'sans chapeau;' and next day, accordingly, the good vicar was sent for to bury him!

We must now, however, break off this gossipping, for the present. In our next Number we shall take a final and more serious farewell of the Baron. In closing the book, we are struck with a remark made in the year 1753,—that the inherent vices of the Spanish government seem to condemn that nation for ever to a condition of imbecility and discomfort; and that, from the time of Hannibal downwards, it seems rather to have been the theatre and the prize of *foreign* valour and enterprise, than a field for patriotic exertions.

Art. III. Essai Philosophique *sur les Probabilités*. Par M. le Comte Laplace, Chancelier, &c. Paris, 1814.

It is to the imperfection of the human mind, and not to any irregularity in the nature of things, that our ideas of chance and probability are to be referred. Events which to one man seem accidental and precarious, to another, who is better informed, or who has more power of generalization, appear to be regular and certain. Contingency and verisimilitude are therefore the offspring of human ignorance, and, with an intellect of the highest order, cannot be supposed to have any existence. In fact, the laws of the material world have the same infallible operation on the minute and the great bodies of the universe; and the motions of the former are as determinate as those of the latter. There is not a particle of water or of air, of which the condition is not defined by rules as certain as that of the sun or the planets, and that has not described from the beginning a trajectory determined by mechanical principles, subjected to the law of continuity, and capable of being mathematically defined. This trajectory is therefore in itself a thing *knowable*, and would be an object of science to a mind informed of all the original conditions, and possessing an analysis that could follow them through their various combinations. The same is true of every atom of the material world; so that nothing but information sufficiently extensive, and a calculus sufficiently powerful, is wanting to reduce all things to certainty, and, from the condition of the world, at any one instant to deduce its condition at the next; nay, to integrate the formula in which those momentary actions are included, and to express all the phenomena that ever have happened, or ever will happen, in a *function* of duration reckoned from any given instant. This is in truth the nearest approach that we can make to the idea of Omniscience; of the Wisdom which presides over the least as well as the greatest things; over the falling of a stone as well as the revolution of a planet; and which not only numbers and names the stars, but even the atoms that compose them.

The farther, accordingly, that our knowledge has extended, the more phenomena have been brought from the dominion of Chance, and placed under the government of physical causes; and the farther off have the boundaries of darkness been carried. It was, says M. Laplace, of the phenomena not supposed to be subjected to the regulation of fixed laws, that superstition took hold, for the purpose of awakening the fears and enslaving the minds of men. The time, adds he, is not far distant, when unusual rains, or unusual drought, the appearance

of a comet, of an eclipse, of an aurora borealis, and, in general, of any extraordinary phenomenon, was regarded as a sign of the anger of heaven; and prayers were put up to avert its dangerous consequences. Men never prayed to change the course of the sun or of the planets, as experience would have soon taught them the inefficacy of such supplications. But those phenomona of which the order was not clearly perceived, were thought to be a part of the system of nature which the Divinity had not subjected to fixt laws, but had left free, for the purpose of punishing the sins of the world, and warning men of their danger. The great comet of 1456 spread terror over all Europe, at that time alarmed by the rapid successes of the Turks, and the fall of the Greek empire; and the Pope directed public prayers to be said on account of the appearance of the comet, no less than the progress of MAHOMET.

It is curious to remark how different the sensations have been which, after four revolutions, this same comet has excited in the world. HALLEY having recognized its identity with the comets of 1531, 1607, 1682, showed it to be a body revolving round the sun in 75 years nearly; he foretold its return in 1758, or the beginning of 1759, and the event has verified the most remarkable prediction in science. Comets have since ceased to be regarded as signs of the Divine displeasure; and every body must have remarked, with satisfaction, how far the comet of 1811 was from being viewed with terror, (in this country at least), even by the least instructed of the people, and from exciting any sentiment but admiration of its extraordinary beauty. The dominion of Chance is thus suffering constant diminution; and the *Anarch Old* may still complain, as in MILTON, of the encroachments that are continually making on his empire.

Probability and chance are thus ideas relative to human ignorance. The latter means a series of events not regulated by any law that we perceive. Not perceiving the existence of a law, we reason as if there were none, or no principle by which one state of things determines that which is to follow. The axiom, or, as it may be called, the definition, on which the doctrine of Probability is founded, is, that when any event may fall out a certain number of ways, all of which, to our apprehension, are equally possible, the probability that the event will happen with certain conditions accompanying it, is expressed by a fraction, of which the numerator is the number of the instances favourable to those conditions, and the denominator the number of possible instances. Thus, the probability of throwing an ace with one die is denoted by $\frac{1}{6}$, as there are six ways that the event may turn out, and only one in which it can be an

ace. With two dice, the chance of throwing 2 aces is $\frac{1}{36}$; as each face of the one ace may be combined with any face of the other. Certainty is denoted here by unity; it is what happens when all the cases are favourable to the condition expected, and when the numerator and denominator of the fraction are the same. It were absurd to say, that the sentiment of belief produced by any probability, is proportional to the fraction which expresses that probability; but it is so related, or ought to be so related to it, as to increase when it increases, and to diminish when it diminishes.

The calculation of *Probability* is therefore a very ingenious application of mathematical reasoning, in order to substitute for that certainty which is quite beyond our reach, the degree of evidence that the case admits of, and to reduce this to a system of accurate reasoning. The thing obtained is only probability; but we have a certainty as to the degree in which it exists.

The invention of this calculus does not go far back. It is true, that wherever there have been games of chance, and they have been in all countries from the rudest to the most civilized, there must have been some numerical estimate formed of the probability of certain events, by which the stakes and the expectations of the gamesters must have been regulated. The principle just stated, must therefore with more or less distinctness have been long recognized; but nothing like a system of reasoning founded on it is to be found before the time of FERMAT and PASCAL. HUYGHENS was the next after these two illustrious men who treated of this matter in a treatise, *De Ratiociniis in Ludo Aleæ*. Several other mathematicians, HUDDES and DE WITT in Holland, HALLEY in England, applied the same calculus to the probabilities of human life, and the latter published the first tables relative to that object. JAMES BERNOUILLI, about the same time, proposed and resolved many problems concerning probabilities, and composed the treatise entitled *Ars Conjectandi*, which was not published till 1713, some years after his death. This work is worthy of the high reputation of the author, who treats in it of the probability which a succession of the same events, at any time, gives of its continuance; and he was the first to demonstrate a proposition concerning the indefinite multiplication of casual events, to which we shall again have occasion to advert. MONMORT published an estimable work on the same subject, *Essai sur les Jeux de Hasard*; and DEMOIVRE followed with his treatise *on the Doctrine of Chances*, which first appeared in the Philosophical Transactions for 1711, but was afterwards published in three editions, which the author successively improved. This work

is the first that mentioned the theory of *recurring series,* a subject of such importance in algebra, and connected with so many of the discoveries which have since been made in the calculus of *Finite Differences.* LA PLACE does great justice to it, and has entered into an analysis of the part that relates to series. DEMOIVRE gives a demonstration of the theorem of BERNOUILLI, just referred to, which, in a series of events, serves to connect the future and the past. Several other mathematicians, and particularly LA GRANGE, have been attracted by the results which this theory offered, and by the difficulty of the problems it suggested, which seemed in many respects to require a new application of analysis. The last who has treated of it, is our author himself, in a large work in quarto, entitled, *Theorie Analytique des Probabilités,* published at Paris in 1812. The essay now under review, is an abstract of this last, containing an account of the more important conclusions deduced in it, together with many general and profound remarks on the principles of the calculus, and their application to the researches of philosophy, as well as to the affairs of life.

The analytical work contains some valuable improvements in this branch of the mathematics. We have adverted to the use made by DEMOIVRE, in his work on Chances, of the series, called Recurring, in which the coefficient of each term is formed in the same manner from the coefficients of a certain number of the preceding terms. The generalization of this property led LA PLACE to consider all those series in which the coefficients are formed by substituting the exponents, every where, in the same formula; or where, in every term, the coefficient is the same function of the exponent. A series of this kind being supposed, a function of the variable quantity may be found, from the development of which the series might be derived; and this function is what LA PLACE calls the *Generating Function (Fonction Generatrice)* of the coefficients in the supposed series, or rather of the function in which all those series are included. This gives rise to a new branch of analysis, the calculus of *Generating Functions,* the principles of which he first explained in the Memoires of the Academy of Sciences for 1779. From these series, by applying the method of finite and partial differences, he has extracted results that throw great light on the doctrine of Chances, and readily afford demonstrations of many propositions that cannot but with the greatest difficulty be proved by any other means. It must not seem surprising that the doctrine of Series is thus intimately connected with the theory of Probabilities; for it should be remembered, that the first considerable improvement in that theory came from the same

quarter. The numbers of combinations that can be formed of a given number of things, taking them two and two, three and three, &c. are given by the successive coefficients of a binomial raised to the power denoted by the number of things in question. Such combinations are evidently much concerned in the laws of Chance; and BERNOUILLI deduced from them a great number of conclusions concerning those laws. DE MOIVRE went farther than BERNOUILLI, and LA PLACE much farther than either; but to give any adequate idea of the analytical methods which he has employed, is not to be expected in an abstract like the present. For a general view of the analytical methods applied to the calculation of Probabilities, we may refer the reader to the conclusion of the *Essai Philosophique*, p. 90. &c. and to the beginning of the *Theorie Analytique*. To a passage in the latter, however, we cannot but advert, and with much less satisfaction than we have generally felt in pointing out any of the remarks of this celebrated writer to the attention of our readers. '*Il paraît que FERMAT, le veritable inventeur du calcul differentiel, a consideré ce calcul comme une dérivation de celui des differences finies,*' &c. Against the affirmation that FERMAT is the real inventor of the Differential Calculus, we must enter a strong and solemn protestation. The age in which that discovery was made, has been unanimous in ascribing the honour of it either to NEWTON or LEIBNITZ; or, as seems to us much the fairest and most probable opinion, to both; that is, to each independently of the other, the priority in respect of time being somewhat on the side of the English mathematician. The writers of the history of the mathematical sciences have given their suffrages to the same effect;—MONTUCLA, for instance, who has treated the subject with great impartiality, and BOSSUT, with no prejudices certainly in favour of the English philosopher. In the great controversy, to which this invention gave rise, all the claims were likely to be well considered; and the ultimate and fair decision, in which all sides seem to have acquiesced, is that which has just been mentioned. It ought to be on good grounds, that a decision, passed by such competent judges, and that has now been in force for a hundred years, should all at once be reversed.—FERMAT has strong claims undoubtedly on the gratitude of posterity; and we do not believe that there exists, either among the productions of antient or modern science, a work of the same size with his *Opera Varia*, that contains so many *traits* of original invention. He had certainly approached very near to the differential or fluxionary calculus, as his friend ROBERVAL had also done. He considered the infinitely small quantities

introduced in his method of drawing tangents, and of resolving *maxima* and *minima*, as derived from finite differences; and, as LAPLACE remarks, he has extended his method to a case, when the variable quantity is irrational. He was, therefore, very near to the method of fluxions; with the principle of it, he was perfectly acquainted;—and so at the same time were both ROBERVAL and WALLIS, though men much inferior to FERMAT. The truth is, that the discovery of the new calculus was so gradually approximated, that more than one had come quite near it, and were perfectly acquainted with its principles, before any of the writings of NEWTON or LEIBNITZ were known. That which must give, in such a case, the right of being considered as the true inventor, is the extension of the principle to its full range; connecting with it a new calculus, and new analytical operations; the invention of a new algorithm with corresponding symbols. These last form the public acts, by which the invention becomes known to the world at large, the judge by which the matter must be finally decided. Great, therefore, as is the merit of FERMAT, which no body can be more willing than ourselves to acknowledge; and near as he was to the greatest invention of modern times, we cannot admit that his property in it is to be put on a footing with that of NEWTON or of LEIBNITZ;—we should fear, that in doing so, we were violating one of the most sacred and august monuments that posterity ever raised in honour of the dead.

It has been already stated, that when all the different ways in which an event can fall out, are equally possible and independent of one another, the fraction which expresses the probability, that the event may have certain conditions, is one which has for its numerator all the cases favourable to such conditions, and for its denominator all the cases possible But when the event that happens affects that which is to follow, the question becomes sometimes of considerable difficulty. M. LAPLACE mentions one case, simple indeed, but important in its application. Suppose a fact to be transmitted through 20 persons;—the first communicating it to the second, the second to the third, &c.; and let the probability of each testimony be expressed by $\frac{9}{10}$, (that is, suppose that of 10 reports made by each witness, 9 only are true), then at every time the story passes from one witness to another, the evidence is reduced to $\frac{9}{10}$ of what it was before.—Thus, after it has passed through the whole 20, the evidence will be found to be less than $\frac{1}{8}$.

'The diminution of evidence by this sort of transmission may,' says LAPLACE, 'be compared to the extinction of light by the interposition of several pieces of glass; a small number of pieces will be

sufficient to render an object entirely invisible which a single piece allowed to be seen very distinctly. Historians do not seem,' he adds, 'to have paid sufficient attention to this degradation of the probability of facts when seen across a great number of successive generations.'

It does not appear, however, that the diminution of evidence here supposed is a necessary consequence of transmission from one age to another. It may hold in some instances; but in those that most commonly occur, no sensible diminution of evidence seems to be produced by the lapse of time. Take any antient event that is well attested, such, for example, as the retreat of the Ten Thousand, and we are persuaded it will be generally admitted that the certainty of that event having taken place is as great at this moment as it was on the return of the Greek army, or immediately after Xenophon had published his narrative. The calculation of chances may indeed be brought to depose in favour of it; for the probability will be found to be very small, that any considerable interpolation or change in the supposed narrative of Xenophon could have taken place without some historical document remaining to inform us of such a change. The combination of the chances necessary to produce and to conceal such an interpolation is in the highest degree improbable; and the autherity of Xenophon remains, on that account, the same at this moment that it was originally. The ignorance of a transcriber, or the presumption of a commentator, may vitiate and alter a passage; but there is a virtue in sense and consistency by which they restore themselves. The greatest danger that an antient author runs is when a critic like BENTLEY is turned loose upon his text. Yet there is no fear but that, in the arguments by which he would recommend his alterations, he will leave a sufficient security against their being received.

There is an error on the subject of chance, and of cases that are equally possible, against which it is necessary to guard.

Some writers argue as if regular events were less possible than irregular, and that in the game, for example, of Cross and Pile, a combination in which Cross would happen twenty times in succession, is less easy for nature to produce than one in which Cross and Pile are mixt together without regularity. This however is not true; for it is to suppose that the events which have already taken place, affect those that are to follow; and this, in what relates to chance, cannot be admitted. The regular combinations happen more rarely than the irregular, only because they are less numerous. If we look for a particular cause as acting in the cases where symmetry occurs, it is not because we sup-

pose the symmetrical arrangement to be less possible than any other; but it is improbable that chance has produced it, because the symmetrical arrangements are few and the asymmetrical may be without number. We see on a table, for instance, letters so disposed as to make the word *Constantinople*; and we immediately conclude that this arrangement is not the effect of chance: not that it is less possible for chance to produce it, than any other given arrangement of the same fourteen letters—for if it were not a word in any language, we would never suspect the existence of design—but because the word being in use amongst us, it is incomparably more probable that this arrangement of the letters is the work of design, than of chance.

'Events may be so extraordinary that they can hardly be established by testimony. We would not give credit to a man who would affirm that he saw an hundred dice thrown in the air, and that they all fell on the same faces. If we had ourselves been spectators of such an event, we would not believe our own eyes, till we had scrupulously examined all the circumstances, and assured ourselves that there was no trick nor deception. After such an examination, we would not hesitate to admit it, notwithstanding its great improbability; and no one would have recourse to an inversion of the laws of vision in order to account for it. This shows that the probability of the *continuance* of the laws of nature is superior, in our estimation, to every other evidence, and to that of historical facts the best established. One may judge therefore of the weight of testimony necessary to prove a suspension of those laws, and how fallacious it is in such cases to apply the common rules of evidence.'

It sometimes happens, however, that a prevailing opinion, or a prejudice, may so diminish the natural improbability of an event, that it shall appear easily overcome by the force of testimony.

'This has happened with men of the first abilities; and in the age of LEWIS XIV, RACINE and PASCAL were two remarkable examples of it. It is humiliating to see with what complacency RACINE, that admirable painter of the human heart, *and the most perfect poet who has ever been,* relates as a miraculous event, the cure of Mademoiselle PERRIER, the niece of PASCAL, and *pensionnaire* of the Abbey of Port-Royal: It is no less painful to read the reasonings by which PASCAL endeavours to prove that this miracle had become necessary to the cause of religion, in order to justify the doctrine of the Nuns of that Abbey, at that time persecuted by the Jesuits. The young Mademoiselle Perrier, who was then about three years and a half old, was afflicted with a *fistula lachrymalis*; she touched her sore eye with a relique which professed to be one of the thorns of the crown placed by the Jews on the head of our Saviour, and she believed herself cured from that instant. Some days after, the physicians and surgeons attested the cure, and gave it as their opinion

(in which probably they were perfectly correct) that the medicines had had no effect in bringing it about. This event, which happened in 1656, made a great noise: All Paris,' says Racine, 'flocked to Port-Royal. The crowd increased from day to day; and GOD seemed to take pleasure in authorizing the devotion of the people, by the number of miracles worked in that church.'

The question here touched on, how far the evidence of testimony is able to overcome that which arises from our experience of the course of nature, is one of the most delicate and important which the doctrine of Probability presents. That testimony itself derives all its force from experience, seems very certain. This, however, has sometimes been disputed; and it has been urged, that there is a natural tendency to believe in the testimony of others, independent of experience. That such a tendency really exists, we are willing to allow. A man who feels in himself a propensity to speak the truth, readily supposes a like propensity in others; and therefore, previous to all experience, may be disposed to believe in their testimony. He soon learns, however, that he cannot trust safely to this principle; for he perceives, that though men have a tendency to speak the truth, they have often motives that lead to do the contrary, that tempt them to conceal and even to pervert it; and how much these opposite motives may counteract one another, is a matter only to be collected from experience and observation. Indeed, it is quite evident, that whatever propensity we *naturally* have to believe in testimony, it must be in itself extremely fallacious, as bearing no proportion to the probability of the thing believed, or the likelihood that it will happen.

It is useless, therefore, in treating of probability, to talk of a tendency to believe, which, confessedly not being regulated by the experience of the past, cannot be depended on for its anticipation of the future. Such a tendency, whether natural or acquired, is evidently no better than a mere prejudice, and is as likely to lead to error as to truth. The evidence of testimony, then, is measured in the same way with other probabilities, and is expressed by the number of instances in which men, circumstanced in a particular way, have been known to speak true, divided by the number of cases in which they have given evidence whether true or false. It is true that the strict arithmetical value of this fraction is hardly possible, in any case, to be assigned. But a certain coarse and loose estimate of it may be formed, sufficient for directing the judgment and the conduct, on ordinary occasions.

The first author, we believe, who stated fairly the connexion between the evidence of testimony and the evidence of expe-

rience, was HUME, in his Essay on *Miracles*, a work full of deep thought and enlarged views; and, if we do not stretch the principles so far as to interfere with the truths of religion, abounding in maxims of great use in the conduct of life, as well as in the speculations of philosophy.

Conformably to the principles contained in it, and also to those in the Essay now before us, if we would form some general rules for comparing the evidence derived from our experience of the course of nature with the evidence of testimony, we may consider physical phenomena as divided into two classes, the one comprehending all those of which the course is known from experience to be perfectly uniform; and the other comprehending those of which the course, though no doubt regulated by general laws, is not perfectly conformable to any law with which we are acquainted; so that the most general rule that we are enabled to give, admits of many exceptions. The violation of the order of events among the phenomena of the former class, the suspension of gravity for example,—the deviation of any of the stars from their places, or their courses in the heavens, &c.—these are facts of which the improbability is so strong, that no testimony can prevail against it. It will always be more wonderful that the violation of such order should have taken place, than that any number of witnesses should be deceived themselves, or should be disposed to deceive others.

It is here very well worth attending to, how much the extension of our knowledge tends to give us confidence in the continuance of the general laws of nature, and to increase the improbability of their violation. Suppose a man not at all versed in astronomy, who considers the moon merely as a luminous circle that, with certain irregularities, goes round the earth from east to west nearly in 24 hours, rising once and setting once in that interval. Let this man be told, from some authority that he is accustomed to respect, that on a certain day it had been observed at London, that the moon did not set at all, but was visible above the horizon for 24 hours:—there is little doubt that, after making some difficulty about it, he would come at last to be convinced of the truth of the assertion. In this he could not be accused of any extraordinary and irrational credulity. The experience he had of the uniform setting and rising of the moon was but very limited; and, the fact alleged, might not appear to him more extraordinary, than many of the irregularities to which that luminary was subject. Let the same thing be told to an astronomer, in whose mind the rising and setting of the moon were necessarily connected with a vast number of other ap-

pearances; who knew, for example, that the supposed fact could not have happened, unless the moon had deviated exceedingly from that orbit in which it has always moved; or the position of the earth's axis had suddenly changed; or the atmospherical refraction had been increased to an extent that was never known. Any of all these events must have affected such a vast number of others, that, as no such thing was perceived, an incredible body of evidence is brought to ascertain the continuance of the moon in her regular course. The barrier that generalization and the explanation of causes thus raises against credulity and superstition,—the way in which it multiplies the evidence of experience, is highly deserving of attention, and is likely to have a great influence on the future fortunes of the human race.

Against the uniformity, therefore, of such laws, it is impossible for testimony to prevail. But with those laws that are imperfectly known, and that admit of many exceptions, the violations are not so improbable, but that testimony may be sufficient to establish them. In our own time it has happened, that the testimony produced in support of a set of extraordinary facts, has been confirmed by a scrupulous examination into the natural history of the facts themselves. When the stones which were said to have fallen from the heavens came to be chemically analyzed, they were found to have the same characters, and to consist of the same ingredients, nearly in the same proportions. Now, let us suppose two such instances:—the first person gives the stones into the hands of a naturalist, and their characters are ascertained; the second does so likewise, and the stones have the same character. Now if this character were one which, like that of sandstone, or of limestone, belongs to a numerous class, the chance of the agreement might be considerable, because the chance that the second observer should fall on a stone exactly of the same species with the first, would be as the number of the stones existing of that species, divided by the whole number of stones, of all different species existing on the face of the earth. This, with regard to sandstone or limestone, might be a large fraction; and the coincidence of the two testimonies in a falsehood might not be extremely improbable. But if the species is a very rare one, the probability of the coincidence becomes extremely small. Suppose, for example, that it is a species, numerous in a medium degree; and as there are reckoned about 261 species, let us suppose that the individuals of the species to which the meteoric stones belong amount to $\frac{1}{261}$th part of all the stones on the surface of the earth. The accidental co-

incidence of the second witness with the first is denoted by the fraction $\frac{1}{261}$; of a third with the other two, by $\frac{1}{261} \times \frac{1}{261} = \frac{1}{68121}$; of a fourth with the other three, by $\frac{1}{(261)^3}$; and so on. As there are more than ten such cases, the chance of deceit or imposture is not more than $\frac{1}{(261)^9}$: that is, 1 divided by the 9th power of 261, or by a number so large as to consist of 22 places. This fraction, though extremely small, is vastly greater than the truth. The individuals of this species, instead of making a 261th part of all the stones on the surface of the earth, make, so far as we know, no part of them at all. Here, therefore, we have a testimony confirmed, and rendered quite independent of our previous knowledge of the veracity of the witnesses.

The truth of the descent of these stones on the evidence of testimony alone, would have been long before it gained entire credit; and scepticism with respect to it would have been just and philosophical. In certain states of their information, men may, on good grounds, reject the truth altogether.

The way in which probability is affected by the indefinite multiplication of events, is a remarkable part of this theory. If out of a system of events governed by chance (or by no perceivable law) you take a small number, you will find great irregularity, and nothing that looks like order, or obedience to a general rule. Increase the number of events, or take in a larger extent of the domain over which you suppose chance to preside, you will find the irregularities bear a much less proportion to the whole; they will in a certain degree compensate for one another; and something like order and regularity will begin to emerge. In proportion as the events are farther multiplied, this convergency will become more apparent; and in summing up the total amount, the events will appear adjusted to one another, by rules, from which hardly any deviation can be perceived.

Thus, in considering the subject of life and death; if we take a small extent of country, or a few people, a single parish for instance, nothing like a general rule will be discovered. The proportion of the deaths to the numbers alive, or to the numbers born; of those living at any age to those above or below that age,—all this will appear the most different in one year, compared with the next; or in one district compared with another. But subject to your examination the parish registers of a great country, or a populous city, and the facts will appear quite different. You will find the proportion of those that die

annually out of a given number of inhabitants fixt with great precision, as well as of those that are born, and that have reached to the different periods of life. In the first case, the irregularities bear a great proportion to the whole: in the second, they compensate for one another; and a rule emerges, from which the deviations on opposite sides appear almost equal.

This is true not only of natural events, but of those that arise from the institutions of society, and the transactions of men with one another.—Hence insurance against fire, and the dangers of the sea. Nothing is less subject to calculation, than the fate of a particular ship, or a particular house, though under given circumstances. But let a vast number of ships, in these circumstances, or of houses, be included, and the chance of their perishing, to that of their being preserved, is matter of calculation founded on experience, and reduced to such certainty, that men daily stake their fortunes on the accuracy of the results.

This is true, even where chance might be supposed to predominate the most; and where the causes that produce particular effects, are the most independent of one another.

LAPLACE observes, that at Paris, in ordinary times, the number of letters returned to the Post Office, the persons to whom they were directed not being found, was nearly the same from one year to another. We have heard the same remark stated of the Dead Letter Office, as it is called, in London.

Such is the consequence of the multiplication of the events least under the controul of fixt causes: And the instances just given, are sufficient to illustrate the truth of the general proposition; which LAPLACE has thus stated.—

'The recurrences of events that depend on chance, approach to fixt ratios as the events become more numerous, in such a manner that the probability of the mean results not differing from those ratios by any given quantity, may come nearer to certainty than the smallest limit that can be assigned.'

Thus, if in an urn, the number of white balls to that of black, have the ratio of p to q, the number of white balls brought out if the whole number drawn be n, will approach to $\frac{p}{p+q} \times n$, the more nearly the greater that the number n is taken.

This proposition is deducible *a priori* from the theory of Probability. It was first demonstrated by BERNOUILLI, in the *Ars Conjectandi*, by a method that is very elaborate, and confessedly the work of much thought and study. A more simple demonstration was given by DEMOIVRE, in his doctrine of Chances. Our author, in his *Theorie Analytique*, has given one much pre-

ferable to either, deduced from his theory of *Generating Functions.*

The solution of another curious problem which LAPLACE has given, is closely connected with the preceding. An event having happened a certain number of times in succession, what is the probability that it will happen once more?

When the number of times the event has happened is small, the formula that contains the answer to this question is considerably complicated; when the number is very great, it is extremely simple. Suppose the number to be n, the chance that the same event will again occur, is $\frac{n+1}{n+2}$, which, if n be great, is very near to unity, and may express a probability not sensibly inferior to certainty.

Thus, supposing with M. LAPLACE, that the greatest antiquity to which history goes back is 5000 years, or 1826213 days, the probability that the sun will rise again to-morrow, is, according to this rule, $\frac{1826214}{1826215}$; or there is 1826214 to 1, to wager in favour of that event. This, therefore, may be considered as affording a measure of the probability that the course of nature will continue the same in future that it has been in time past. It is not however on the refined principles of this calculus, that the universal belief of mankind in such continuance is founded The above theorem was first given by BERNOUILLI Our author's demonstration of it in the *Essai Analytique*, we believe to be new and more simple than any other.

The same multiplication of events enables us to employ the theory of probability in the discovery of causes. On this subject LAPLACE has made a number of very important observations. The phenomena of nature are for the most part enveloped in such a number of extraneous circumstances, and so many disturbing causes unite their influence, that it is very difficult, when they are small, to separate them from one another. The best way to discover them is to multiply observations, that the accidental effects may destroy one another, and leave a mean result containing only what is essential to the phenomenon. The entire removal of the accidental part is not to be expected, as has just appeared, without an infinite number of observations: the greater the number of observations, however, the more nearly is this mean result approximated.

Of this application of the doctrine of Probabilities, a number of examples are then given. The first relates to the diurnal variation of the barometer, as found from the observations of

that instrument made at the Equator, where it is least subject to the action of irregular causes. From these, there appears to be a small diurnal oscillation, of which one *maximum* takes place about 9 in the morning, and a *minimum* about 4 in the evening: a second *maximum* at 11 at night, and a second *minimum* about 4 in the morning. The oscillations of the day are greater than those of the night, and amount to about $\frac{1}{10}$th of an inch. The inconstancy of the weather does not allow this variation to be immediately observeable without the tropics, or within the range of the variable winds. Nevertheless, by applying the calculus of Probabilities to a great number of accurate barometrical observations made by RAMOND during several successive years, M. LAPLACE has found such indications of the same oscillation, as to leave no doubt of its existence, though concealed under the irregular action of many accidental causes. This oscillation having its period equal to a solar day, must arise from the sun's action, most probably, in the heating and cooling of the atmosphere.

To the same calculus, in what regards the irregularities of the planetary system, our author professes to be greatly indebted. The difficulty in such cases is, often, to know whether a certain small irregularity, combined as it is with many other irregularities, has an existence or not. If it has an existence, it will give a certain determination to all the results one way more than another; and by comparing a great number of results, the reality of the determination may be discovered. It is just as if a *die* were thrown a great number of times, and it was required to find whether it had a bias to a certain side or not. After a vast number of throws, if there is no bias, each face must have turned up nearly the same number of times. If this is not found to hold; if there be one face which has turned up considerably oftener than the rest, it may safely be concluded that there is a bias to that side; and from the calculus of probabilities, the amount of the bias may be estimated.

In this way, the calculus may be applied to several astronomical phenomena, and may be considered as a means of discovering from *induction*, some conclusions that could hardly be otherwise obtained. M. LAPLACE gives an instance of this in his own researches, concerning the diminution of a certain inequality in the precession of the equinoxes, relatively to the moon only; which was suspected by MAYER, but rejected by most astronomers as not being explained on the principle of gravitation. A scrupulous examination of observations, and the application of the calculus, convinced M. LAPLACE, that the existence of the inequality was highly probable; so that he began to look out for the

cause of it. It was not long before he perceived that it must arise from the spheroidal figure of the earth, which must change a little the laws of gravity towards that body, and produce of consequence an inequality in the lunar motions. This cause had hitherto been neglected by astronomers; but, when taken into account, it explained with precision the irregularity in question, and the magnitude which, by the rules of probability, he had been led to assign to it. Other instances are given in the irregularities of Jupiter and Saturn, the satellites of Jupiter, &c. We shall only mention one result, and it is a very remarkable one, deduced from the motions of the planets being all in the same direction.

'One of the most remarkable phenomena in the solar system, is, that the motions of rotation and of revolution in the planets and satellites are all in the same direction, viz. in that of the sun's rotation, and not far from the plane of his equator. A phenomenon so remarkable cannot be the effect of chance; and it obviously indicates one *general cause*, which has determined all these motions. To estimate the probability with which this cause is pointed out, it must be considered, that the planetary system, such as we now see it, is composed of eleven planets and eighteen satellites; and that the rotation of the sun, of six planets, of the satellites of Jupiter, of the ring of Saturn, and of one of his satellites, are all known. These movements, taken in conjunction with those of revolution, make a total of forty-three—all in the same direction. Now, by the calculation of probabilities, it will be found that there are more than 4 millions of millions to wager against one, that this disposition is not the effect of chance; a probability much superior to that of the historical events about which we entertain the least doubt. We must therefore believe at least with equal confidence, that ONE *Primitive Cause* has directed all the planetary motions; especially when we consider, that the greater part of these motions are also nearly in the same plane.'

Our Author proceeds, then, to offer some conjectures concerning the *physical cause* to which these motions are to be ascribed. He brings together a great number of facts, from Dr HERSCHELL's observations concerning the *nebulæ* which, combined with the preceding, seem to point out the solar atmosphere as the most probable cause. But where the facts lie so far out of the reach of accurate observation as many of these do, and when the supposed cause has ceased so entirely to act, the evidence we can have is so slight, and the difficulties so many, that even the AUTHOR of the *Mécanique Céleste* must fail in giving weight and durability to his system.

In those sciences which are in a great measure conjectural, such as medicine, agriculture and politics, the *calculus* of probabili-

ties may be employed for discovering the value of the different methods, that are had recourse to Thus, to find out the best of the treatments in use in the cure of a particular disease, the comparison of a number of cases, where the circumstances have been as much alike as possible, will enable us to judge of the accidental causes that in each particular case assisted or impeded the cure: these last will make a compensation for one another; and if the number of cases is sufficiently great, will leave the efficacy or inefficacy of the remedies distinctly visible.

'The same,' he adds, 'may be applied to political economy; with respect to which, the operations of governments are so many experiments, made on a great scale, and calculated to throw light on the conduct to be pursued on similar occasions. So many unforeseen, concealed, and inappreciable causes, have an influence on human institutions, that it is impossible to judge *a priori* of their effects.—Nothing but a long series of experiments can unfold these effects, and point out the means of counteracting those that are hurtful. It would conduce much to this object, if, in every branch of the administration, an exact register were kept of the trials made of different measures; and of the results, whether good or bad, to which they have led.'

He concludes with a maxim, which the circumstances of the times in which he has lived, must have but too deeply engraven on the mind of every Frenchman.

'Ne changeons qu'avec une circonspection extrême nos anciennes institutions et usages auxquels nos opinions et nos habitudes se sont depuis long-tems pliées. Nous connaissons bien par l'expérience du passé les inconveniens qu'ils nous presentent; mais nous ignorons quelle est l'etendue des maux que leur changement peut produire.'

These are safe and just maxims; and we are glad to think that he who expresses them holds a high situation in the government of his country. There is, however, another maxim grounded also on the doctrine of Probability, which we should think hardly less necessary than this, viz. that the rulers of mankind, in order to remove as much as possible all chance of sudden and great revolutions, would strike at the roots of the causes which so often render them inevitable, by taking care that all political institutions are gradually and slowly corrected, as their errors are found out, or as new circumstances in the situation of the world render them inapplicable. The negative precept, of not changing things but slowly, is not alone sufficient; it is necessary to add the affirmative precept, of changing them slowly, but readily, when reason for such change appears. In this way the causes that tend to disturb the public order are prevented from accumulating, so as to create, or even to justify, the spirit of revolution; and by gradual reformations, which may be made

without danger, those great changes are avoided which cannot happen without incalculable mischief.

One of the most important applications of the doctrine of Probability, is to determine the most probable *mean*, or average, among a number of observations. The most accurate experiments and observations are liable to errors, which must affect the truth of the results obtained from them. To make these disappear as much as possible, observations must be greatly multiplied, in order that the errors in defect and in excess may destroy one another, and the mean, of consequence, become nearly correct. Still, however, the manner of striking this mean to the greatest advantage, remains to be examined, as also the degree of error to which, after all, it must be liable.

For a long time mathematicians were contented with taking the arithmetical mean as the true result of the observations; that is, they added them altogether, and divided the sum by the number of observations. This was sufficient when the observations appeared to be all equally good, and entitled to equal weight in the determination of the result. This, however, was far from being always the case; and Cotes was the first, as M. Laplace remarks, who thought of a method by which each observation should have an influence in the determination of the results proportioned to its real value. Suppose that it is the position of an object that is required to be found by astronomical observation; let the place given by each individual observation be found, and at each of these conceive a weight to be placed proportional to the accuracy, or inversely as the error which it is reasonable to assign to that particular observation; the centre of gravity of all these weights is the true, or the most probable place of the object. This was in fact a generalization of the common method of taking an arithmetical mean; for it is only conceiving, that if one observation *A*, was twice as good as another observation *B*, then, instead of *A*, there should be accounted two observations of the same value with *B*, and giving the same result with *A*, and so on in any other proportion, even if the proportion were expressed by a fraction. The principle here is, that after a great number of observations, the errors in opposite directions (the positive and negative errors) must be equal. This is true, if the number were infinitely great; and, in all cases, affords a probable approximation to the truth.

The above theorem, which Cotes has given at the end of his *Estimatio Errorum*, admits of a simple analytical expression, but does not appear, as is remarked by Laplace, to have been made use of till Euler, in his tract on the Inequalities of Jupi-

ter and Saturn, employed equations of condition, for the first time, in determining the elements of the orbits of these two planets. Much about the same time, Tobias Mayer employed similar methods in his Inquiry into the Libration of the Moon, and afterwards in his Lunar Tables.

The method of Cotes, when there is but one result to be determined, is of most easy application; but when there are more than one, and, of consequence, as many equations as there are observations, it is not obvious how it can be applied, and how the equations are to be combined to the best advantage. The idea occurred to Le Gendre to introduce another equation, by supposing the sums of the squares of the errors of the observations to be a *minimum.* * This is a very happy generalization of the method of the centre of gravity, and applicable to cases to which it could not easily be accommodated. The same idea occurred to M. Gauss about the same time. It was not demonstrated, however, till it was done in the Theorie Analytique of M. Laplace, that the result thus obtained is the best of all, that which leaves the least probable error, the limits of which are assigned at the same time.

The mean result being determined, the following rule for the limit of the accuracy is given. *Take the difference between the mean result of all the observations, and the result of each particular observation. The mean error, or the greatest that is to be feared, (and it may be either positive or negative), is a fraction, having for its numerator the square root of the sum of the squares of the differences above obtained, and for its denominator the number of observations multiplied into the square root of the number which denotes the ratio of the circumference to the diameter.*

Thus, if the differences between the mean of the observations and the observations themselves be a, b, c, d, and if n be their number, the mean error is $\frac{\sqrt{a^2 + b^2 + c^2 + \&c.}}{n\sqrt{\pi}}$

It would be unsafe to wager that the error was less than this quantity.

It will no doubt appear singular, that a quantity $\sqrt{\pi}$ having apparently no connexion with the matters in hand, should enter into the above expression. It is introduced there by the operation of integration; by means of which, it is often brought into expressions, where it was not expected. Bernouilli was the first who found the quantity π enter into the expressions of probability; and he appears to have thought it very remarkable.

* Nouvelles Méthodes pour la Determination des Orbites des Comètes. Paris, 1806.

The preceding conclusion may be useful in many cases of practical astronomy, and in other parts of natural philosophy; or indeed, when any thing is to be determined in quantity or position from a great number of observations; and especially when the things to be found are represented by the co-efficients of the terms of an algebraic formula.

As an instance:—Suppose it were required having two sorts of lunar tables; and, having compared them with observations, to determine which is the best. The common way is to add together the errors of observation, and to take the arithmetical mean: the tables to which the least mean error belongs, are accounted the best. This, however, is not the way in which the question ought to be decided. The sums of the squares of the differences between the observed and the calculated places should be added together: that set in which the square root of the sum divided by the number of observations is least, is the most exact. If the number of the terms be the same, the mere comparison of the sums of the squares decides on which side the preference lies. This instance of the utility of the method of finding the mean, is given by M. Laplace himself. Another of the same kind may be added.—Suppose that two chronometers have been compared with the sun at noon, for a certain number of days running, and from the register kept of their errors it is required to find which of them is the best. This ought to be done by taking the squares of the differences of the errors of the chronometer for every day: that in which the sum of these squares is the least, is the preferable time-keeper. If it is required to compute the error that might be found, if either of them were applied to find the longitude, it will be determined by the formula above, and will be very considerably different from the result that would arise from a mere arithmetical mean.

We have here an instance of a problem, to which, in this country, very frequent recourse has been had in the trials of chronometers for the longitude. The only method of resolving it, has hitherto been by finding the arithmetical mean, which, however, the late Astronomer-Royal did in a particular way, which, though not the same with this, was probably the best then known. It is, however, certain, that the true going of a clock, or the measure of its merit, cannot be accurately determined, but by means of the rule which has just been explained.

We shall conclude our extracts from this small, but comprehensive volume, with one from the article on Population, which we have great pleasure in laying before our readers.

'The ratio of the population to the number of births would be

increased if we could diminish or destroy any disease that is dangerous and common. This has been done, happily, in the case of the small-pox, first by the common inoculation for the disease itself, and afterwards in a much more complete manner by the vaccine inoculation, the inestimable discovery of JENNER, who has rendered himself, by that means, one of the greatest benefactors of the human race.'

'The most simple way of calculating the advantage which the extinction of a disease would produce, consists in determining from observation the number of individuals of a given age who die of it yearly, and in subtracting the amount from the total number of deaths of persons of that same age. The ratio of the difference to the total number alive at the same age would be the probability of dying at that age if the disease did not exist. By summing up all these probabilities from the beginning of life to a given age, and taking the sum from unity, the remainder will be the probability of living to that age, on the hypothesis of the disease in question being extinguished. From the series of these probabilities, the mean duration of life on the same supposition may be computed, according to rules that are well known. M. DUVILARD has found that the mean duration of human life is increased at least *three years* by the vaccine inoculation.' p. 69.

But as this review is now in danger of becoming longer than the book reviewed, we shall conclude, with recommending to our readers the perusal of the work itself; and with assuring them, that they will find in it much valuable and important matter, which has not fallen within the scope of this analysis.

ART. IV. *A Voyage round the World, in the Years* 1803, 4, 5, *& 6: Performed by Order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva.* By UREY LISIANSKY, Captain in the Russian Navy, and Knight of the Orders of St George and St Vladimer. London. Booth, Longman & Co. 4to. pp. 388. 1814.

A COUNTRY butcher makes his customers take a certain proportion of gravy beef, when he serves them with what are denominated the *prime parts.* In vain the carnivorous purchaser may plead, that he wants only to roast, and has not the most distant thought of stewing: the cunning slaughterer of horned [cattle] holds him fast in the chains of sensuality, and loads him [with l]ean, and useless flank, before he allows him to enjoy the [flav]our of the rib, or to pasture on the obesity of the rump. Travellers are as bad as butchers. Instead of coming at once to

the spot for which the book was written, and in which its interest really consists, they make you purchase their voyage through the Chops of the Channel;—they speak of Falmouth—give a chapter on the Island of Madeira—stay for 10 pages at Rio Janeiro—and seldom double the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, before the middle of the first volume.

Our friend Urey Lisiansky has been initiated into this mystery of the literary shambles, and has added to the important parts of his book no small number of offal chapters, both at the beginning and the end. His voyage (such as it is) was undertaken, first of all, at the suggestion of the Russian American Company. They had experienced great difficulty in supplying their colonies on the north-west coast of America with provisions and necessaries; and, on account of the length of the journey by land to Ochotsk, resolved to try if the voyage by sea would not be more expedient. For the purpose of ascertaining whether or not this project was practicable, a plan was formed of an expedition from Cronstadt round Cape Horn. The Emperor of Russia expanded this commercial scheme into a voyage of discovery and circumnavigation; and the ships engaged in it were at the same time directed to carry out a Russian ambassador to Japan. This was the first voyage round the globe carried into effect by the Russian Government. On the return of the expedition to Cronstadt, a separate account of the voyage *of each vessel* was ordered to be printed, at the expense of the Emperor; and Captain Krusenstern's voyage has already appeared in an English translation.

Lisiansky visited, without his companion, the Easter and Sandwich Islands; passed a year on the island of Cadiack and at Sitca; and discovered an island and a shoal, of importance to the navigation of the South Seas.

The track of Lisiansky is as follows:—He sailed from Cronstadt in July 1803—made the island of Teneriffe by the middle of October, and that of St Catherine by the Christmas of the same year—doubled Cape Horn by the middle of March 1804—touched at Easter Island, and from thence to the Marquesas and Sandwich Islands—and so on to Cadiack and Sitca on the north-western coast of America, where the Russians have settlements. At Cadiack he wintered; and in the spring took the liquid high road to Canton, and to Europe.

It strikes us as somewhat singular, that his Imperial Majesty should think it of importance to patronize this voyage round the world, and not worth while to render it a little more subservient to the general interests of science. Why not a chemist, a botanist, an astronomer, a mineralogist, in an expedition which

was to do honour to the Russian name, and to explore such unfrequented regions? Urey Lisiansky, the Captain, appears to be a man of plain common sense,—with clear perceptions of the difference between high and low, hot and cold, moist and dry, and such like points of learning—but, more than this, he neither pretends to nor possesses;—a sufficient range, perhaps, for the track between Birmingham and Bristol, but hardly capacity of mind enough for the gratification of public curiosity in a voyage round the world. However, a voyage round the world is never without interest; and plain sense and simplicity always deserve indulgence. A book too written by a Russian, is a trophy of one of the most splendid victories which man has gained over physical difficulties. That human beings should write, where it seems almost impossible for them to live—that any man's stomach in Russia should be full enough to write, or that his fingers should be warm enough—that he should be sufficiently protected from black and white bears to publish a book,—is indeed one of the highest proofs of human industry and perseverance.

Of the Marquesas Islands, at which he made some stay, Mr Lisiansky has gathered the following particulars, some of which remind us, in a small degree, of our European manners and customs. It seems that the kings of these islands are almost always at war with each other; that they have large domains, and enjoy a fourth part of all the produce of the lands; but carry on war without consulting their people. Such are the privileges of their kings. Their priests are not without their share of importance. When a priest dies, three men must be put to death; one of whom (we presume the plumpest of the three) is kept for the visitors, and eaten in the way of steak or cutlet. The men are very jealous of their women—except when they can gain any iron by prostituting them; in which case their wives and daughters are at the service of any strangers.

'In rich families,' (we almost feel ourselves at London or Paris), 'every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.' p. 83.

The houses of these savages are clean (we doubt)—and they will not allow their women to eat pork; from no idea of its being unsuitable to the delicacy of that sex, but because the men are very

fond of pig meat, and choose to keep it all to themselves. The men go quite, the women almost, naked.

'The food of these islanders' (says Mr Lisiansky), 'consists chiefly of fish swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread fruit, tarro-root, and sugar cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

'In case of a bad harvest, the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

'Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, however, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the skulls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these skulls, paying a knife for each: but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh.

'The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a a bread fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe.

'The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes

them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm.

'It is proved by facts, that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by nature into the body of his grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.' p. 87—89.

The Sandwich Islands, Mr Lisiansky found to be fast rising into importance; they are a resort for all ships going to the N. W. coast of America; as they can refit there, and take in provisions. The islands are divided into two districts; the one governed by Jamoony, the other by Hamamea, a prince of courage, abilities, and very much inclined to cultivate and improve by the Europeans; of these he has more than 50 in his service, and so great a quantity of small guns, swivels, and ammunition, that the value of these articles is materially reduced in his dominions. Their prisoners of war, instead of being guarded in large and commodious barracks, after an English method, are baked to death. On the demise of the King, twelve persons are killed; and every one in the island is under the necessity of losing a tooth. Both sexes, on this afflicting occasion, go naked, and every species of the most horrid licentiousness prevails.

'The inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles,' (says Mr Lisiansky), 'are of a middle stature, and of a dark complexion. In the men, the form of the countenance varies; some have even a perfect European

face. The women, on the contrary, nearly resemble each other; the face in all being round, the nose small and flattish, and the eyes black. The hair of both sexes is black and strong. The men cut theirs in different forms; but the prevailing fashion at present, is that of a Roman helmet. The women crop theirs close, leaving a ridge, about an inch and a half long, sticking up, and extending from side to side on the forehead. This ridge of hair they daub over every afternoon with a sort of pomatum (if I may use the word), made of shells and corals, to give it a yellowish appearance. The men do the same with theirs, colouring only the hair which forms the crest of the helmet. From this practice, we were at first led to suppose the hair of the head to be of two natural colours; for the ridge and the crest retain a portion of the hue they acquire by the frequent daubings. Contrary to the usage of their neighbours (the other islanders of the South Sea), these people neither paint the body nor wear ornaments in the ears. They have, however, bracelets on their arms, made of bone.

'The women ornament their heads with wreaths of flowers, or worsted threads, of different colours, raveled out of European stuffs. They commonly wrap themselves in a long piece of cloth, of the manufacture of the country; and in cold weather cover the body with broader pieces of it, several times doubled. The rich and poor are in common dressed alike; but, on particular occasions, the rich put on their feather cloaks, which, with their helmets and fans, form a dress that must be admired every where.

'These people are extremely fond of the European dress, and receive with pleasure, old shirts, jackets, and trowsers. We parted here with all our rags, in exchange for provisions, and other articles of which we were in want.' p. 123—125.

We were amused with observing an account of a religious sect in the Sandwich Islands, who arrogate to themselves the power of praying people to death. Whoever incurs their displeasure, receives notice that the homicide litany is about to begin; and such are the effects of imagination, that the very notice is frequently sufficient with these poor people to produce the effect, or to drive them to acts of suicide.

The chief novelties of the route are the Russian settlements of Sitca and Cadiack, on the north-west coast of America—neither of them of very great importance. Cadiack is a large barren island, at the eastern extremity of the Aleutian chain; inhabited by about 4000 of the most filthy and stupid savages of which we have any where an account. They are almost all covered over with itch and ulcers; and are extremely indolent and torpid. 'Their favourite recreation,' says M. Lisiansky, 'after sleeping, is to sit on the roofs of their 'houses, or on the beach, for hours together, looking at the 'sea, and observing a profound silence—for they never converse;

'and I am persuaded,' adds the worthy Muscovite, 'that *the* '*simplicity* of their character exceeds that of any other people.' Their great passion is for snuff and amber; and their chief occupation catching whales,—on the blubber of which they fatten luxuriously, in a favourable season. They have a strange superstition, which leads them to believe that the possession of the dead bodies of any old or famous fishers contributes essentially to their good luck; and accordingly show considerable sagacity in hunting them up in the caverns and other secret places where they have been stowed by their relations. Some, says M. Lisiansky, have actually accumulated a treasury of not fewer than twenty such corpses.

The settlement of Sitca is somewhat farther to the south; in the interior of that deep bay to which Vancouver gave the name of Norfolk's Sound. The savages in this quarter are of a more lively and ferocious character than those of Cadiack. Instead of dozing on the ridges of their houses, they sing and dance perpetually; and are both brave and expert in the use of fire arms, with which they are supplied by the American traders, who occasionally resort to that coast. They killed five or six of M. Lisiansky's men, in a gallant defence of a kind of rude fort, from which that commander chose to expel them, that the agents of the Russian Company might occupy the spot as a factory. After cannonading it all day, it was found next morning that the natives had deserted it in the night; and when M. Lisiansky went to take possession, he was not a little shocked 'to find, 'as in a second massacre of innocents, numbers of young children lying together murdered! lest their cries, if they had been 'carried along with them, might have led to a discovery of the 'flight of their cruel parents;—a number of dogs had been 'butchered for the same reason.' They burn their dead, and massacre their prisoners. They are extremely muscular and hardy; and apparently quite insensible to pain. One lad, who frequently visited the navigators, and stole whatever he could lay his hands on, was at last threatened with the scourge, but absolutely laughed at the menace,—and continued his derision and gaiety when under the most rigorous discipline that a Russian flagellator could apply. They are great beaux withal;—paint their faces of various colours, and work up their hair with a red paste, and then powder it in a magnificent manner with the fine white down of the sea ducks. Their country is obviously volcanic. M. Lisiansky climbed up the highest mountain on the coast, which Vancouver distinguished by the name of Mount Edgecumbe, and found the summit formed into a huge crater, nearly two miles in circuit, and about three hundred feet deep. It was partly filled with snow; and there is no tradition of the

volcano having been seen in a state of activity. The height he estimated at no less than 8000 feet. The volcanic energy, however, seems more entire in this than in any other region of the world. In the neighbourhood of Oonalashca, which is situated about the centre of the Aleutian chain, a new island, nearly 20 miles in circumference, has been formed within these twenty years. The following is the account of it which M. Lisiansky collected from eyewitnesses at Cadiack.

'In the evening of the 26th, while I was alone, writing the memorandums of my journal, a Russian introduced himself, who had resided on the island of Oonalashca, when a new island started up in its vicinity. I had heard of this phenomenon, and was therefore desirous to learn what he knew respecting it. He said that, about the middle of April 1797, a small island was seen where no island had been seen before. That the first intimation of its appearance had been brought by some Aleutians to Captain's Harbour, who, returning from fishing, observed a great smoke issuing cut of the sea: that this was the smoke of the volcano, which was then gradually rising above the surface of the sea, and which in May 1798, burst forth with a blaze, that was distinctly seen from a settlement called Macooshino, on the island of Oonalashca, at the distance of no less than forty miles to the north-west. This new island is tolerably high, and about twenty miles in circumference. It has been remarked, that it has not increased in size since the year 1799; and that no alteration has taken place in its appearance, except that some of the highest points have been thrown down by violent eruptions.' p. 175.

The quotations we have given are a fair specimen of the style and manner of Mr Lisiansky's book; the perfect fruition of which publication may be obtained for three guineas,—and might have been afforded for the same number of shillings.

ART. V. *Teoria de las Cortes, ó Grandes Juntas Nacionales de los Reinos de Leon y Castilla. Monumentos de su Constitucion politica y de la Soberania del Pueblo. Con algunas observaciones sobre la lei fundamental de la Monarquia Española, sancionada por las Cortes Generales y Extraordinarias y promulgada en Cadiz, a 19 de Marzo de 1812.* Por El Ciudadano DON FRANCISCO MARTINEZ MARINA, & Canonigo de la Iglesia de Jan Isidro de Madrid, &c. Madrid. Año 1813. 3 Vol. 4to.

THE author of the work before us has published several memoirs on the history, and a volume on the ancient laws of

Castile, which we had lately occasion to notice. He has endeavoured, in the present publication, to trace the institutions of the ancient Cortes of that kingdom; and has produced a work which, though considerably more instructive than entertaining, will yet be perused with pleasure by all who take any interest in what may be called the Comparative Anatomy of the early governments of Europe. Nothing indeed can be more curious than the investigation of those free constitutions engrafted on monarchy, which arose at one time in every quarter, and now survive only in our own island. The original similarity is striking; the present difference is awful. On these subjects we find Marina an intelligent and useful guide: but we cannot accompany him to the conclusion of his work, without some feelings of bitter sympathy with the disappointment which subsequent events have brought to all his sanguine anticipations of Spanish freedom. The sudden relapse from opening liberty to renovated despotism—the reestablishment of the Inquisition—and the vindictive proscription of those who had presumed to assert the privileges of free men—present indeed a spectacle at once lamentable and humiliating to all who had dared to think favourably of human nature—to all with whom love of our constitution is not hypocrisy, and philanthropy a convenient profession. If there are any among our people who once desired to see Spain liberated, and now glory in beholding Norway enslaved, we expect to find them quite indifferent to the future fortunes of the Peninsula. Having got rid of Napoleon, who hung like a naked sword over their meals and poisoned the relish of their sensual delights, they care not what becomes of the liberty or the happiness of mankind: and the sufferings and degradation of Spain cease to excite the smallest emotion, the moment they seem to be unconnected with their personal security or enjoyment. We shall be better entitled, however, to indulge in such reflections, after we have performed our duty to the work now before us.

Under the Gothic kings of Spain, the national assemblies were of two kinds. The first, entirely political in its nature, seems to have been called only on extraordinary occasions. The other was the ordinary council of the kingdom; where laws both civil and penal, and binding even on the person of the sovereign, were regularly enacted. The interests of religion always formed the first subject of deliberation; and upon this sacred subject, the clergy alone had the right either of voting or debating. Public and private affairs were afterwards discussed [illegible] the whole council, consisting of the King, the Clergy, and the great Barons. From the earliest times to the commencement of the Austrian dynasty, the King was always assisted by

the advice of his subjects. Whether under the name of *Concilium*, generally assumed by the Gothic legislature—that of *Curia*, which seems to have prevailed chiefly in the twelfth century—or of *Cortes*, first introduced under Ferdinand the Third, there seems to have been no intermission in the practice of calling together the Estates of the realm. And the custom was at length confirmed by an express statute of 1328, inserted in the Recopilacion, which enacts, that 'because we have need of the 'advice of our subjects, and particularly of the representatives 'of the Commons, on the arduous affairs of the kingdom, Cortes shall be called, and an assembly of the Three Estates held, 'according to the practice of our predecessors, on all such 'weighty and arduous affairs.'

With regard to the time of assembling the Cortes, there is no positive enactment to be found. On one occasion, indeed, it is ordered, that Cortes be called every two years; but the law was temporary, and intended to keep order during a minority. It is certain that the Cortes had a right to be called together, both by law and prescription,—to take the oath of allegiance to the heir of the crown,—to proclaim and acknowledge a new king,—or when any doubts arose relating to the succession, or the choice of a Regent. As long as they held the purse of the country, it was unnecessary to make any farther stipulation.

With regard to the constituent parts of the Cortes, the King presided, and generally assisted in person. As to the aristocratic branch, an examination of the records leads to the following conclusions. 1*st*, That the archbishops, bishops, masters of the orders of knighthood, the grandees, ricos-homes, knights, and all the lesser barons, had a right to be summoned to the General Cortes of the kingdom. 2*d*, But it was not essential for the legal constitution of the Cortes, that the clergy and nobility should assist at it. There are several instances in proof of this; and particularly, at the Cortes of 1295, no bishop or baron was present. 3*d*, When the whole body did not attend, some individuals, both of the clergy and nobility, were generally present, and are mentioned in the preamble of the statute; and when any point was discussed, which seemed to require the advice of these two branches of the Legislature, they were specially summoned. Of this kind is a writ issued by Ferdinand and Isabella, informing them, that a topic had arisen in the Cortes of 1480, which called for their deliberation, and inviting them to discuss that point only. There exists a very curious protest of the Archbishop of Toledo in 1333, in which he complains of being excluded from the Cortes, with the other Prelates, and the Temporal Lords

when he came to defend the rights of the Church; and that the acts of Cortes state the consent of the Bishops when they had not consented, nor had even been summoned to attend. 4*th*, The clergy and nobility had the privilege of proceeding to the town where the Cortes was held, either in person, or by their representatives, there to present petitions describing their grievances, and demanding redress. These petitions, and the answer of the King, were formed into separate statutes; and it appears from one example, that the petitions of these bodies, after the dissolution of the Cortes, prevailed on the King to sign the repeal of laws enacted in the presence of that body. The great officers of the Crown are always mentioned as present in the preamble of the statutes; and nothing could proceed without them. The writs, the statutes, and other documents issued from *Chancery*.

The representation of the Commons took its rise, as in the rest of Europe, from the increasing prosperity of the towns, and the policy of the Sovereign to raise them up as a barrier against the power of the Nobility, who derived in Spain, from the war against the Infidels, a pretext for increasing their power, and maintaining an independent authority. The city of Leon received a charter erecting it into a Corporation, and confirming the jurisdiction of the city officers, in 1020—a century earlier than the most ancient charter known in France. The officers of the Corporation were anciently elected by all the inhabitants; but, in the 14th century, this right was taken away, on account of the disorders it occasioned, and given to the Corporation itself, whose number was at the same time fixed. Many precautions were taken to secure the independence of these bodies. No office could be executed by deputy, or held by a stranger: ten years residence formed a qualification. Where the King had the right of naming the regidors, he was obliged to take one of three persons elected by the Corporation, and was strictly prohibited from granting a reversion of their places. The Cortes excluded the nobility from these municipal elections, and declared the municipalities independent of any jurisdiction, excepting the King's tribunals.

We can hardly assent to the broad proposition of our author, that the privilege of sending representatives to Cortes was inherent in all those towns, heads of hundreds, and counties corporate, which had obtained, by royal grant, a municipal constitution, and territorial jurisdiction. The earliest mention of the Commons is in the General Chronicle of Spain, which records, that the citizens, and all the municipalities of the kingdom of Castile, assisted at the Cortes of 1169—nearly a century before

Leicester's Parliament, and 46 years before Magna Charta. In the Cortes of 1188, the representatives of 48 cities and towns were present. In those of 1202, peculiar to Leon, were 'many of each town in the kingdom.' In 1208, a Cortes was held 'civium multitudine destinatorum a singulis civitatibus considente.' It is singular that the Marquis of Mondexar's Chronicle of Alonzo VIIIth, is totally silent with respect to the composition of the Cortes, in which was introduced so remarkable an innovation. The epoch of the introduction of the Commons is also signalized as being the period when the Crown, having been rendered hereditary, Leon united with Castile, and Toledo gained from the Moors, the nation became fixed in its institutions, and uniformly superior in its contest for the possession of the Peninsula.

By a law of the Siete Partidas, it is enacted, that, upon the death of the King, the good men (homes buenos) of the cities and towns which held of the Crown, should attend the council of the nation. During the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, we uniformly find an enumeration of the cities and towns which obeyed the injunction; and the detail proves, that there is scarcely a considerable place in the country, which has not at one time or other sent members to Cortes. 192 representatives of 111 cities and towns, met at the Cortes of Burgos in 1315; and 126 from not more than 50 towns, at those of Madrid in 1391. These meetings of the Legislature, however, appear to have been unusually full. The knights formed a separate body in the Cortes; and it does not appear that they ever joined the burgesses.

The origin of representation is always difficult to trace; but the little light we have is conformable to the most natural conjecture. Those who were supposed to be most able and independent, were called upon to assist in the Cortes: But this description was applied at different times, to very different persons; at one time to all those who held of the Crown; at another, to the commercial boroughs from whom the King expected to obtain supplies.* Many improvements were introduced towards the end of the 14th century; and the constitution was becoming every day more perfect, when Henry III. died in the bosom of the Cortes.†

* Lord Hale was clearly of opinion that the representation of the Knights of the Shire, is very much older than the 49th Henry III. —Hargrave's Jurisconsult Exercitations, vol. 2. There is no certain account of the boroughs being summoned till that period, and it is not likely that they were rich enough much earlier.

† 1406.

His son John II, though celebrated in the history of literature, wanted the talents of a sovereign. He was surrounded by the vilest favourites; a taste which he unfortunately bequeathed to his son Henry IV. During the reign of those sovereigns, the wisest institutions were lost in the disorder of the times. The King seized the possessions and alienated the lordship of the towns, in such a manner, that they declined from the rich independence which was the foundation of their political importance. Oppressed by the nobles, and harassed by the freebooters who infested the country, many towns, though called upon, declined sending any representatives; and though a few claimed this right as a favour, none of them appear to have obtained it. The style of the Crown was now changed to that of 'certain 'cities and towns.' The Cortes of 1480 were elected by only seventeen cities and towns; which, according to the Chronicle of Pulgar, were accustomed to send their representatives regularly, or in other words had established their right. The same number continued, with the addition of Granada and another, to the latest times. The interests of the rest were confided to certain of these; for instance, two repesented Galicia, the city of Palencia, and the seven towns of Campos. This corruption once established, the members who had thus obtained a monopoly of the legislative power, became of course the strenuous enemies of reform. So early as 1506, they declare, in a petition against the claims of other cities and towns, that 'by certain laws and immemorial usage, it is established, that the 'cities and towns who send representatives to Cortes should be 'eighteen, and no more.' A change so disgraceful, is, no doubt, to be attributed, in a great degree, to the character of the two Kings before mentioned, who, instead of reposing on their people, submitted to all the license of a domineering aristocracy; which, after trampling on the rights of the people, deprived the second of these sovereigns of his crown.

The form of the writs was nearly the same for the Nobility and the Commons. They were signed by the King or Regent, and indorsed by some Members of the Privy Council. These writs specified the reason for assembling the Cortes, and often entered into very long details. Thus we find John the First describing the battle of Aljubarota, and Charles the Fifth giving an epitome of his wars. A specimen of the ordinary Spanish writs may gratify the curiosity of some amongst our readers. The following is the entry preserved in the city of Ecija.

'Wednesday the 9th of November 1390, the court of the city of Ecija, being assembled, there came to the said court, a man called Rodrigo Miraza, squire of our Lord the King, and delivered a let-

ter of our said Lord the King, written on paper, signed with his name, sealed with the Privy Seal on the back—signed moreover by those of the Council of our said Lord the King, on the back of the said letter. Which letter was here read, and saith as follows.

"Don Henry, by the grace of God, king of Castile, to the Council, alcaldes, alquacil, officers and good men of the town of Ecija, health and grace, being persons to whom I trust. You will know how I informed you in other letters, that my father and sovereign, to whom God be merciful! is deceased. And now, know ye, that with the consent of those who were of the council of my father, whom God receive into Heaven! I ordered that the prelates, masters of the orders, counts, ricos-homes, and all the other nobility, and the representatives of the cities and towns of my kingdoms and lordships, should be sent for, that they may meet me to treat and determine both concerning my minority, in what places it should be passed, and the government of my person, and other affairs concerning the honour and welfare of my kingdoms and of yourselves. For which reason I have sent to call the said prelates, &c. . . . . And as it is right that you should be with them, to do and order the said things, it is necessary, as soon as my letter is delivered to you, that you name from amongst yourselves, two good and sufficient representatives, who for God-service and mine, will determine what is best for my kingdoms . . . . . and provide that the said representatives be with me at Madrid, on the fifteenth of November at the latest; for delay may cause danger, and prejudice my service. Given at Madrid, 22d of October, year of our Lord 1390. I the King. I Pedro Alfonso, had it written by order of our Lord the King."

When a town, having the right to send members, belonged to any great lord, it was usual to admonish him to issue a writ to that town. But the prelates and nobility seldom allowed their towns to make use of this great privilege. When the cities or boroughs did not comply with the order in the writ, the Cortes met without them; and they lost all right to protest against its acts. The King, however, sometimes directed a fresh writ to be sent to them. The right of calling the Cortes together, when the King was unable or unwilling to do so, seems to have belonged to the Council: And Alonso X. declares—they may assemble of themselves, when the King is incapable, or dies leaving the heir a minor without guardians. They availed themselves of this privilege against himself in 1282, when their liberties were threatened by his extravagant conduct. Other instances have occurred, of their assembling without the royal warrant. And, in 1506, the Council issued writs, when the Queen refused to do so.

The right of voting is said to have resided originally in all the householders of the towns which sent members to Cortes. But

it was not long till, under pretence of avoiding the tumults of a popular election, the King and Cortes agreed to vest the whole power in the Corporations. The place of election became in consequence a scene of intrigue to the sovereign, and a subject of complaint to the people. A law was soon found to be necessary to prohibit the practice of issuing letters in the King's name, openly pointing out the persons who would be most agreeable at Court, which only gave a new and more covert aspect to the corruption.—Innumerable regulations to preserve the purity of election proceeded from the Cortes. Bribery, false returns, and undue influence, were all strictly prohibited; and the members elected, took an oath, that these laws had been observed.—They were not allowed to hold any office, or receive any reward for themselves, or their families, during their sitting in that assembly. But when the life of freedom departed, all was insufficient to keep the body from corruption. The ministers of Charles the Vth interfered openly in elections:—the electors, and the elected, became the tools of the Court; and, at length, the office of representing the people was publicly sold in the market.

The expenses of the members during the session were defrayed by their constituents;—but these were always too moderate, to be an object of any importance. They usually received instructions from their electors; and were desired to urge the petitions therein set down. When Charles the Vth convoked the Cortes to Santiago in Galicia, the representatives of Toledo were directed to pray for the residence of the King at home—the holding of Cortes in Castile—a remedy to the practice of buying offices—and such checks upon the Inquisition, as might secure the innocent from oppression. Don Pedro Laso, insisting on these points, and refusing, without the authority of his constituents, to concur in the grant of a subsidy to the Crown, was banished the Court. When an arbitrary government was soon afterwards established, full powers were required from the towns. Members of Cortes were protected in their persons; and the King's subjects forbidden to raise suits against them, during the sitting of the House.—This, however, did not protect them from being indicted for crimes, or from being liable for their personal debts; and the people were advised by the King not to send debtors to represent them.

With regard to the order of proceeding, the Cortes being met in the place appointed by the King, the session was opened by a speech from the throne; the detail of which was read by a minister. The propositions of the King being read, were sometimes answered immediately; the Senor de Lara always spoke for the Lords; the Archbishop of Toledo for the Cler-

gy; and the Almirante Mayor de Castilla, for the Knights and Ricos-homes. When the subject was of importance, they retired to deliberate. The debates of the Commons were private; and the King was never informed of the opinion individual members had delivered. When the discussion was concluded, they returned, and presented their answer to the King. When these matters were settled, the Cortes presented their petitions on the general state of the country; and afterwards, each member explained the grievances of his own district. The petitions, when agreed to by the King, were collected into one Statute—placed in the royal archives—and sent to every town in the country. They had the force of law;—the King swore to observe them;—and it was agreed, that any act of his, in contravention of these statutes, should be null; or, in their phrase, obedecidas, y non complidas—'respected as the King's 'commands, but not executed as contrary to the rights and privileges of the subject.'—If any business was transacted after the statute was finished, it occupied a new session.

The Second part of this work treats of the powers of the Cortes in regulating and altering the succession of the crown. It is well known that the princes of the Visigoths held an elective crown, which, however, they succeeded in making hereditary, by associating their heirs in the government. The same method was continued by the Princes of Asturias and Leon, till Alonso the VIth declared his daughter Urraca, who was already associated in the kingdom, his successor, before the Estates of the realm. Hence the custom of swearing fidelity to the heirs of the kings of Spain, which continued down to Ferdinand VII. On the demise of the King, the Cortes always assembled to receive and proclaim the new King. On this occasion the King swore to maintain the charters and liberties of his subjects as established by his predecessors; he also swore not to alienate the domains of the Crown; and we have in this collection an admirable remonstrance of the Commons against the infringement of this law, presented to Ferdinand and Isabella, which reminds us of the puritanical language and free spirit of our Roundheads. After enumerating the various acts by which this important engagement had been infringed, they declare—'all such donations to be void; and that, should his Highness make any more, they will use the remedies most agreeable to the service of God: And they desire that the Pope's Legate may excommunicate his Highness, should he break the law; and that every one may use force to maintain it, without being liable to penalty.'

The succession of the Crown was usually disposed of by the

will of the Monarch. Yet the Cortes maintained the right of setting aside these bequests; and exercised it in the case of Alonsos IX. and X. And, notwithstanding their oath of fidelity to the daughters of Peter the Cruel, a revolution established the crown in the line of Henry of Guastamara, who in a letter to the Black Prince, derives his title from the will of the people. The Cortes also interposed with their approbation, advice, or protestation, in the abdications and marriages of their princes. Ferdinand IV., at the desire of his Cortes, dismissed his father's ministers; and sent the bishops and clergy from court to their dioceses and cures.

It is not easy to define the Legislative powers of the Cortes; both because they seem to have varied in different ages, and because the claim which they undoubtedly made to the *exclusive* right of making laws, was occasionally disputed by the sovereign, and produced indeed for many generations an incessant struggle between those two members of the body politic. Alonso X. made the most violent encroachments on their privileges; but his successor was obliged to resort to their authority before he could get the edicts of that bold monarch recognized as the law of the land. When war was determined upon, or the country invaded, the Cortes was always called together, to consider whether any way of accommodation remained; and if none, to vote the supplies necessary for the service. The troops of the country belonged to the towns which supported them, and could only be called out in certain cases specified by law.

Many laws and many remonstrances were made on the administration of justice. The towns exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction by judges or alcaldes of their own: but there lay an appeal to the King's alcaldes, who always attended the court. These, in the time of Ferdinand the IVth, were twelve in number, always laymen. Two days in the week were set apart for the trial of criminals: and there lay an appeal, in all cases, from the judges to the King in person, which was limited by very copious regulations. The King's administration was often reformed by the Cortes. We have already mentioned an example under Ferdinand the IVth; and another occurred under Alonzo the IVth, when Alvar Nunez, his favourite, was declared a traitor by the nation. This species of popular controul is well set forth in a remonstrance presented to Charles the Vth.

'High and Mighty Sovereign: The laws of these Kingdoms, which bind the King as well as his subjects, when treating of the love which subjects have and ought to have for their Lord and King, amongst other things declare and enact, that subjects ought to guard the King from himself; that he do no hurt to his soul, or to his ho-

nour, or to the welfare of his kingdoms. And they provide, that subjects perform this, first, by supplicating the King that he do not the things aforesaid; and when the King turns aside from their prayer, that then they remove from him the counsellors by whose advice the said evil things were done' ..... 'and if the subjects acted otherwise, they would give it to be understood that they loved not their King, and thereby would incur the penalties of treason.'

Twelve deputies of Cortes sate in the council of Henry the Second. But the king's Council did not assume a regular form till 1385. It was then fixed by law, that it should consist of four prelates, four knights, and four citizens; who took an oath extremely similar to that of our Privy Council. Its province was, to despatch all the most important business of the state; to call out the militia; to convoke the Cortes; to inquire into crimes of state, and refer them to the proper tribunals. Deputies in Cortes, and great lawyers, always formed a part of the council. In 1465, the members of the Privy Council were named by the authors of the 'Sentencia Arbitraria;' and in 1469, we find fresh complaints of the insufficiency of the men, and remarks on the inadequacy of their salaries. At the institution of the Council, the King had reserved to himself the prerogative of mercy, with the patronage of the Church and of his household; but we find various remonstrances upon record, against the appointment of foreigners to bishoprics, and too great lenity to malefactors.

It was a condition in the charters of the towns, that they should pay a fixed yearly tax, in consideration of which they were to be freed from any farther demand on the part of the Crown. If money was wanted for any extraordinary service, the Cortes was to be consulted. Ferdinand IV. expressly agreed, that if any tax was found necessary beyond the sums paid by the towns, and his other revenues, he would ask the money from his Cortes. On the representation of Henry III, the Cortes granted the alcabala of a twentieth, and also four monedas; directing, at the same time, that a part should be kept in the treasury for an extraordinary emergency, 'and that the King 'should raise no loan, nor any farther contribution, without consulting the Cortes, according to right usage, and ancient custom.'

John the Second, having given orders to raise eight monedas not voted in Cortes, assembled them to excuse what he had done on the score of necessity, and 'to declare he did not intend to 'invade their privileges founded on reason and justice.' With this apology, however, they were by no means satisfied; and insisted not only that the whole accounts of the money so raised should be submitted to them, but that no more of it than

was proved to have been required by the emergency should be allowed to go into the treasury; and that an account of the illegal proceeding of the King, with its reasons, should be given to those from whom the tax was levied. By the solemn agreement made at Medina del Campo, in 1465, it was determined, that no tax should be imposed, or money raised in the kingdom, without the previous consent of the Cortes: and Isabella particularly recommended to her successors by her will, to examine if all the taxes she had raised had been freely granted by the Cortes: and though we are not inclined to draw an inference quite so favourable for the Queen as our author, yet the provision itself unquestionably forms a most solemn acknowledgment of the illegality of raising money without the consent of the kingdom. It is not a little remarkable, that this important privilege was left to the Cortes, through the long and tyrannical reign of Charles V., like a solid column standing alone amongst the ruins of a magnificent temple. In that of Philip II., they could only remonstrate against its infraction.

There are some instances of a refusal to grant money. The Cortes refused a subsidy to John I. Their consent in 1520 was obtained by force. In 1527, the clergy and nobility declared they were privileged not to pay taxes; and the commons instantly rejoin, that they would contribute nothing.

The money voted was strictly appropriated to particular services, and the expenditure carefully watched. The various expedients of appointing their own officers to the treasury, – of directing that no issues should be made without the signature of members of the council, and for services specified in the order— show the wise jealousy of the national body. They were equally rigorous in their endeavours to restrain the prodigality of their Kings. The following was the regulation for the table of that profuse Prince Alonzo the Wise. They represented to his Majesty that they 'thought it well that the King and his Wife should eat at the rate of 150 maravedis (about eleven pence English) a-day, besides strangers; and that the King should desire those who attend him to eat more moderately, and not live at so great an expense as they do.' It is also suggested that his Majesty should not give away any offices of more than 6000 maravedis (37 shillings) yearly income, without the consent of his Council.

Nor were the privileges of the Cortes confined to mere remonstrance or refusal of money. The kings of Castile have repeatedly suffered the punishment ultimately provided for their abuse of the powers entrusted to them. Ramiro III, and afterwards Queen Urraca, were deprived of the sceptre they un-

worthily held. Sancho el Bravo was enabled, by the support of the Cortes, to dispossess his father Alonzo the Tenth, c government, though not of his crown. Henry the Fourth, who had nearly obtained the cro n by the deposition of his father John the Second, at length lost it by his own. He was deprived, by an assembly of the nobility and clergy, who convoked the representatives of the towns to Burgos; but it does not appear, though they separately approved the proceeding, that they ever assembled. The most remarkable occurrence of this time is, that the Pope sent his legate to restore King Henry, who met the chiefs of the revolution in a convent near Almedo. There he began his discourse, by saying, that 'he 'had power to dispose of every thing in these kingdoms by the 'authority of the Holy See entrusted to him.' At which, the Master of the Order of Santiago instantly broke in and declared, 'that those who had told his Holiness that he had power 'over the temporal concerns of the kingdoms of Castile and 'Leon, had deceived him; that he and the nobility of the 'realm would depose a king on just causes, and set up such as 'they thought suited to the public good.'

The disturbed state of Spain, during many centuries, gave rise, both in Castile and Arragon, to an association, which specially charged itself with the execution of justice. This body was called in Castile the Holy Brotherhood: it consisted of such of the grandees, clergy, and commons, as were willing to bind themselves by its laws, and partake of its benefits. It was by the aid of this numerous body, that the roads were cleared of robbers, malefactors brought to trial, the officers of justice protected, and the public peace preserved, during a minority, or any accidental relaxation of royal authority. Their power was still more extensive; for they swore to preserve the liberties and charters of their members, against the King himself, or whosoever should make any attempt against them; so that they assembled in arms, whenever the King attempted to raise an illegal tax, or to imprison or punish a subject without a legal sentence, and, in fine, on all acts of oppression whatsoever. This extraordinary association was repeatedly recognized by the King and Cortes.

The striking affinity of those regulations and proceedings of the early government of Spain, and those with which we have so long been familiar in our own country, cannot fail to have forced itself upon the observation of every one at all interested in the subject. The very language which has been adopted, has often a surprising resemblance to that of our Constitution;

and the evils and the remedies seem for a long time to have followed each other in the same succession in both countries. Fortunately, however, for us, there were some radical differences in the spirit—the equally genuine spirit of Spanish and of English freedom. The Spaniards were more profuse, and perhaps more philosophic in their statement of general principles; the English wiser in their choice of practical measures. The concessions of the kings of England were not larger in amount; but they were far better defined, and more adapted to the condition of the times that extorted them. The jurisprudence of Spain continued floating between law, anarchy and despotism, in the 15th century, whilst our's became stable at the end of the 13th.

Every country indeed in Europe, we conceive, has had a vocation to freedom, through the same ordeal and probation of jealousy and resistance; and if few have come out of it victorious, it is chiefly because they have not merited such a fortune. They have neglected the warnings, or shrunk before the terrors of the times. When a contest became necessary in Spain, it generally arose on the pregnant occasion of the wants and rapacity of the Crown; and it often found men, if we may trust the following manifesto of Toledo, not unworthy or insensible to the greatness of the cause.

'Should we risk our persons,' say those heroic Spaniards, 'be driven from our dwellings, lose our property, and, in fine, sacrifice our lives—in this case, we say, that disgrace is favour, danger security, confiscation wealth, banishment glory, loss gain, persecution reward, and death life. For there is no death so glorious as to suffer in defence of our commonwealth.'

But these patriots met Charles the Fifth, in very different circumstances from those which enabled Pymm and Hampden to resist the arbitrary exactions of their Sovereign. The Commons, instead of having increased their representation, had very much diminished it; and only a few towns had an immediate interest in the continuance of the Cortes. Isabella had, in spite of their remonstrances, succeeded in establishing the Inquisition; and a secret persecution was, instead of the reformation, the novelty of the day. Nor was the Church ruled by a man who neglected state policy for the sole study of divinity.—Cardinal Ximenes, who conducted the affairs both of religion and policy, united, like Philip the IId, the characters of bigot and tyrant—he betrayed the liberties of his country, and perverted the dispensations of his God. * The grandees,

* Amongst other things, this man imitated the example of the Mahometan Caliph, and burnt a large library of books, full of Arabic learning.

instead of being awakened, by the royal usurpations, to a sense of the rights of their fellow-subjects, had long oppressed them, and feared nothing so much as their increasing importance.—Much less were they disposed to give up any of their own privileges to the rigid maxims of the leaders of the Commons. But, worst of all, the Sovereign was a foreigner,—had a foreign name and title,—was guided by foreign ministers,—and received a foreign revenue. The discovery of America gave him new means of enslaving his country, and disturbing Europe; and, in this remote sense alone, may be said to have caused the degradation of Spain. His principal cities in vain refused to grant him subsidies, or sanction his enormous expenses;—they could not persist in opposing his determination to leave the country, and he despised any other threat. They took the field unprepared, and disunited; so that one victory gained over them at Villabar, was sufficient to degrade the nation for centuries. After that 'dishonest victory,' Charles proceeded, with the eagerness of a barbarous conqueror, to destroy every form, and efface every vestige of freedom: He triumphed over her, indeed, both in Germany and Spain. But the end of his life was a glorious revenge. In later times, the courtly writers of Spain have affected to vilify institutions, of which they were no longer worthy;—and the policy of despotism has naturally encouraged this ridicule of usages, which they dreaded to see revived.

The citizen, Don Francisco Martinez Marina, has spotted his work with remarks on the Spanish constitution of 1812. We are constrained to add, that they appear to us to be singularly injudicious; and that we think he admires the worst, and objects to the best parts of that flimsy Essay. It is not wonderful, however, that we should dissent from most of his particular remarks, as we are unfortunate enough to entertain doubts of his radical proposition, that a good political constitution is most likely to be discovered, like the abstruse truths of geometry, in the solitude of private meditation and intense study. Looking round the world, indeed, at this great era of constitution-making, we cannot say that we perceive any thing indicative either of profound thought, or of rash and presumptuous originality in any of the schemes that have been suggested. Every thing that pretends to liberality, appears on the contrary to be copied, with very little care about its adaptation to new circumstances, from the same very obvious and established models. Blackstone has inspired at once the Sicilian banditti, and the traders of Holland.

The Spanish constitution begins with some very harmless

truisms, and some very ticklish truths. It is very well to say, in the body of a law, that all Spaniards ought to love their country, and that benevolence is a virtue of universal authority; but when we proceed to needless declarations of the right of the nation to cashier its chiefs, and to change its institutions, the verbiage ceases to be altogether so innocent.—Prejudices are wantonly defied,—and discussion and hostilities instantly and infallibly provoked. It is but a bad augury of a great work of reform, to see it begin with puerilities that have so recently been the harbingers of so many horrors and abominations. But to proceed to the substance:—What will the lovers of a fair representation say to the election of an elector of the parish, who has a voice in the election of an elector of the hundred, who has a voice in the election of a member of the Cortes? This is like the house that Jack built,—or the contrivance of a toyman's walnut, where the kernel is ingeniously protected by an unnatural multiplicity of shells—a childish plaything at the best. In actual practice the consequence was, that the last electors, being totally detached from the original voters, either sent a private friend, or, if they were truly patriotic, chose an unknown individual remarkable for parts and knowledge:—and this is exactly the effect of our borough representation; with this strong difference, that we have cultivated understandings of various kinds, in every class of society, while Spain has none but classical scholars, and those only in the church or at the bar; generally retired men, who know more of the Roman toga than of their own coats. The Cortes, accordingly, was chiefly composed of priests and lawyers; men who had distinguished themselves by a popular pastoral, or a syllogistic thesis.

The Legislature, thus curiously constituted, was carefully balanced against the Sovereign, without any intermediate weight. No Senate was formed of the Nobility and Clergy to moderate the violence of a popular assembly, and prevent the sudden inroads of the Executive. The Council of State, intended as a substitute, had only 40 members, of whom only 4 were to be Grandees, and only 4 Ecclesiastics. So complete an exclusion of the privileged orders, might lead one to imagine, that it was intended to form a republic. But, on the other hand, a King, invested with a large and almost undefined prerogative, restrained by no permanent or respected body in the state, seems more like the rough sketch of a despotism; an idea which might be strengthened by finding that no member of the Legislative Body could hold a place under the Crown. This, in spite of Sir F. Burdett, and his votaries, we hold to be a fatal error in any modern system of freedom. It is most essential to the peace of a civilized country, that the Go-

vernment should be administered by persons, who have in some degree the confidence, and at all events the respect, of the body of the nation. Were the choice of ministers really left altogether to the Crown, there is no doubt that the best laws would be perverted, and the resources of the state misapplied. Nor is responsibility a sufficient security, unless the minister on whom it attaches is of consequence in the country, as well as in the court. Indeed it is a necessary feature of a free state, that it should be governed by those who are intrinsically of importance in the eyes of the people. And where can such men discover themselves, if we may use the expression, but in the Legislative Assemblies? And how can these Assemblies attest their importance better, than by constraining the Crown to recur to their body, when a new ministry is to be formed? At that moment, the representatives of the people do, in fact, govern the country. The eminent leaders in Parliament go from the House of Commons to the King's closet; and there find at once the object of, and the limit to, their ambition The Crown is enabled to yield gracefully what has been demanded with vehemence: while the Minister owes his situation to the favour of the people; and the people obtain their desires without the risks and the indecency of a tumult. The King at that time performs an office something like that of the *governor* in a steam engine; he gives vent to the excess of force, and prevents the overworking of the machine. In this view, above all others, our Constitution seems superior to either a Monarchy or a Republic. A Monarch, invested with supreme power, may chuse his ministers where he pleases, from the Bench of Bishops, or from the butchers shambles. If he is a man of virtue and talent, upon which however it would be absurd to reckon, he will chuse well, and make his country respectable abroad, if not happy at home. But, if he is of the ordinary stamp, he will in all probability exalt the lowest and the basest of his subjects. For the pleasure of supreme command, and unrestrained indecency in his palace, he will sacrifice his revenue to panders, and his country to strangers. It is only in such a Monarchy that the observation of Camoens is true—

'O fraco Re, fa forte gente fraca.'

In a Republic, on the contrary, men of talent are sure to rise; but there being no barrier to their ambition, they cannot rest satisfied without snatching at the Sovereignty, though it can only be obtained by the destruction of their country's laws. It was to guard against this radical hazard, that Athens provided the dear-bought remedy of the ostracism; and it was because no remedy can ever be effectual, that Rome stooped her glory and

her pride to the domination of Marius, Sylla and Cæsar: that Holland, after many struggles, at length fell quietly into the arms of the House of Orange: and lastly, that France surrendered all her hopes of freedom to Bonaparte.

It is very true, that some instances have occurred in our own history, of a minister abandoning the people after they had raised him to power. Strafford, no doubt, violated the laws he had helped to form; but he expiated his apostasy on the scaffold. A minister of more modern date, deserted the path by which he had gained popularity; but he obtained a majority of the nation to support him in another cause. Generally speaking, our celebrated statesmen have been consistent in upholding certain principles throughout their lives; and if so, no one ought to find fault with their ambition. It is the proper object of Parliamentary leaders to desire power,—not for the sake of receiving salaries, or distributing patronage, but that they may put in execution the important measures they have advised in public—the object of great characters in every free state. And we have no doubt that their views of the true policy of their country weigh much more upon their minds, than any sordid projects of emolument or royal favour.—'Credo enim vos, homines nobiles, 'magna quædam spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis 'creduli suspicantur, quæ semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, non opes violentas et populo Romano 'minime fovendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam 'concupisse.'—Cic Phil. 1.

The citizen Don is, however, of a very different opinion. He is not only against a minister of the crown having a seat in Cortes, but objects to his being allowed to make a speech to them. 'Let not the illustrious members,' he cries, 'incur the 'danger of being hired or oppressed. The liberty of speech is 'left. And can the liberty of speech be compatible with the 'presence of men, through whose hands pass all favours, offices, 'pensions and rewards?' This sounds ludicrous to our ears; but the language, we have no doubt, is natural enough. How should an inhabitant of Madrid, and subject of Charles the Fourth, be able to comprehend the unshaken fortitude with which Mr Whitbread can sustain both the smiles and the frowns of Mr Vansittart—or the magnanimity with which Lord Grey can confront the vicarious majesty of Lord Liverpool? The remark serves, however, to prove, how little the boldest of these writers understand of practical liberty.

The constitution having shut out the Lords from legislation and the Commons from power, establishes various limitations on the royal prerogative, which no one has an interest to en-

force. The only circumstances under which the King would be opposed, would be those of a strong popular feeling against arbitrary power. But the court and the country being separated wide asunder, how is the business of government in that case to proceed? The King, it seems, in such an emergency, must fairly give way. He must not refuse his consent to a law repeatedly pressed on him by the Cortes. Some clause of this sort was certainly necessary; but we much doubt if any sovereign would be patriotic enough to submit peaceably to such a condition. He and his Cortes would unavoidably be at extremities in twelve months; and we confess we should be inclined to stake the King and the rejected nobility, with their auxiliaries from the Church, against any number of constitutionalists that could well be arrayed against them. The former would have the property, and, by law, the sword of the country. It is agreeable to all experience, that the decrees of the Cortes would be despised; while the contributions of the great would enable the Crown to support the contest; and the representatives of the people would soon become what they were under Charles the Second and Charles the Fourth. At all events, it appears to us, that this constitution contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction; and was calculated to bring about that ultimate appeal to arms, which it is the object of all wise governments to prevent.

In all this, however, it is very possible we may be mistaken; and in the infinite variety of human tastes and habits, we will by no means take it upon us to affirm that there may not be, somewhere upon the earth, a set of beings, for whom an institution, composed, like the theology of Zoroaster, of two discordant principles, a bigotted king, and a metaphysical assembly, may be an admirable political arrangement. We are pretty certain, however, that these beings are not to be found upon the Spanish territory; and conceive, that a very slight examination will convince any one that the Cortes, however good their laws might be in the abstract, were imprudent enough to fly in the face of those whose support they chiefly required; and, reversing the wise conduct of Solon, made a perfect constitution for a people hardly capable of receiving any. To understand this, however, it will be necessary to look back to the state of Spain before the breaking out of the war.

'Tyrants (said Alonso the Wise) prefer acting for their own interest, although contrary to the good of the country, to acting for the common advantage of all, because they always fear to lose their crown. And that they may work their own will the more easily, they always use their power against the people, in three modes of

subtle policy. The *first* is, to make their subjects Foolish and Fearful, because then they will not dare to lift their heads against them, or oppose their desires: the *second* is, to put discord amongst them, in such wise that they trust not one another, because then they will not talk against them, lest their secret should not be kept; the *third* is, to make them poor. And, above all, they crush the powerful and the learned, and take care to forbid all meetings, and great concourses of people.'

This observation of the sapient king, his successors appear to have diligently reduced to practice. Every endeavour has been used to make the upper classes foolish and fearful; and, we must say, with a success proportioned to the grandeur of the design. The grandees have not appeared in the Cortes since the end of the fifteenth century. The Court, indeed, never permits them to go out of its sight; they are always either at Madrid, or at the royal residences called the Sitios. There, they are indulged with ribands keys, and other playthings; but by no means allowed to have any connexion with their tenantry, or to derive any power but from royal favour. One of them having asked permission to visit his estates, was told, that if he went there, he must stay. Their property is consequently mismanaged; and six or seven estates, accumulated in one person, are often the bane of the country, but never give strength to their possessor. Thus, shorn of the natural influence of wealth, they consume the r revenue in splendid palaces, in fêtes which have been known to cost 30 or 40,000*l.* each, and in dress proportionably expensive. They view with fear and trembling the dawnings of displeasure in the eye of the Court favourite; and submit to any degradation for a permission to glitter in the society of the capital—the only scene in which they are fit to appear. The Spanish patriots have latterly objected violently to the introduction of French fashions among the higher classes; but we will venture to affirm, that a knowledge of the French language, and of the French and Spanish theatres, have long made the Grandees the most intelligent class of the community. The inferior nobility, or *titulos de Castilla*, whilst they take every opportunity of declaiming against the vice of their superiors, copy every part of it, except its refinement. With the manners of farmers, they join the profligacy of courtiers. The reign of the Prince of the Peace completed the dissolution of morals. The road to preferment, during that disgraceful period, lay through the prostitution of all principle—the surrender of a friend's secret, or of a daughter's honour. Vice, thus encouraged, soon led to want, —which brought on new sacrifices to her shrine; and the whole of the upper ranks were reduced to base, unblushing, and beggarly courtiers.

The Inquisition of modern times turned its attention from heresies in faith, to improvements in knowledge, and observances of society; in which it displayed equal vigilance, and caused equal terror. The pile, indeed, was no longer lighted for Jews or Protestants; but young men were dragged to prison from the bosom of their family, perhaps by the order of a relation, for venting too freely the abstract speculations of their college.—Education, neglected amongst the nobility, was an ordeal to those who embraced a liberal profession. An improper book, or a useful invention, were equally denounced by the formidable ministers of the Holy Office. Dulness and ignorance spread their wings over the whole land.

It may give some idea of the system of the Court, to mention their behaviour to the excellent and lamented Jovellanos.—Some time after he had been disgraced for an attempt to improve his country, he was sent to a convent in Majorca. There he amused himself in the benevolent task of instructing the inhabitants of Palma; many of whom of the richest families knew not how to read and write. His kindness and amiable manners soon made him beloved; which, being reported at Madrid, an order arrived for his close confinement in the castle of Bellver.

The most striking defects of the nation, are the ignorance and corruption of the higher orders—the ignorance and apathy of the lower. The Government has contributed largely to the former; and is far from guiltless in relation to the latter.

Political economy seems to have been cultivated in Spain, only to show how contrary her laws were to all the precepts of science. Many branches of trade were monopolized by the Government;—agriculture was restrained, in order to promote manufactures, which have never flourished;—the peasantry were subject to many heavy burdens—discouraged in their most laudable pursuits—and fettered in their most innocent amusements. The overwhelming estates of the grandees; the vast property of the church; the want of roads, canals, coals, and wood; the number of holidays; and many more impediments which it would fill a volume to enumerate,—have so checked the industry of the middling orders, that they have long ago given up their hopes of wealth, for the blessings of ignorance and inactivity. The whole kingdom is one large Castle of Indolence. The people of the interior (for Andalucia has more muslin and duplicity), have all the rudeness, the frankness, and the romance of the dark ages.—No mechanical inventions—no moral discoveries—have penetrated that tranquil region. The power which took away the means of improvement, extinguished with it the desire to improve; and a spell of enchantment seems to forbid

any wish to escape from the easy insignificance in which the nation is bound. A Spaniard, with a tolerable house to cover him, money enough to pay for his subsistence and a bad cigar, is quite indifferent as to what the world may do or think. Sometimes a constable crosses his way; he grumbles, wraps himself in his cloak, and is satisfied with the sun of his climate. And, without pretending to attach too great weight to physical causes, it is impossible to deny that the natives of a warm climate find a great consolation for all misfortunes, in the sensations inspired by fine weather, and the intoxication of tepid air.

The government took care not to interrupt this slumber by the imposition of new taxes. Indeed much discontent was expressed when Count Florida Blanca proposed merely to commute some duties for others less hurtful to industry. Their antipathy to those imposts is almost the only lively feeling of a political nature which pervades the body of the people: and there can be little doubt that if they were offered our laws and our burdens together, they would decline the present. Saving this point, they were well pleased to leave all the cares of government to others; foolishly supposing that they should thereby secure the tranquil enjoyment of their homes.

Far from having made any progress during the latter part of the eighteenth century, they had sunk into a deeper lethargy. Whilst other nations were projecting a reform of their government, they never supposed it more in their own power than to lengthen the day, or alter the seasons. The ministers of darkness took sufficient precautions that no glimmering of light should come from abroad. The Conde de Toreno has urged this want of a public opinion, as an argument for restraining the prerogative more closely than in England: * But, to our understanding, the premises lead to a very different conclusion. A people unaccustomed to limitations on the royal power, naturally look on their multiplication with very different feelings from a race long exercised in the discipline of freedom: and instead of carrying their precautions to excess, will be apt to feel nothing but pity for their Prince, thus subjected to so many hard conditions, and rashly to free him from them all. The only sentiment, indeed, with regard to government, which is level to the meanest capacities, is admiration for the person of a king. Considerable progress must be made, before the general mass of a people can feel an interest in the privileges of their representatives: But reverence for an anointed monarch, belongs to the times and the intellects, where superstitious dread holds its natural dominion; and the

* Diario de las Cortes, Vol. viii.

feeling with which a sovereign is regarded in the remote parts of a great kingdom, differs very little from the awe with which ignorance approaches its other idols. The Castilians pride themselves on their loyalty; and they even think it a merit to bear every oppression, and suffer every wrong from their lawful prince. They enter into slavery with a sort of chivalrous enthusiasm, and look upon a royal idiot as entitled to the admiration of the world. The administration of the Prince of the Peace, which, without stretching the prerogative, or exercising it harshly, spread individual corruption to the widest extent, shocked all their prejudices. But the name of the monarch 'honoured this corruption;'—and the nation submitted to it in silence.

It will be more easy to understand the character of Spain, from a very slight sketch of the late miscalled revolution. It may also account for the curious fact, that no man of commanding talents has arisen in the country. After the imprisonment of the Prince of Asturias at the Escurial, (the curious details of which have not yet been published), the King went to his favourite residence at Aranjuez. A report was suddenly spread, that the Prince of the Peace was about to carry off the whole royal family to America: the peasants collected with arms in the neighbourhood, and marched to the palace, threatening the life of the favourite. The alarm soon spread to Madrid; and the detachment of the Gardes de Corps, which was not to have relieved their companions for some days, were instantly ordered to Aranjuez. The grandees belonging to the Court, who were in Madrid, instantly repaired to the same place. The tumult however increased; and the Gardes de Corps joined the populace against their commander. He was found early in the morning by a private soldier, who refused a great reward for his safety; and he was dragged through the streets with every insult, and many blows. At this moment the Queen, nearly distracted with alarm, was heard, in her despair, to address these words to her son Don Francisco de Paula—'Ah! child, where 'is *your father?*'—'you have lost him.'

The only resource was the Prince of Asturias; whom her Majesty had lately declared to be illegitimate. When he left Madrid, the populace, after in vain endeavouring to stop him, had called out to him 'not to eat at Aranjuez.' He answered coolly, 'that he had dined.' This Prince, popular by the ill usage he had received, succeeded in saving the life of the Prince of the Peace. But no demand was made by the populace, or by any one else, that Charles the IVth should resign his crown. This, we verily believe, was the spontaneous

act of his own baseness and folly; and his object, if any, the safety of his queen's paramour!

During the short time that Ferdinand sate upon the throne, his manners were popular and gracious. When he was ensnared at Bayonne, the whole people rose at once to defend him; not so much because their country was threatened, as because an affront was offered to their nation. The lowest Spaniard is keenly jealous of his honour; and felt himself attacked in his own person, by the clandestine abduction of his king. Nothing else could have roused 'the universal Spanish nation' to one simultaneous effort. In every town the people collected; and forced, by their clamour, the constituted authorities to espouse the cause of Ferdinand. This being done, they generally put to death some person of consequence, convicted, or supposed guilty of a correspondence with Napoleon. An equal, or perhaps greater traitor, then ascended the rostrum, and proposed the names of aldermen and prebends for a new Junta. These were agreed to, and the people dispersed,—satisfied that they had liberated Ferdinand, and expelled the French army.

As long as the enemy was in another province, such is the mutual enmity of the provinces, and the ignorant pride of this people, they felt satisfied that they themselves were never to be conquered. The governments, equally ignorant and less honest, far from hurrying into action that boiling indignation with which they had never sympathized, were occupied in securing commissions for their sons and nephews, and excluding the low-born from all offices. The noble miscreants of Asturias refused to serve with any who could not boast an equal purity of descent. A successful commander was actually cashiered at Badajoz as soon as it was discovered that he had been a baker. Those who obtained commissions, in the mean time, were intent only on the profit which might be made of them; and were found indeed so uniformly incapable, that the Minister of War afterwards thought fit to exclude borough connexions, and aspiring merit at the same time, by ordering, that none should receive commissions but those who had been educated at the military colleges. The new state of things, in sinking an old court, had raised an hundred new ones; and for promotions, effected at Madrid by the mistresses of ministers, and the lovers of a queen, was substituted an executive power in every market town, directed by the private affections of constables, and the profligacy of municipal officers. These civic sovereigns were extremely fearful of being obliged to quit their hold of power by the grasp of a successful general; as if a domestic, and not a foreign enemy, was the chief object of dread.

They felt they had no strength in the affections of the people; and the best expedient they could devise, was to delay levies of troops and supplies of money. Even where they were well inclined, their proceedings were so slow, and the monied men were so backward in advancing loans, that little preparation was made during the short time that was allowed for it by Napoleon. Ignorance, which despises danger at a distance, is always converted into panic at its approach. The soldiers of Spain, however brave individually, had no confidence in one another—the only species of courage to be depended upon in battle. Their armies were every where defeated; and no one was capable of introducing discipline amongst them.

In the mean time, the corrupt governors of the country had set aside the will of Ferdinand, that the Cortes should be assembled, and collected a set of deputies from the provincial Juntas. Some, as at Seville, were sent to get rid of them elsewhere; others, as at Saragossa, were chosen by the will of an individual. So strange a body did they form, that Jovellanos told them, at their first meeting, there was no precedent for such a government, but that of the Thirty Tyrants. Unhappily, by the influence of the old Count Florida Blanca, they rejected the same statesman's recommendation to call an immediate Cortes: and a Central Junta was taken upon trial. Scarcely had they been installed, and had time to restrain the unlicensed press, before Bonaparte drove them before him to Seville. There they were received with every symptom of aversion; and, during the greater part of their stay, were chiefly occupied in quarrelling with the Junta of Seville, which was jealous of its local authority. Their only good service consisted in sending troops from Andalucia to the Sierra Morena. They performed that duty actively and honestly; but they also thought themselves bound to direct the military manœuvres, for which they were totally incompetent. They issued a decree to regulate the expenditure of the public revenue, which had hitherto been divided amongst Juntas and Generals without method or controul. This regulation, however, was, like many others, disobeyed in Valencia. The great vice of the Supreme Junta was their tenacity of power; and their indifference to the means by which it might be gratified. A Tribunal of Public Safety was erected, whose proceedings were similar to those of the Inquisition; with a power of life and death. Persons were tried, condemned, and strangled secretly: Nor was it till their dead bodies were hung on a gibbet, in the principal square, with the inscription, 'as a traitor,' or, 'as a freemason,' that the public heard of their crimes. The press was closely restrained; and no report of bad news ever

appeared in the public journals. By such precautions, the Junta took from the war any character of popular spirit which it might hitherto have borne. They refused and delayed to assemble the Cortes, till the French arms again drove them from their seat; and their government was dissolved amidst the threats and imprecations of the people.

The Regency, which followed, is remarkable for the famous decree allowing commerce with America, which they afterwards protested was a forgery!—Spain was now at the last gasp.—The Cortes, however, was at length called; not from any desire to meet a popular assembly, but as a physician is called in, when the apothecary has no hopes of his patient, or of making farther profit by his disease. The deputies, who met in September 1810, had been partly elected in the free provinces, and partly by natives of the conquered provinces, who happened then to be at Cadiz. This last circumstance, which would have weighed nothing if the acts of the Cortes had been agreeable to the wishes of the people, was much dwelt upon when they were found to be entirely opposite.

It was another misfortune, that the Cortes were in no degree checked by the general feeling of the nation. Blockaded in Cadiz, they only left the Hall of Assembly, in which their labours were very assiduous, to listen to the acclamations of young men of more zeal than discretion. They fell at once into the opposite vices of sovereigns and patriots—intoxicated with the vanity of Xerxes, and hardened with the pride of Brutus. Their superficial acquirements seemed profound knowledge; their little district the empire of Charles V. Decrees, scarcely obeyed in the street where they were enacted, were immutable laws; a knot of sanguine secretaries was an admiring world, and a venerating posterity. Infallible schemes, and perfect institutions, filled their brains, and affected their reason. Such delusion in a great nation—as in England after the execution of Charles, and in France at the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI., strikes the mind with an awful sense of those imperfections which aspiring talent seeks in vain to eradicate. In a Hampden Club, or a beleagured seaport, it is merely ridiculous.

Yet the Cortes, with all their heroic visions, were not wholly free from the more vulgar corruption of the place in which they met. The merchants of Cadiz, at whose houses most of them lodged, exercised over them sufficient influence to delay, and finally to prevent, the settlement of the representation for America. For them, and them alone, the rule of right reason was violated, the dictate of humanity neglected, vulgar prejudices indulged, and the empire of the new world lost.

Their first meetings, however, were calculated to strengthen the hopes of all who had foretold, that Spain would become a free nation. Much talent was displayed, and had its due weight with the assembly. After some disorder, and many eloquent speeches, the sovereignty of the people, a self-denying ordinance, and the liberty of the press, were decreed. The two former were pardonable puerilities; but the latter was an absolute delusion;—the liberty of the press being so imperfectly secured, that writers who displeased the reigning power were imprisoned, and their works suppressed, without even the form of a trial. Personal security, without which all other privileges are straw, had not been provided for; and no protecting or restraining power was acknowledged throughout the country.—So that, in one town every thing in favour of convents was instantly put down, whilst in another, nothing was to be said against the clergy. Personal remarks were too dangerous to be ventured any where.

The Cortes very soon divided into two parties. All who retained an attachment to the divine right of kings, and the corrupt courtiers of the late reign, were classed together under the name of *Serviles.* This party was very strong, though it did not form the majority. Placemen alone form a powerful body in all countries; but circumstances have made them particularly fearless in Spain. The party called the *Liberales* consisted of men of abilities; generally literary characters, who had seen with admiration the first acts of the French Revolution, and whose persons had been narrowly watched, and their opinions rigorously suppressed by the old government. They were, for the most part, well-intentioned men; but not very fit to govern the world, or even to write a tolerable book about it. With great national pride, they joined the notion, that they and their noble compatriots had been caitiff slaves three hundred years. With many liberal maxims, they mixed very little forbearance; and were rather writers upon philosophy than philosophers—lovers of politics than politicians. They had many of the faults, but scarce any of the virtues of the French revolutionists; for though they had read their works, they had not received their education like them, amongst a nation sailing as it were on a voyage of discovery. Their hearts, however, were more humane—perhaps less ambitious: and their objects were noble, and could not fail to dignify their natures. The party did not want men of talent to lead them. Don Augustin Arguelles obtained general admiration by his rapid eloquence and brilliant conception: but his politics were too much co-

loured by imagination, and too much distorted by personal sensibility, to acquire for him the character of a great statesman. Manoz Torrero, a parish priest of Estremadura, was more profound and more argumentative. His education had not fitted him for the cabinet; but his logical acuteness always exposed the sophistry of his opponents. Oliveros, Gallego, and afterwards La Vega, and the Conde de Toreno, distinguished their cause by the talents which they displayed.

The decision of the Assembly with regard to the regency, was moderate and sensible. They determined that no restrictions should be laid on the Executive, but that the regents should be responsible for their administration. The general voice called loudly for a new regency; but it was extremely difficult to know on whom to fix. The monopoly of government by the aristocracy, had shut out the lower orders from commands in the army. Great age and high rank were the first qualifications; and half the battles of the Spaniards have been lost under two or three names. The regents fixed upon were Blake, who, in spite of his misfortunes, had, by a cold reserve and self-willed obstinacy, obtained a great reputation; with Ascar and Agar, two obscure individuals. The favourable impressions which the first proceedings of the Cortes had excited, were gradually weakened by their subsequent conduct. They determined, wisely perhaps, on maintaining the Inquisition, till a definitive arrangement could be made. It was more disheartening to observe them dwelling, day after day, upon trifles or abstract propositions; acknowledging their own incapacity in the appointment of a select committee on every subject; and closing their doors whenever a question of general interest was to be discussed. The flatterers by whom they were surrounded never ceased to talk of the heroic fortitude which could dictate unalterable laws, whilst the cannon of the French bombarded the town. For us who observed impartially, it was a greater miracle that the presence of the enemy could not fix their attention to the means of supporting a war, upon which their lives and liberties so imminently depended. It will scarcely be believed hereafter, that, in those awful circumstances, no method of recruiting the army, or of supplying the treasury, issued from this Assembly of the nation. On these vital questions, all was indifference, ignorance, and vacillation. We will not fatigue our readers with an abstract of the twenty volumes, in which the debates of the Cortes have been published. It will be easier for ourselves, and more profitable to them, to give a short account of the effect of their measures.

At the seat of government, peculation and corruption flourished in as barefaced a manner as at any period of the history of Spain. All parties, it is true, were successively tried; but whilst little difference, in point of principle, was found in the new candidates for office, it was quite clear that those who had been bred under the administration of the Prince of the Peace, were alone able to transact business. Ministers accordingly sprang up from the government offices without any reputation for abilities—merely because they understood the forms of letter-writing;—a class of men without the manners or the spirit of gentlemen; but with some talent for turning a phrase, and disguising, in words of seeming earnestness, the orders they wish not to be executed. They generally contrived to turn out those enthusiastic projectors, who wished to obtain for themselves the fame of great ministers, or successful reformers.—Not effectively responsible to the Cortes, whose plans were too vast to allow them time for petty jobs, they naturally employed their influence to discredit the new maxims of legislation.

The grandees had sufficient reason to be offended with the constitution, which did not constitute them any part of Majesty. The small nobility of the *Titulos* were wonderfully offended with the notion, that equality was returned upon earth; and that their honours, whether bought by services or money, were to be torn down by the levelling doctrine of the rights of man. In towns, such as Valencia, where these titles were common, the Cortes were at least as much hated as the enemy. The whole order, however, both great and small, had a more substantial reason for discontent: The Cortes, in their eagerness to abolish Seignorial rights, had taken a revenue in the nature of a quit-rent, and abolished various monopolies, without granting any compensation to the proprietors. The people had received the boon with satisfaction; but the grandees complained with reason of injustice:—they might have addressed the governing party, in the words of the robber in Don Quixotte, when his master restores their property to the ladies—' Si vos quisierades ser liberal, sea con vuestra hacienda, y no con la nuestra.'—" If you want to be liberal, give your own money, and not " ours."

An Established Church generally lends its influence in support of high monarchical principles; and that of Spain was not backward on the present occasion. Yet many of the most eager advocates of freedom were found in the clerical body; and, in return, the charter of the clergy was confirmed to them. And it was not till late in the reign of the Extraordinary Cortes, that (with the

exception of the friars), a violent part was taken by the Church. The abolition of the Inquisition was the general signal for resistance;—not, however, we must say, because the ministers of religion lamented the fall of that horrible tribunal, but because they resented the manner in which it was accomplished.

When the long debates in the Cortes ended, by the triumph of humanity, about Christmas 1812, the *liberales* pushed their victory, by an order, that a long discourse, fraught with arguments and philosophy, should be read in all the churches. On the day appointed, the parish priests of Cadiz, with one exception, refused to comply; and were supported in their resistance by mobs and tumults. The Regency instructed the Governor, to ascertain if he could depend on the troops, chiefly volunteers, to quell the disturbance. The Governor was doubtful; and the Regency sent a message to the Cortes, to know what was to be done. After a secret debate, which lasted till midnight, the answer returned was—the appointment of a New Regency, and the dismissal of the Governor. The people cried—"Long live the New Regency!"—and no mischief ensued.

But the consequences of this imprudent measure were not so well got over in other places. In the country, the decree was read in some places; but, we believe, generally omitted The priests, indignant at so degrading a commission, began to insinuate every where, that the happy days of religious harmony were closing—that infidels were about to throw discord into the bosom of the nation—and a war against the Catholic faith would be the consequence. The Spaniards, with their usual love of ease, do not meddle in the future damnation of a stranger, however they may pity his darkness but they love persons of their own religion; and much of their happiness depends on the general agreement of their faith. They have also a great respect for their pastors, who dexterously preserve their influence by a display of exclusive learning, and a familiar intercourse with the female part of their parishioners.—Such warning, then, coming from such a quarter, spread very general alarm. Had the Cortes confined themselves to prohibiting the appointment of Inquisitors, no such effects could have followed. It is justly remarked, in the Memoirs of the Duc de Choiseul, that a parade of general reasoning should never preface the decrees of Government,—for the objectors to the measure are sure to defeat the best logic that can be used in its support. The truth is, that the multitude is every where disposed to believe that the world is ruled by an art which only professors can understand; and scarcely ever think of devising arguments against the most absurd measure. But rul-

ers, by setting forth the reasons of their conduct, necessarily open the lists for a controversy, in which they have all the disadvantages of dogmatists against sceptics.—The *liberales*, for the sake of showing their wit on this subject, lost, like James the Second, all the benefits of the hypocrisy they had hitherto assumed with regard to religion. In vain they had declared their abhorrence of toleration; in vain they had pronounced in favour of putting heretics to death after another method; in vain they had hitherto abstained from attacking the corruptions of the hierarchy. All the measures they now proposed, however innocent, were supposed to hide a secret poniard against the true faith.

Though the army was by no means generally devoted to the interest of the Cortes, yet amongst the troops were found the greatest number of persons attached to that cause. As nearly every regiment had been organized at Cadiz, they had learnt the language of the place. They were the more willing to imbibe the new doctrine, as they had always been dissatisfied with their treatment by the old Government, and indignant at the wealth of the lazy friars. The constitution, notwithstanding, did not quite agree with their ideas of perfection; for it always met them in the offensive shape of remonstrances against their requisitions and disorders. Some officers hinted that the law ought not to be in force in that part of the country which was the seat of war.

The general mass of the people received the constitution with an indifference, which is as fatal to a constitution giver, as to a lover or an author. Nobody praised; nobody blamed; nobody huzzaed when the charter of their liberties was proclaimed, or knew why 'Plaza de la Constitucion' was written up in their principal squares. If the state of the people be such as we have described it, it is sufficient to account for so cold a reception;—even were it otherwise, much enthusiasm was not to be expected. In most countries, the people are too much taken up with their immediate wants, to attend to questions of state. What then must be the case in a country where the people are reduced from ease to beggary by a foreign invasion?—where two harvests have been carried away by the enemy, and they are watching with anxiety the produce of a third? The people of Spain, in reality, could think of nothing, talk of nothing but the war: All their fears were occupied by the French army, all their hopes by the Duke of Wellington. During this painful interval, the only rule for judging their own government, was to ask if they had made the greatest exertions possible against the enemy? And as they uniformly answered the question for themselves in

the negative, they declared that their laws might be very good, but they had abandoned their country to its oppressors. It were in vain for a philosopher to have quoted to them from Montesquieu, the distinction between the Legislative and Executive powers; they had neither time nor comprehension for such a discussion: and as to the new laws, they openly said, that no doubt they were wise and good, but they had felt no benefit from them;—the oppressions of the powerful had not ceased in their part of the country. Nor was this wonderful; for the functionaries of the Spanish Government have never been much accustomed to obey its decrees: And when a vicious rule is replaced by a new ordinance, the village Dionysius immediately searches for a flaw in the deed, where he may gratify his love of oppression. The extent of a new power, too, is generally unknown to the multitude; and they often continue to suffer from prohibited abuses, from not knowing how to apply for redress, or where to make a stand against the tyrant. Those who hold high offices, are generally too idle or too selfish to make any inquiry on the subject. Thus, the misrule and caprice of a mayor or a constable, which was never attributed to the arbitrary Monarch, becomes a subject of complaint as soon as the vaunted remedy fails of success. The Cortes, in giving the village corporations the assessment of taxes, and the superintendance of the conscription, gave them a large authority, very open to abuse. We know, in point of fact, that in some places the whole taxes were levied upon two or three of the inhabitants, with a vague promise of better arrangements in future. The right of appointing their own officers, now restored, was less grateful to the villages, as it had been previously granted by the French.

Thus we find that, with the exception of Cadiz and a part of the army, the measures of the Cortes met with general reprobation The nobles had lost substantial revenues; the people had gained only abstract rights:—those were deprived of what they valued, and these had obtained what they never desired. Some were shocked in their opinions; some curtailed of their authority; some attacked in their interests. Amongst the nobility, the Cortes were Levellers; with the clergy they were Atheists; and by the common people they were coarsely called Traitors. The objects of such defamation, in the mean time, were far too much elated with the idea of the great figure they were making, to be aware of the sentiments they had excited. It has been said of the French tragedians that they paint passions, and not characters. The Spanish *liberales* considered opinions, and not passions. They opposed the definitions of liberty and despotism

to a host of prejudices; and thought they had destroyed the power, when they had logically refuted the reasonings of their antagonists. They fondly counted upon every victorious division as a step in the history of Spain; and proceeded to put the last finish to the dignity of human nature in the Peninsula, by a decree, that no schoolboy should undergo the degrading punishment of flogging!—Thus the Constitutional Cortes ended where Tom Thumb begins.

Of the ordinary Cortes which followed we know little, but that it was chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, and that the *liberales* were rapidly losing their influence. By the injudicious steps that were taken, we may presume, however, that they still preserved their majority. In the midst of the general joy at the restoration of the Sovereign, they were busy devising new conditions to annex to their offer of the Crown:—and the people became the more anxious to free him from all restrictions. At his first entrance into Spain, which was carefully directed by the French to the opposite quarter from that in which the Duke of Wellington commanded, the King met General Elio and some of his old servants. By their advice it is supposed he issued a proclamation, dissolving the Cortes, and passing an eulogium on the old government of Spain. This was supported by an army which struck terror into Castile. The Cortes instantly dispersed; and Ferdinand entered Madrid amidst the shouts of his own praise and that of the Inquisition. The people broke the statue of Liberty to pieces; and the mob having forced its way into the Hall of Cortes, two men climbed up to the highest part of the wall to eraze the word Liberty, which was written up in large letters, with the names of other constitutional virtues. We are rather disposed to ascribe this appearance of enthusiasm for slavery, to the joy excited by Ferdinand's return, than to any other passion. The people, we believe, were merely indifferent about liberty, of which they understood nothing;—but they keenly felt the triumph of their native prince over a French usurper. It is certain at least that the country submitted very quietly to the new orders that were issued. One of the armies, we believe, was disposed to resist; but seeing the tranquillity of the people, adhered to King Ferdinand. The commander of another army is said to have found that the support of his friends would be dangerous, and not likely to be attended with success.

Considering the natural history of princes, we are not disposed to be very angry with Ferdinand, for his love of tyrannical institutions, or his turn for despotic language. But we cannot restrain our indignation when we find him imprisoning,

and menacing with a trial, all who had spoken in favour of limitations upon his authority. It has been said, we hope not truly, that some of his victims have already suffered a violent death. We are more inclined to believe another report, that he has offered to liberate them, but that they disdain to owe any thing to his clemency. Indeed the smallest spark of gratitude would have enabled him to recollect that these were the very men, who upheld his cause, when he and his vile nobility had abandoned their country, and forfeited all right to its protection. Had they not then exerted an unconquerable fortitude, it might never have been in his choice to be cruel or merciful. The weight of the obligation may perhaps be the reason for disclaiming it. Many courses were obviously open to a King of Spain: that which has been adopted is, of all, the most profligate, and we are inclined to believe the most imprudent; for when a prince violates the common rules of justice and honesty, he not only forfeits the esteem of all that is respectable amongst his subjects, but becomes an object of contempt and suspicion to those who support his administration, as well as to those who suffer his displeasure. Had this way of thinking been popular at our Court, Ferdinand the VIIth would hardly have received the Order of the Garter. We have but a word or two to add on the moral of this strange drama.

We subscribe unreservedly to the doctrine of Mr Hume, that every people, not absolutely subdued by foreign force, must be governed by opinion; or, if the admirers of Mr Paine object to that word, by prejudice. Government is founded,—not on divine right,—not on a social contract, but on the general consent and tacit agreement of the people, as at the moment subsisting. But we are not to conclude, because power is derived from the people, that all governments in which they do not reserve a portion for themselves, are illegitimate. For it is very clear (notwithstanding what has been written), that the people can as easily give the right of raising taxes on themselves to one hereditary officer, as to five hundred, renewed every seven years. The supreme governor may gain his situation by address;—but he can only keep it by a conformity to the habits and manners of the people who live under him. The Turks have no objection to the spectacle of their neighbour's heads upon spikes; and the nobility of Georgia are happy to have the honour of prostituting their young daughters to their master. It is very true, that as good laws help good morals, bad laws increase depravity: but all improvement must be gradual. It is not to be believed, that a people situated, as we have shown the people of Spain to be, should pass at once to the comprehen-

sion of Locke and Rousseau. Had their government depended upon force, they might have broken their chains long ago; as it depends upon opinion, they are not likely to do so for some time to come. It requires years of inquiry, under great captains in philosophy, before men can be brought to change their speculative opinions, turn their reverence into jealousy, and despise the qualities of which they have hitherto been proud.—Such a progress, however, or great practical injuries, can alone raise a nation against its government. If we look to the French Revolution, which the Spanish patriots weakly attempted to imitate, we must instantly see that the circumstances were totally different. A violent desire of change; continual discussions on the theory of government; a great competition for the honours of a patriot, and an universal enthusiasm for liberty in the midst of profound peace, were the circumstances of France. But in Spain there was a silent, satisfied calm: and the very name of freedom was unknown in the nation, till it was uttered by an insignificant party in the midst of a destructive war.

Perhaps we are too severe, when we give the epithets of mean and dastardly, to those nations who have not the happiness to live under a free government. We ought rather to ascribe extraordinary merit to those who do; for, in order to be permanently free, men must be possessed of many rare qualities. They must have a spirit of exertion,—not for sudden efforts, but for a constant struggle against the abuses which lead to despotism. Every individual must be animated with a determination not to consent to a single infringement of his freedom. This energy is so far from forming a part of the Spanish character, that they display none of it even in their most urgent pecuniary concerns; nor did it animate them to make any general effort to rid themselves of the nation they hate most upon earth.* In order to be free, it is also necessary that the principles of justice should be generally understood, and impartially administered in the tribunals. In the earlier periods of our own history, while justice was irregular, liberty was precarious; but when justice was steadily established, liberty grew up under its shadow. In order to establish real justice, it must have the support of public opinion; and when the general voice agrees with that of the law in awarding punishment to crime, a patriot may look to the support of his countrymen in defining an oppressive prerogative, or pursuing a wicked minister. But in Spain, the feelings of the people always run counter to the verdict which condemns a malefactor; and there is not, nor did the Cortes establish among them, any one good court of justice.

Another quality is eminently necessary, and that is modera

tion. The tie which keeps together the discordant members of our Legislature,—which prevents the Commons from insisting on a democracy, the Lords on an aristocracy, and the King on an absolute monarchy, is the temper by which they perceive the hopelessness of such objects. To press a general theorem at the risk of losing a practical advantage; to inculcate an alarming doctrine which prevents the success of a salutary measure, is the error of inexperience and intemperance. It is in the nature of those who are liable to such influences, to be violently intolerant; to suspect their friends; to unite their enemies; and to offend the indifferent. The Spanish Cortes having first provided that there should exist no check to their extravagance, always put themselves in a passion with every one who would not go all lengths with them; and condemned, by acclamation, the honest men who owned they had not got rid of their prejudices. *

Even when all these circumstances are favourable, there is nothing more difficult than to fix a newly established government, or, as the Spaniards call it, 'plantar la constitucion.' The old system must have many secret friends in the selfish, the prejudiced, and the indolent; and whilst the new rulers are led into inevitable blunders by inexperience, they want that solemn and habitual respect which is the best bulwark of a government. In the Tory language of Mr Hume, 'the sacred boundaries of the laws 'being once violated, nothing remains to confine the wild pro- 'jects of zeal and ambition; and every successive revolution be- 'comes a precedent for that which follows.' A people in such a situation is also well described by Machiavel: '- - - quel 'popolo non e altrimenti che uno animale bruto, il quale an- 'corche di natura feroce e silvestre, sia stato nutrito sempre in 'carcere e in servitù; che dipoi lasciato a sorte in una cam- 'pagna libero, non essendo uso a pascersi, ne sapendo le late- 'bre dove se abbia a rifugire diventa preda del primo che cerca 'a ritenerlo.'—*Discorsi*, *c.* 16. *l.* 1.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, we should be sorry to believe that nothing could have been done for liberty even in Spain. The people were, at first, open-mouthed against the misconduct of the Prince of the Peace; and said it was infamous that the King should be allowed to deceive himself into a surrender of his power to unworthy favourites. Here then was a good opportunity for calling a national assembly

* See instances of their violence, particularly with regard to the Bishop of Orense and the Marquis of Palacios, in several numbers of the Español. We are sorry to see that this very sensible and enlightened publication is discontinued.

to assist his Majesty with their counsels: and a body, we have no doubt, might then have been collected, composed of all that were powerful in the country, which would not have been so easily dispersed by General Whittingham's dragoons. The Grandees might have done good service on such an occasion; for, with immense estates, and great means of power, they had no political principles whatever. Accordingly, some have supported the Court, others the Constitution; but they have nowhere made a stand for their own privileges. A station suited to their vanity, where they might have received their impulse from others, would probably have ensured their support. The '*liberales*,' indeed, would say, that this class of persons was totally unfit, from the limited nature of their understandings, to fill a place in the Legislature. But where was this to stop? If all the upper classes were to be rejected as unsound, there would either have been no revolution at all, or the whole fabric of society must have been dissolved, in the vain hope of discovering more suitable materials for its reconstruction. In Spain, above all other countries, such a proceeding would have been madness. Ferdinand the Seventh ought to have been acknowledged, without any schoolboy questions as to the right of dethroning him: and then, if a sufficient attention had been paid to the administration of justice, and to the purity of the management of the public revenue; if political offenders had been duly chastised, and real liberality displayed towards all sides, some progress might have been made in the great and gradual work of national amelioration: and at least it would have been impossible for Ferdinand to inflict any punishment on persons, or to pass any general censure upon principles. Such conduct, however, would have been more difficult to observe, than to decree that every one born in the Spanish dominions be called a Spaniard; and every Spaniard, free from African blood, a citizen. On the other hand, much time would have been saved to the Committee of the Constitution; for they might, without any injury to their country, have kept their Utopia in their pockets.

With respect to the prospect of future freedom in Spain, our hopes, we must confess, are very slender. In the *first* place, the poverty of the country is sufficient to repress any noble rage for freedom that might formerly have existed. Ill cultivated as it always was, great tracts are now left waste, that formerly produced corn. Their capital has been seized with an unsparing hand by the French; every farm house, almost every village, on the great and cross roads, has been burnt or destroyed. The price of land rapidly diminished during the war, al-

though that of grain was so much enhanced by the waste of the armies, that families, formerly rich, were obliged to sell their furniture in order to subsist. Even when the country was freed from the enemy, parties of robbers vexed the peasantry, and prolonged its anarchy: yet we must do the *guerillas* the justice to say, that they were in general extremely active in pursuing malefactors, and restoring security to commerce. In the *next* place, the people are so exhausted with war, and so disgusted with their superiors, that men would hardly enlist for a new contest. During the last part of the late struggle, misery and want made the country impatient for rest on any terms. Feeling themselves betrayed by the Government in whom they had confided, they have imbibed suspicions of all who propose to lead them. But if the people would not willingly enter into a civil war for any cause, much less would they shed their blood to restrain the prerogative of Ferdinand. Had fortune favoured them against Charles V, they would probably have maintained, with jealousy, the rights and privileges they had wrested from his hands; but they are by no means disposed to reconquer them from his more popular successor. Whatever time may produce, we do not expect to see them speedily engaged in a contest for liberty; and we consider that event as retarded by the late premature attempt.

Art. VI. *An Inquiry into the Probability and Rationality of Mr Hunter's Theory of Life; being the subject of the first Two Anatomical Lectures, delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons, of London* By John Abernethy, F.R.S. &c. Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College. 8vo. pp. 95. Longman & Co. London, 1814.

We profess to think very highly of all Mr Abernethy's contributions to the science of surgery; but really these Lectures appear to us exceedingly deficient, both in sound reasoning and good taste; and we have very much overrated the physiological proficiency of the learned body to whom they were originally addressed, if there were not many among them who felt themselves somewhat scandalized by the instruction they conveyed. They are a collection of bad arguments, in defence of one of the most untenable speculations in physiology; interspersed with not a little bombast about genius, and electricity, and Sir Isaac Newton.

Those who are not much conversant in physiological studies,

will probably be surprised to learn, that physiologists are not yet agreed as to the precise grounds even of that most familiar of all classifications—the arrangement of Bodies into *Living* and *Dead*; and that, in the whole science of vital economy, (if so we may venture to call it), there is not, at this moment, a term which is used with greater ambiguity, than the term Life. We confess that this diversity of opinion is a little surprising to ourselves; for although we are perfectly aware that a very simple question may be made abstruse enough by the manner of treating it, yet this is one of those plain points, which we should have thought it difficult either for dullness or subtlety to render obscure.

In ascertaining the distinguishing characters of living bodies, it is not enough to compare them with bodies which have always been dead, as many physiologists have contented themselves with doing; we must contrast them also with those which, though at present dead, have once been alive. Now, it must be apparent, we think, on the slightest consideration, that these characters do not reside in any particular modification of form or organization. The forms of living bodies are infinite; in many of them no trace whatever of organization is perceptible; and in by far the greater number, both form and organization remain unchanged, long after the body possessing them has passed into the dead state. A tree, for instance, after it has ceased to live, retains for a time the same arrangement of trunk, and roots, and branches without, and the same intertexture of plates, and tubes, and fibres within, as before. The human body, even when it is laid in the grave, presents the same external shape and symmetry as when alive; and still preserves an internal organic structure, matchless alike for its delicacy and its beauty of adaptation.

Nor will it, surely, be maintained, that life consists merely in sensation, or thought, or voluntary motion. These are faculties, of which the whole class of living bodies called vegetables, are entirely destitute; and, although they do, indeed, constitute the distinguishing character of the animal kingdom, yet even animals may be deprived of them for a time, without becoming less entitled to the appellation of living, according to any views, either popular or physiological, with which we are acquainted. Were it otherwise, palsy would be death of a part of the body, and apoplexy, death of the whole; and the sailor whom Mr Cline had the merit of restoring to the full possession of his faculties, after he had lain for seven months totally bereft of sense and motion, might, in truth, be said to have died from a blow on the head in Minorca, and to have been raised to life, by the trepan, in London.

It would not be easy to state, with clearness and brevity, in the form of definition, what it is that really constitutes life; but it may be explained, in the way of example, in a very few words. It is that sort of appropriation of foreign matter which we observe in the human body, when it converts its food into bone, and muscle, and nerve, &c.; or in a plant, when it changes portions of the elements in which it is placed, into bark, and wood, and leaves, and so forth. Those bodies alone are entitled to the appellation of living, in which, some such addition and conversion of surrounding substances as this, is actually taking place: —all others are denominated Dead.

Now, that this appropriating process is, or is not, going on in a body, may be inferred from a variety of phenomena. In the first place, in all those animals which have a circulating system, it is abundantly certain that the process of appropriation is entirely dependent on the circulation of the blood, and that the circulation of the blood is subservient to the process of appropriation. The continuance, therefore, or the cessation of this function, may be regarded as a pretty unequivocal proof of the life or death of the individual. The human body is pronounced to be dead, the instant the heart ceases to beat; because we know that the contractions of this organ are necessary to the circulation. For the same reason, a fit of fainting, in which the action of the heart seems suspended for a time, may be called a temporary death. The moment the supply of blood to any particular part of the body is stopped, either by obstruction, or division, of its arteries, we conclude, that life has ceased in that part. When a carpenter, by a small mistake, chops off the point of his finger; or a man in a fray bites off the tip of his adversary's nose; and the surgeon, nevertheless, with a proper confidence in the *Vis Medicatrix*, replaces the separated part, and it adheres, and becomes as vigorous and sensible a tip as before;—such a case is a most satisfactory example of temporary death of a portion of the body, from its connexion with the general circulation being cut off,—and of the restoration of its vital functions from that connexion being reestablished.

When circumstances do not admit of our ascertaining the state of the circulation directly, we often judge that this function, and of course life, is going on in an animal, from observing merely that it is susceptible of feeling or thought; for, although the circulation may be performed independently of these phenomena, yet they have never been known to occur after this function has ceased. It is this constant dependence, too, of sensibility on the process of appropriation in the higher classes of animals, that leads us to infer the existence of a similar process, in

those animated beings in which no circulation has yet been discovered, from their voluntary motions alone.

The phenomena which indicate the living state in the vegetable kingdom, are much more equivocal than in the animal; and accordingly it is often a very difficult matter to decide whether a vegetable be dead or alive. In general, however, the existence of the appropriating process in plants is inferred, either from observing that some of their textures already formed, are suffering an increase of size; or that parts altogether new are developing in them; or that they possess a degree of moisture, or of heat, or a colour, or a consistence, which experiment has a thousand times shown that they cannot retain, after their supply of foreign matter has been cut off.

Life, then, we hold to be, merely a short expression for that appropriation of foreign matter which has just been illustrated; and this, we conceive, is the only acceptation in which it can be legitimately employed in Physiology.

For several hundred years back, however, this term has been used by a host of physiological writers, as the name of an hypothetical *something* or *Principle*, of most mighty and multifarious power, by which they accounted for all that really was, and all that seemed to be, unaccountable in living bodies. Mr Hunter, among others, employed it in this way; and it is the professed object of the pamphlet before us, to show, that his speculations on this subject are not only *probable*—but *rational*.

We have no great inclination to inquire into the first origin of this doctrine of life; else we have an idea that some slight traces of it might be discovered in Father Hippocrates; and we dare say we should find that it differed very little from the theories of Stahl, and Van Helmont, and various other more modern speculators; some of whom, by the way, are said to have borrowed a hint now and then from that ancient and most worthy personage St Augustine, who, it seems, dabbled a little in Physiology too, in his day. But we abstain from so idle an inquiry; and proceed to examine some of the applications which have been made of the hypothesis of a vital principle in modern times, by other persons than Mr Hunter. We shall then see how this celebrated physiologist availed himself of it, and what the nature of the defence is, which is now set up for him by Mr Abernethy. All this, we believe, may be done in a very few words.

In the *first* place, then, all physiologists are agreed, that the nervous system is the part of the corporeal machine, through the medium of which, that affection of the immaterial and intellectual part is produced which constitutes sensation. In general, too, it is believed, that the change in this system preced-

ing sensation, is one which is propagated from the nerves to the brain. Without affirming, however, that it is not so, we must say, that this opinion seems to us to rest on very unsatisfactory grounds; and we shall take an opportunity of stating our doubts more particularly on this point, in another Number, in the course of our remarks on those huge quartos of absurd theory, which Gall and Spurzheim continue to pour forth, not only respecting the functions but the structure of the nervous system. But be this as it may, it is very certain that nothing is known, and that nothing plausible has ever been conjectured, respecting the nature of the change. The defenders, however, of a vital principle, find no difficulty in this matter: and really seem to think that they explain it in a satisfactory manner when they say, in substance, that it consists in some unknown operation of this unknown something.

Again, it never has been called in question, that a certain affection of the nervous system is necessary to thought; though most sober physiologists, in these times, content themselves merely with the statement of the fact, regarding all the speculations which have been advanced respecting the nature of the affection, as quite unsatisfactory. The hypothesis of the vital principle, however, explains this phenomenon as cleverly as the preceding.

In the *next* place, there are certain fibres in the living body which possess what is called irritability, that is, the property of shortening, or tending to shorten, for a time, on the application of *stimuli.* This contraction, or tendency to contract, we believe, depends on a temporary increased attraction between the particles of the fibre; but how the increased attraction is induced, we are very ready to confess, with the multitude, that we cannot even conjecture. Those, however, who are capable of forming a just conception of the vital principle, are at a loss to imagine what mystery can be thought to surround this process. For what can be clearer, say they, than that the irritability of a fibre depends on the presence of the principle of life in that fibre, and that when this principle departs, irritability departs with it? Or what more obvious, we may add, than that, since all the muscles of a man's body may be made to contract by galvanism, some for minutes and others for hours after his head has been cut off, the greater part of a man may remain alive, long after the whole man is dead?

Some irritable fibres are excited to action in the living body by an effort of the will, and others in a sympathetic manner by trains of thought, or by impressions on distant parts. It is universally admitted, that these stimuli influence the fibre through

the medium of the nervous system; but how they operate, is not known. Here is another case of doubt, which is at once cleared up, by the hypothesis of a vital principle.

Lastly, among the many obscure processes in the economy of living bodies, none is more obscure than the function of secretion From one and the same animal fluid, for example, the blood, which consists of at least eight parts in ten of pure water, we find bile formed in one organ, and tears in another, and osseous substance in a third, and muscular fibre in a fourth, and so on; yet, all we can discover respecting the cause of these various conversions is, that the blood, in each of these different organs, passes through a series of extremely minute vessels, which perhaps differ a very little from each other, in length or width, or convolution. This, we confess, appears to us, at present, perfectly inexplicable.

Although, however, it is yet to be ascertained, to what diversity of chemical influence the blood is subject, in the different organs of the body, we see no reason whatever to doubt, that its conversions are accomplished solely by the operation of these affinities which regulate chemical combination among the particles of matter in general. We are aware, that many very sensible persons have imagined, that there is something in living bodies which controls the usual chemical affinities, and forces the elements of these bodies into combinations altogether different from what such affinities would produce; but we own we have often been surprised at the sort of reasoning employed in support of this theory. Ordinary chemical affinity, it has sometimes been said, will not enable us to make a piece of bone or muscle, or to imitate any of the secreted fluids in our laboratories: why, then, should we suppose, that this affinity is capable of forming them in the living body? But this argument, we really think, is somewhat unreasonable; for, in the *first* place, there are no two chemists who are yet agreed, as to the precise nature or proportions of the ingredients, of which either bone or muscle, or any one secreted fluid, is composed; and, *secondly*, were this preliminary point settled, we are far from possessing, in our common workshops, the apparatus necessary for combining these ingredients together: it is by the retorts, and receivers, and alembics of the living laboratory alone, that this union can be effected. Besides, we are not very sure that it is always so easy a matter, as this reasoning would seem to take for granted, to form a piece of dead inorganized matter—even although its elementary ingredients are considered to have been perfectly ascertained. Most people know what strange mutations heat will effect of itself; and Sir James Hall has shown, very satisfacto-

rily, what still more extraordinary things it will do, when modified by compression; but we believe it would defy all the chemists in Christendom, to compound a diamond or zeolite, or even a bit of granite or basalt, precisely similar to any of the masses of these substances, which nature hurled together, when she amused herself with chemistry and rock-making.

Then, again, we are desired to observe, that, as soon as a body dies, it putrefies and vanishes in gases and dust; showing, clearly, that there is something during life, which prevents the particles of the machine from being attracted in the usual way, and forming ammonia and sulphuretted hydrogen, and foul vapours; but that as soon as death takes place, the ordinary chemical affinities are permitted to exert their uncontrouled influence on the system; its ingredients are arranged anew, and putrefaction is the consequence. Now, here, we admit the premises, but not the conclusion. It is, no doubt, very true, that, unless the body, after death, falls into the hands of some such ingenious gentleman as M. Apert, and is properly pickled and stewed, it does, in general, run into decay; but it by no means follows from this, that decomposition is prevented, during life, by a power capable of controuling chemical affinity. The living and the dead body, are obviously in very different chemical circumstances. In the latter, the functions of circulation and absorption have ceased; and there is no longer that constant supply of new matter to its different parts, nor that removal of the old particles, nor that universal diffusion of caloric which are so remarkable in the living machine. Until, therefore, this striking difference of chemical condition is shown to be insufficient to account for the difference of the compounds formed in the two cases, it is contrary to every rule of philosophizing, to have recourse to any other hypothesis for their explanation.

But if there must be a theory of this sort, right or wrong, the advocates of a vital principle will supply us with one in a moment. It is this all-powerful agent, they assure us, that forms every texture and humour in the body: in whatever part it resides, there the ordinary chemical affinities are set at defiance; and when it departs, waste and corruption succeed.

Such, we believe, are the chief applications of the doctrine of the vital principle, which are not peculiar to Mr Hunter; and we have no doubt that we shall give heinous offence to their authors and abettors, when we avow, that the doctrine seems to be altogether absurd and preposterous under all its modifications. It is not because it bears the name of a speculation that we object to it; we have no Baconian horror at hypotheses of any sort; but, on the contrary, are heretical enough to think, that wherever

they are not substituted for facts, they rather do good than harm; —that they stir up inquiry, and make inquirers, where, perhaps, there would have been neither the one nor the other;—that when well founded they stand, and when false they are refuted. But our objection to the doctrine is, that, unless it be enough to constitute an hypothesis, to suppose that *every event has a cause*, it has no claim to the appellation of an hypothesis at all. To affirm that sensation, and thought and volition, and irritability and secretion, are owing to the principle of life,—and when we demand what this principle is, to tell us that it is *an agent*, about which nothing is known,—is neither more nor less than to say, that these phenomena are produced by something - but by what, nobody has yet been able to conjecture. To have ascribed them to some known power, such as electricity, or the north wind, would at all events have been an hypothesis; and we should then have set ourselves about ascertaining, experimentally, whether to be electrified, positively or negatively, were to be *plus* or *minus* alive, or whether vitality be really incompatible with a breeze from the south: But, according to our humble metaphysics, the supposition which supposes nothing, is next to no supposition at all.

'The opinions of Mr Hunter,' says Mr Abernethy, 'deserve at least to be respectfully and attentively considered. That he was a man of genius, according to the beautiful definition of that quality given by Dr Johnson; that he possessed the power of mind that collects, combines, amplifies, and animates, the energy without which judgment is cold, and knowledge is inert; cannot, I think, be doubted by any one who has carefully considered his writings. That he was a man of uncommon industry, by which he collected abundance of facts (*preparations* rather), will be admitted by every one who has ever beheld his museum. That he was a man of constant and deep reflection, is to me equally apparent.

'Many persons have genius without industry; others industry without genius; and many who possess both, are still deficient in judgment.' p. 18.

'That Mr Hunter was also a man of constant and deep reflection, that he possessed this enviable power of mind, so essential to the perfection of the intellectual character, is to me sufficiently apparent; for I know of no opinion of his that was lightly or loosely formed, or that was not logically and cautiously deduced from the facts before him: and though, from the subsequent increase of knowledge, the validity of some of his opinions may now be doubted, yet most of them, from the same cause, become more firmly established. With all his genius, knowledge, and reflection, Mr Hunter was not, however, a *brilliant character* amongst us. He had not the happy talent of displaying the stores of his mind, nor of communicating to

others the same perception of the importance of his facts and opinions as he himself entertained. Perhaps it may have arisen from my attending more to his facts and opinions, than to his mode of explaining them, that I have been led to form so high an estimate of his intellectual powers. I can draw no other inferences from the facts than those which he has drawn, and therefore am I a convert to his opinions.' p. 21.

This is a very elegant *éloge*, no doubt; but it is not just the one we should have pronounced. Having no wish, however, to compete with Mr Abernethy in this species of composition, we shall content ourselves with remarking, that, while we look upon Mr Hunter to have been a singularly acute and faithful observer, both of the natural structure of the body, and its morbid changes, and to have promoted the science of surgery more by his treatise on Inflammation, than all the surgeons in Europe had done before him, by all their works put together, we scarcely know any physiologist, who, in his reasonings respecting the causes both of healthy and diseased phenomena, thinks and expresses himself, in general, with greater vagueness and inconsistency.

No part of his writings affords so many proofs of this, as his Treatise on the Blood. It is here that we find his speculations respecting the vital principle in general, and the life of the blood in particular; and really, although we have not confined ourselves to a single perusal of his reasonings on these subjects, we are not sure that we yet fully comprehend them. According to our present understanding of them, however, he seems to have maintained, that the principle of life was a *matter* diffused over the whole system;—that it formed a constituent part of all the fluids as well as solids;—that the brain and nerves were principally composed of it;—and that to it every part of the machine owed its peculiar properties, and its power of resisting decomposition. With respect to the source of this *matter*, he seems to have had no settled opinion; for we find him advancing two very different suppositions regarding it, almost in the same paragraph. One is, that the motion of the blood on the solids, generates it in the solids, and the motion of the solids on the blood, in the blood; the other, that the blood supplies it to all parts of the machine, along with their nourishment.

The remarks we have already made, render it quite unnecessary, we trust, to reply formally to this modification of the doctrine of life. It is a conjecture—if conjecture it can be called—which has not a single argument in its support, and which explains nothing. And, indeed, were it not that the general tone in which it is advanced, clearly shows it to have been a favourite topic with its author, it is accompanied with one remark,

which we should have been disposed to interpret into a distrust of its soundness, even on his part. '*Life*,' says he, '*is a* '*property we do not understand*: We can only see the necessary 'leading steps toward it.'

In ascribing life to the fluids, as well as solids of the body, Mr Hunter seems in reality to have meant, that the supposition should apply only to the blood. The merit of this speculation, we believe, is entirely his own. 'To conceive,' says he, 'that blood is endowed with life, while circulating, is 'perhaps carrying the imagination as far as it will go; but the 'difficulty arises merely from its being fluid,—the mind not being accustomed to the idea of a living fluid.' Nothing, we apprehend, can be truer than this; and we will only add, that the difficulty is one, which, we suspect, few imaginations will entirely succeed in overcoming. It is just as incorrect to say, that blood enjoys life, as it is to maintain, that malt possesses distillation: Blood is the material employed in the process,—life, the process itself.

Nor is there, we believe, in all physiology, any example of an analogy more loose, or an induction more imperfect, than that which seems to have suggested this theory to the mind of Mr Hunter. Assuming, in the *first* place, that the contraction of a muscle is, of itself, a sufficient proof that it is possessed of life, he then maintains, that muscular contraction, and the coagulation of the blood, are analogous phenomena;—that is, that the decomposition of a fluid, by which it is separated into two parts, one a little thicker than the other, and by which its chemical constitution is for ever altered, is similar to the temporary shortening of an organized fibre, unaccompanied by the slightest perceptible change in its elementary composition. And in order to strengthen this analogy, he endeavours to show, by a variety of experiments, that the coagulation of the fluid, and the contraction of the fibre, are often promoted or retarded by the same chemical circumstances. The experiments, however, have no pretensions to accuracy in themselves; and even if they had, they are altogether inconclusive. Phenomena, in reality very different from each other, may be modified in a similar manner by the same cause. It has never, we believe, been considered by physiologists as any argument for the similarity of sensation and voluntary motion, that both are effectually destroyed by a large dose of a narcotic. In the *next* place, with the view of lessening our natural tardiness to conceive that a simple fluid can be endowed with life, he brings forward experiments, by which he imagines it to be clearly established, that both the yolk and the white of the egg are examples of this

phenomenon. Here, however, as in the former instance, the experiments are faulty, and do not warrant the conclusions deduced from them.

Such are the doctrines, of which Mr Abernethy is bold enough to maintain the *probability* and *rationality* in the pamphlet before us. Of the nature of his defence, we shall allow our readers to judge, entirely from his own language; for, as Mr Abernethy, in becoming the champion of Mr Hunter, has borrowed a little of his armour of obscurity, it is more than probable that we should misrepresent, in endeavouring to interpret, his meaning. Besides, it is right that our readers should be presented with a few specimens of that eloquence, which is calculated to move the feelings of a Royal College of Surgeons.

Before proceeding, however, to any extracts, it is proper to observe, that Mr Abernethy has attributed opinions to Mr Hunter respecting the nature of the Vital Principle, directly the reverse, it seems to us, of those which that physiologist actually entertained. He is uniformly represented by Mr Abernethy as supposing that the principle of life is 'a subtile and invisible 'substance, of a *very quickly and powerfully mobile* nature;' whereas, Mr Hunter himself, without once affirming that he regarded it as either subtile, or invisible, or the contrary, distinctly states, in the only paragraph in which its circumstances with respect to motion or rest are considered, that it is a motionless matter. *

The following passages comprehend the whole substance of Mr Abernethy's inquiry into the application of the hypothesis of the Vital Principle to the explanation of Irritability.

'I proceed to inquire,' says he, 'into Mr Hunter's opinion, that irritability is the effect of some subtile, mobile, invisible substance, superadded to the evident structure of muscles, or other forms of vegetable and animal matter, as magnetism is to iron, and as electricity is to various substances with which it may be connected. Mr Hunter doubtless thought, and I believe most persons do think, that in magnetic and electric motions, a subtile invisible substance, of a *very quickly and powerfully mobile* nature, puts in motion other bodies which are evident to the senses, and are of a nature more gross and inert. To be as convinced as I am of the probability of Mr Hunter's Theory as a (*of the*) cause of irritability, it is, I am aware, necessary to be as convinced as I am that electricity is what I have now supposed it to be, and that it pervades all nature. To obtain this conviction, it is necessary that the facts connected with this subject should be attentively considered; but for such an examination I have no time: neither would it be considered as suitable to the general design of the Lectures.' p. [illegible]

* See his 'Treatise,' p. [illegible]

'Taking it for granted that the opinions generally entertained concerning the cause of electrical motions are true, analogy would induce us to suppose, that similar motions might be produced by similar causes, in matter organized as it is found to be in the vegetable and animal systems.

'The phenomena of electricity and of life correspond. Electricity may be attached to, or inhere, in a wire: It may be suddenly dissipated, or have its powers annulled; or it may be removed by degrees or in portions, and the wire may remain less and less strongly electrified, in proportion as it is abstracted. So life inheres in vegetables and animals; it may sometimes be suddenly dissipated, or have its powers abolished, though in general it is lost by degrees, without any apparent change taking place in the structure; and in either case putrefaction begins when life terminates.

'The motions of electricity are characterized by their celerity and force; so are the motions of irritability. The motions of electricity are vibratory; so likewise are those of irritability. When by long continued exertion the power of muscles is fatigued, or when it is feeble, their vibratory or tremulous motions are manifest to common observation; but the same kind of motion may be perceived at all times by attention, as has been shown by Dr Woolaston in the Croonian lecture for the year 1810. It is then I think manifest, that Mr Hunter's conjectures are the most probable of any that have been offered as to the cause of irritability.' p. 11.

That the same doctrine is fully adequate to the explanation of all the functions of the nervous system, is shown with equal spirit, and still more admirable brevity, thus—

'Mr Hunter's opinion of a subtile and mobile substance, inhering in the nervous chords, is not essentially different from that of Haller. He does not indeed suppose it to be confined in tubes, neither does the philosophy of the present time require such a supposition; for no one at present will doubt that a subtile substance may be attached to, or inhere in a chord, without mechanical confinement. Will not a wire when electrified continue to be so, if surrounded by non-conductors? Experiments made on the limbs of animals with electricity, produced in the manner first explained by Volta, show that different parts of the body have different conducting powers; skin and membrane being very bad conductors—and brain, muscle and blood, being remarkably good ones.

'The celerity with which motions are transmitted from the tangible extremities of nerves most distant from the brain, and the celerity with which volition is transmitted to the muscles, in consequence of sensations thus induced, are sufficient to convince us that such effects must be produced by the motions of a very mobile substance. It is not necessary to suppose, that when such motions are transmitted along the nervous chords, an evident motion of the visible matter of these chords should be induced. Electrical motions take place along a wire, without occasioning any visible motion of the metal itself.' p. 69.

'In the first Lecture, I endeavoured to show, that Mr Hunter's theory of life was *verifiable*, and that it afforded the most rational solution of the cause of irritability, which had hitherto been offered to the public. It now appears that it does not essentially differ from that of the best physiologists with regard to the explanation it affords of the nervous functions.' p. 79.

Lastly, Mr Abernethy undertakes to prove, that the Hunterian hypothesis is sufficient to account for the prevention of putrefaction, and the regulation of temperature in living bodies; which he does in the following manner.

'If the vital principle of Mr Hunter be not electricity, at least we have reason to believe it is of a similar nature, and has the power of regulating electrical operations. That electricity is the great chemist both in organized and unorganized bodies, will be generally credited; and that the power which combines may also prevent decomposition, is too obvious to need discussion. That electricity is capable of augmenting and diminishing the temperature of unorganized matter, is well known. Does not platina wire drop like wax in fusion, when it intervenes between the different ends of the Voltaic battery? and do not the spherules of rain fall to the ground at midsummer as firmly frozen as in the depth of winter, when they pass through a stratum of air refrigerated by electrical operations? I believe I need say no more on these subjects.' p. 86.

'Thus,' concludes Mr Abernethy, 'my mind rests at peace in thinking on the subject of life as it has been taught by Mr Hunter.' p. 94.

Now, whatever our author may have intended this 'Inquiry' to be, we think it must be pretty apparent to every one, that it is any thing but a defence of Mr Hunter's theory. It is the development of a speculation altogether peculiar to himself: And if its object be not to maintain, that life is electricity, which Mr Abernethy, very inconsistently with his argument, disavows, it is, that since there is one subtile, invisible, and *powerfully mobile*, substance, in nature, there may be another;—a proposition, we should think, which few will be inclined to deny.

'The experiments of Sir Humphrey Davy,' says Mr Abernethy, 'seem to me to form an important link in the connexion of our knowledge of dead and living matter. He has solved the great and long hidden mystery of chemical attraction, by showing that it depends upon the electric properties which the atoms of different species of matter possess: nay, by giving to an alkali electric properties which did not originally belong to it, he has been able to control the ordinary operations of nature, and to make potash pass through a strong acid, without any combination taking place. That electricity is something, I could never doubt; and therefore it follows as a consequence, in my opinion, that it must be every where connected with the atoms of matter which form the masses that are cognizable to our senses;

and that it enters into the composition of every thing, inanimate or animate. If then it be electricity that produces all the chemical changes, we so constantly observe, in surrounding inanimate objects, analogy induces us to believe that it is electricity which also performs all the chemical operations in living bodies; that the universal chemist resides in them, and exercises in some degree peculiar powers, because it possesses a peculiar apparatus.

'Sir Humphrey Davy's experiments also lead us to believe, that it is electricity, extricated and accumulated in ways not clearly understood, which causes those sudden and powerful motions in masses of inert matter, which we occasionally witness with wonder and dismay; that it is electricity which causes the whirlwind, and the water spout, and which 'with its sharp and sulphurous bolt splits the 'unwedgeable and gnarled oak,' and destroys our most stable edifices; that it is electricity which by its consequences makes the firm earth tremble, and throws up subterraneous matter from volcanos.

'When therefore we perceive in the universe at large, a cause of rapid and powerful motions of masses of inert matter, may we not naturally conclude that the inert molecules of vegetable and animal matter, may be made to move in a similar manner, by a similar cause?

'It is not meant to be affirmed that electricity is life. There are strong analogies between electricity and magnetism; and yet I do not know that any one has been hardy enough to assert their absolute identity. I only mean to prove, that Mr Hunter's Theory is verifiable, by showing that a subtile substance, of a *quickly and powerfully mobile* nature, seems to pervade every thing, and appears to be the life of the world; and therefore it is probable that a similar substance pervades organized bodies, and produces similar effects in them.

'The experiments of Sir H. Davy seem to realize the speculations of philosophers, and to verify the deductions of reason, by demonstrating the existence of a subtile, active, vital principle, pervading all nature, as has heretofore been surmised, and denominated the Anima Mundi. The opinions which in former times were a justifiable hypothesis, seem to me now to be converted into a rational theory.' p. 49-52.

If there be any man who believes, that Sir Humphry Davy has really done all this, or who has suffered himself to be so borne away by these 'whirlwinds' and 'water-spouts' of Mr Abernethy, as to look upon his body as a Leyden phial, we fear that we should exhaust our vital principle in endeavouring to dispel the illusion. Certainly we shall not make the attempt. We have laid down, of late, a plan of the strictest economy as to the expenditure of that portion of the *very quickly and powerfully mobile substance* which has fallen to our share; and we are not without hopes that it may thereby be made to last for three-

score years to come. It is part of that plan, not to squander it, in our youth, either in 'splitting gnarled oaks,' or convincing unreasonable physiologists.

ART. VII. *The Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton; with a Supplement of interesting Letters, by distinguished Characters.* 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 515. London, Lovewell & Co. 1814.

We scarcely remember to have seen a more reprehensible publication; or one in which the frailties of the Mighty Dead have been more wantonly and barbarously unveiled—without the possibility or indeed the pretext of any other motive than that of the sordid and miserable profit that may be made of the exibition. The man who should violate the last hallowed retreat of his war worn frame, and display, for hire, the naked and festering limbs of the departed hero to the gaze of the brutal multitude, would be guilty, we think, of a less profanation. The outrage against decency, and the offence to all generous feeling, would not at least be aggravated in such a case, as we cannot help fearing they are here, by the strangest ingratitude, and the most incredible breach of confidence: for who but *the receiver* of these letters could have the means of giving them to the public? who but *the object* of this guilty, but ardent and devoted love, could have betrayed its follies and its frenzy to our gaze?—We are aware that an advertisement has appeared in the newspapers, which professes to disclaim, on the part of Lady Hamilton, any concern with this lamentable publication; but it is difficult to pay any regard to such an intimation, while the work is allowed to go on. The genuineness of the letters is not denied; nor is any statement given of their having been surreptitiously withdrawn from her keeping. If this had been the case, however, or if the publication had in any other way been undertaken *really* without her consent, or against her inclination, it is perfectly notorious that she might have stopt it in little more than twenty-four hours, by applying to the Court of Chancery. Instead of this, it is blazoned in every news-paper, and in every shop-window in the kingdom; and a great and unhallowed profit is daily made by the sale of a work, the manuscript of which was, beyond all question, the property of Lady Hamilton. If this property has actually been stolen from her, never human being had such an interest to reclaim it; for never was any one exposed to more painful imputations by the uses to which it has been turned. "The uni-

versal impression is, that Lady Hamilton has sold the love-letters—the indefensible and imprudent, but most confidential love-letters—addressed to her by Lord Nelson, to a bookseller for money! and that the only being upon earth by whom he could have borne that they should be seen—the only being, indeed, by whom they could be seen without injuring and lowering his fame—has, for the sake of a few pounds, exposed them to the eyes of the world! It would be an infinite relief to us to be freed from this impression; but, while it remains with us, we cannot avoid saying, that the disgust and indignation which it excites, is only aggravated by the consideration, that it is a woman who has called forth these most uncomfortable sensations.

But though the mischief is done and irreparable—and though all the odious details of these volumes are already in the hands of those from whom it was most important to have withheld them, we should still have hesitated about adding to their publicity by our notice, had we not come to be satisfied, that even the private habits of such a man as Lord Nelson, when they are evidenced, as in this instance, by the undoubted testimony of his own letters, are matter of history, and must pass as such into the records of the age. In noticing them, however, we shall carefully avoid giving circulation to the anecdotes (not, we grieve to say, always the most creditable) which these volumes bring before us, of private individuals, whose connexion with the great man will certainly not prevent their names from returning to the shelter of oblivion immediately after their earthly course is run. To preserve any of these, can serve no good purpose; for the censor, we conceive, has no right to drag into notice the vices or the follies which he may meet on his legitimate field, if it appear that they have been carried unfairly and forcibly thither, out of the shade in which they were naturally doomed to live their little hour.

The charge of bookmaking, to which this publication is liable beyond even the ordinary run of such works, may appear but trifling, after the grave accusations we have been alluding to. It is proper, however, to notice, that the letters of Lord Nelson occupy only about 230 pages of the whole. The rest are letters of various persons to Lady Hamilton—introduced under the pretence of illustrating Lord Nelson's letters, but, in reality, bearing little or no reference to them; and a very few letters of Lady Hamilton herself—not half a dozen, and such as create no sort of wish to see more of them.

The advertisement prefixed is a curious production. The mutual attachment, it is said, of Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton is so generally known, that any 'notes, however desire-

able and explanatory, might not have been deemed perfectly *decorous!'* Then, it seems, some parts of the correspondence 'have been suppressed from the most honourable feelings to individuals, as they would certainly have given pain.' Now, though we cannot prove by quotations how little regard has been paid to such a principle in this compilation, without renewing the offence, and giving additional pain to private individuals, we will venture to say, that there are many of the pages now before us, which the persons who figure in them would give no small portion of their whole worldly possessions to have suppressed. A sort of apology is made for not dedicating to the British Navy these volumes—containing the sad monument of the frailties and follies of its brightest ornament; and a promise, probably intended as a threat, is held out, that a mass of other letters from Lord Nelson, on public and private affairs, is preparing for the press; which, it seems are to throw 'light on political transactions at present *very imperfectly understood.'*

The letters of Lord Nelson, now published, exhibit the picture of a warm, affectionate and generous nature—little under the guidance of reason, not at all controuled by prudence, giving way to every gust of feeling or passion, and prone to pour forth, without the least restraint, the most hearty expressions of the sentiments that inspire it. We should, however, ill discharge our duty if we stopt here. But extreme, and more than seaman like imprudence, is not the amount of the charge which these effusions convey against his conduct. There is perceptible also a culpable disregard of domestic ties, and a neglect, approaching to cruelty, of one whom he was bound by honour, as well as religion, morality, and law, to cherish. This neglect, the consequence of an improper passion, seems (as frequently happens in minds otherwise virtuous) to have rankled to a degree of hatred, from the workings of self-reproach. Nor can a more melancholy instance be found of the maxim, that we are apt to dislike those whom we have wronged, and thus preposterously to visit on them the sins of our own injustice. Lord Nelson was married to a most amiable woman, of his own free choice, his equal in birth and fortune, and of suitable years; whose character through life is allowed to have been wholly without reproach. His letters to her were formerly published, we believe by his own permission; and we remember to have read one, written in the year 1798, in some religious Magazine, where it was recorded for edification sake. It breathed a pure spirit of piety and self humiliation; and a warm affection to his fair correspondent. Just about that time he fell in love with Lady Hamilton; and we very soon find him not merely wholly alienated

from his wife, but expressing a dislike of her, and in pretty plain terms hinting that she stood in the way of his happiness. After Sir William Hamilton's death, this feeling seems to grow stronger; and these volumes contain undoubted proofs, that a desire to be relieved from the impediment was familiar to his mind, and, by a strange inconsistency, sometimes present even in its devotional moods.

The effusions of his passion, with such trifles as lovers write about, and a pretty indiscriminate abuse of every man, woman and child, whom he has occasion to mention, except Sir William and Lady Hamilton and one or two of their common friends, not amounting in the whole to quite six privileged persons, make up the bulk, if not the whole, of his letters. Such of our readers as are familiar with this species of composition, will judge for themselves, and correct us if we are wrong, but we, who have no knowledge of it except what we have gleaned from the specimens occasionally exhibited in parliamentary and judicial proceedings, should pronounce Lord Nelson's to be equal to the average of love-letters in point of literary merit. And although there is scarcely one observation to be found in them of any depth or acuteness, or even pleasantry, in short, above the level of the most empty talking, yet it would be ridiculous to doubt, that they might all have been produced by a person, who, when the fit was off, could correspond upon business which he understood like an able and a great man. He sat down to throw upon his paper all that was in his heart—and left his head pretty much out of the party. Had Dr Johnson written down the expressions of fondness which Garrick used to repeat from his hours of endearment with '*his Tetty*,' perhaps the result would have been worthy of a place in this publication. It is a common saying, that 'Nelson was 'nothing ashore;' and the present volumes will be cited in support of the remark. If, by this, it is only meant that he spent his hours of relaxation as all great men do, in a luxurious enjoyment of freedom, and a playful indulgence of all his feelings and fancies, voluntarily refraining from any severe exercise of his faculties, and purposely idling his time away, there is perfect truth in the statement. His hours on shore were merely his *horæ subsecivæ*; intervals of absolute vacancy and remission, such as other men have by half hours or minutes, or once a week; and we imagine any other man of talents, taken unawares in one of his idle intervals, would be found much such a man as Nelson. But the statement, we are persuaded, is altogether erroneous, if it is intended to insinuate that had Nelson braced his mind to any object, though not on his own element, he

would have pursued it with no better powers than are indicated in this publication: and, full of rhapsody, and meagre of almost every thing like thinking, as these letters are, we every now and then may descry a trace of vigour, sufficient to show that his talents were only dormant.

It is fit, however, that we should let the reader judge of the nature of these letters, by exhibiting a few specimens. For the passion, and trifling and abuse, we may take any one at random. —'*Deal, August* 18, 1801. MY DEAREST EMMA, Your dear, good, kind, and most affectionate letters, from Saturday to last night, are arrived, and I feel all you say; and may Heaven bless me, very soon, with a sight of your dear angelic face. You are a nonpareil! No, not one fit to wipe your shoes. I am, ever have been, and always will remain, your most firm, fixed, and unalterable friend.' Vol. I. p. 48.—'They dine with Billy Pitt to-day; or, rather with Mr Long; for Pitt does not keep house, in appearance, although he asked me to come and see him: and that I shall do, out of respect to a great man, although he never did any thing for me or my relations. I assure you, my dear friend, that I had rather read and hear all your little story of a white hen getting into a tree, an anecdote of Fatima, or hear you call—"Cupidy! Cupidy!" than any speech I shall hear in Parliament: because I know, although you can adapt your language and manners to a child, yet that you can also thunder forth such a torrent of eloquence, that corruption and infamy would sink before your voice, in however *exalted* a situation it might be placed.' I. p. 92, 93.—Again: 'MY DEAREST EMMA, By the Canopus, Admiral Campbell, I have received all your truly kind and affectionate letters, from May 20th to July 3d; with the exception of one, dated May 31st, sent to Naples. This is the first communication I have had with England since we sailed.—All your letters, *my dear letters*, are so entertaining! and which paint so clearly what you are after, that they give me either the greatest pleasure or pain. It is the next best thing, to being with you. I only desire, my dearest Emma, that you will always believe that Nelson's your own; Nelson's *Alpha* and *Omega* is *Emma*! I cannot alter; my affection and love is beyond even this world! Nothing can shake it, but yourself; and that, I will not allow myself to think, for a moment, is possible. I feel, that you are the real friend of my bosom, and dearer to me than life; and, that I am the same to you. But I will neither have P.'s nor Q.'s come near you!' I. p. 135, 136.

But the one which follows, contains, after all the suppressions, still more.—

'MY DEAREST BELOVED * * * *, To say, that I think of you by day, night, and all day, and all night, but too faintly express my feelings of love and affection towards you * * * * * * * * * * * unbounded affection. Our dear, excellent, good * * * * * * * is the

only one who knows any thing of the matter; and she has promised me, when you * * * * * * again, to take every possible care of you, as a proof of her never-failing regard for your own dear Nelson. Believe me, that I am incapable of wronging you, in thought word, or deed. No; not all the wealth of Peru could buy me for one moment: it is all your's, and reserved wholly for you; and * * * certainly * * * * * * * * * * from the first moment of our happy, dear, enchanting, blessed meeting. The thoughts of such happiness, my dearest only beloved, makes the blood fly into my head. The call of our country, is a duty which you would, deservedly, in the cool moments of reflection, reprobate, was I to abandon: and I should feel so disgraced, by seeing you ashamed of me! No longer saying—" This is the man who has saved his country! This is he " who is the first to go forth to fight our battles, and the last to re- " turn!" And, then, all these honours reflect on you. " Ah!" they will think; " what a man! what sacrifices has he not made, to " secure our homes and property; even the society and happy union " with the finest and most accomplished woman in the world." As you love, how must you feel! My heart is with you; cherish it. I shall, my best beloved, return—if it pleases God—a victor; and it shall be my study to transmit an unsullied name. There is no desire of wealth, no ambition, that could keep me from all my soul holds dear. No; it is to save my country, my wife in the eye of God; and * will tell you that it is all right: and, then, only think of our happy meeting.—Ever, for ever, I am your's, only your's, even beyond this world NELSON & BRONTE.———For ever, for ever, your own NELSON.—*August 26th,* [1803.]' p. 175—178.

The most offensive part of this rhapsody, is the allusion to his wife. This topic occurs but too often. Thus, in p. 63, Vol. I, he calls it ' the detestable subject,'—and expresses great pain at the countenance and protection which his venerable father appears to have persisted in affording to that most injured matron. In p. 137, after expressing his hope, that he shall one day be married to Lady Hamilton, he adds—plainly alluding to his wife—' I wish you would never mention that person's ' name! It works up your anger, for no useful purpose. Her ' good or bad character, of me or thee, no one cares about.' In one of the last letters he ever wrote, (for it is dated only a month before his death), we have this passage:—' I intreat, my ' dear Emma, that you will cheer up; and we will look forward ' to many, many happy years, and be surrounded by our child- ' ren's children. God Almighty can, when he pleases, remove ' the impediment. My heart and soul is with you and Horatia. ' —I got this line ready, in case a boat should get alongside.' II. p. 97.

Let it not be thought, that we notice these passages, for the sake

of exciting a feeling disrespectful to the memory of this great man. We have a far higher object in view; and nothing but our zeal for that object could make us submit to the real pain which our present occupation inflicts upon us. The notorious fact of Lord Nelson's domestic misconduct to his wife, has too long held out a kind of sanction to the false reasoning, which seeks to shelter kindred delinquencies under the authority of great examples. The very title of this audacious publication—'*Lord Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton*,' recalls the bad fame of that unhappy connexion; so that it is in vain to stifle the discussion and the false impressions which it may engender: And all that remains, therefore, is to counteract the bad effects of so fatal an example, by bestowing upon it, even in this exalted instance, the reprobation it so amply deserves. Without stating it formally as a proposition, that all men may do wrong, because a great man did so, (alas! how happy would it be if we were never influenced by doctrines more dangerously sophistical—if all our false principles of action were thus boldly stated in the repulsive form of manifest error!), it is to be feared that the knowledge of his faults sooths many a conscience, and is made the salve to heal over those wholesome wounds, through which remorse might otherwise open an avenue to virtue. The public opinion, too, may be affected imperceptibly, and the last check destroyed for ever upon baser spirits, whom no workings of conscience can reach. The community may cease to despise, with such undivided contempt, as it now does, the vile and degraded wretch, who maltreats her whom he has taken for better and for worse, and vowed to protect for life. The conduct most befitting a coward, an effeminate and besotted tyrant, may no longer call forth the unanimous execration of Englishmen, when they vaguely hear it said, that 'Nelson did so.' If unhappily it be true, that, to a certain degree, though far less than may be alleged, this gallant man's life held out such evil example, we must apply the only remedy within our reach, by freely expressing the indignation which it excites, even in his case; and instead of letting the puny imitators of his faults find a shelter under his authority, we must let it be distinctly seen, that as not all the glories of his illustrious life can save his memory from the reproofs of the virtuous and the wise, when they contemplate his defects,—so the public indignation shall fall with overwhelming force upon those who can only ape his imperfections. As well might they cite the example of Julius Cæsar for enormities, at which human nature shudders;—or of Lord Nelson himself, for the dreadful prostitution of the name and power of England, to purposes of murder and treachery,—under the influence of the

same woman who has now given his love-letters to the world. —To return to these productions—

We must notice the tone of scurrilous abuse of almost all his friends, especially in the navy. This may sometimes be traced, no doubt, to the ill-humour of the moment; but generally it arises from some personal interest, as a quarrel about prize-money; or from the circumstance, which he seems never to have forgiven, of the person in question being either his superior officer, or a Lord of the Admiralty. But the thing never to be pardoned, is when an inferior officer gets into this latter station, and has, or is thought to have, authority over him. It is painful to see with what pertinacity he pursues Sir T. Troubridge merely for this offence; and no kindness is ever able to disarm him; on the contrary, he takes it all for perfidy. Lord St Vincent (to whom he owed the fleet which conquered at the Nile) is habitually attacked in the same way; although his letters never mention Lord Nelson without the warmest expressions of admiration and esteem. Sir Alexander Ball and others fare little better. And then, when he has to deal with ordinary mortals, especially women, there is no coarse or scurrilous epithet that he does not fling around him in profusion. So much so, that although these letters were addressed to his mistress, we dare not so far offend common decency as to transcribe any one of them entire.

The impatience of command which we have noticed, leads to a remark respecting this great man's public life, not unworthy of notice. He seems to have been formed by nature not only for the highest station—but for no other; and to have been alike incapable of occasionally falling into a subordinate part, and of contenting himself with a share of any joint operation. Mr Southey, in his life of him, is perpetually throwing out insinuations against the other officers who refused to concur in all Nelson's projects; as if those distinguished characters were bound to disobey orders from home, in order to gratify the curiosity of this commodore—whose projects on shore would almost always have led to a mere experiment upon the bravery of English soldiers and sailors. Nor does he ever reflect that Lord Nelson, except at Teneriffe, where he failed, was in point of fact wholly confined to his own element, in the marvellous exploits which made him so famous. If every commanding officer had acted so completely for himself, and with such disregard of orders or combined plans from home; nay, if only a very few officers had acted so, the speedy ruin of our affairs must have ensued; the army and navy would have become one scene of confusion. Possessing such a commander, the government could not do

better than give him its largest station, and an unlimited discretion in the employment of his forces; but nothing short of wielding all the forces, military as well as naval, wherever he went, would satisfy him; and this appears to have been his desire, as much when he was a commodore with a few sail under him, as when he commanded the whole Mediterranean and Atlantic. Nay, we find him very frequently interfering in matters purely civil, in political negotiations, and in affairs connected with the relations of peace or war, and of treaties actually pending, and wholly unknown to him—and sometimes against orders, and on notions of his own. His letters, (for he always appears to have been a great writer, whether in love or war), contained accounts of his motives, which were generally some vague feeling of his own, or some notion of what was fitting the national character, without the least regard to reason, order, or calculation;—his contempt of which he pretty freely expresses: And he often talks of 'throwing himself upon his country for 'his defence,'—as if the voice of the multitude, and not the order of the government, were the proper rule of an officer. Of course Mr Southey always admires these flights; and expresses his decided contempt of the other commanders who thwarted his hero, by refusing to disobey the commands of their superiors, and to entrust him with the disposal of their forces. The biographer, indeed, upon these occasions, seems to set himself up as a kind of Nelson also; and assumes the same superiority over Nelson's brother officers, as he himself did. No calculating—no forethought—no prudential considerations for Mr Southey. You must fight away without looking on one side or the other, if you would please him. And as for the inferior questions—of what advantage you are to get by it—how you are to succeed—whether or not you are sure of being wholly destroyed—these are the suggestions of narrow and timid minds, who have never yet learnt the true maxim, so decisive of all such subjects, and embracing the whole art military of that learned author—that by mere volition or determination to conquer, any given force may perform any service required. We mention these things without any wish to detract from the general merits of Mr Southey's work; of which we have formerly said that we think very highly.

It is a more pleasing task to turn from the frailties to the merits of the great man whose heart now lies exposed to view, in its most private, unstudied, and unrestrained effusions. Every here and there we see traits of some friendship almost as warm as the passion which has dictated the bulk of the correspondence. The pale of his favour seems indeed to have been very

confined; but the few within it are cherished with a zeal proportioned to the vehemence of his abuse against all beyond it. Captain Parker, who seems to have been dying of wounds received in battle, and a Mrs Thomson and her child, appear, after Lady Hamilton, principally to occupy his thoughts. There was some love-story connected with the latter which manifestly excited his sympathy in an extraordinary degree. But it is pleasing to observe so frequently the breaking forth of the only principle, amounting in him to a passion, which could successfully combat his extravagant love,—we mean that mighty love of his country, and that thirst for glory, which for the most part engrossed his soul,—bearing his shattered frame through every suffering, mortification, and danger, and lifting him, at last, to the very height of renown, when it carried him to a death perhaps the most glorious that ever closed the existence of a warrior. There is something extremely affecting in the invariable constancy with which his military ardour rises superior to all his other passions, and remains unsubdued amidst the wreck of all other principles and feelings:—it seems alone to have vanquished, or even resisted his love. 'You ask me,' says he, 'my dear friend, if I am going on more expeditions? And, 'even if I was to forfeit your friendship, which is dearer to me 'than all the world, I can tell you nothing. For, I go out; '[if] I see the enemy, and can get at them, it is my duty: and 'you would naturally hate me, if I kept back one moment. I 'long to pay them, for their tricks t'other day, the debt of a 'drubbing, which, surely, I'll pay: but *when*, *where*, *or how*, 'it is impossible, your own good sense must tell you, for me or 'mortal man to say. I shall act not in a rash or hasty manner; that you may rely, and on which I give you my word of 'honour. Just going off. Ever, for ever, your faithful

'NELSON & BRONTE.'

We extract the following letter with pleasure; it is extremely interesting, as being one of the last he wrote, and containing a pointed allusion to the approaching battle of Trafalgar.

'*Victory*, *Oct.* 1, 1805. MY DEAREST EMMA, It is a relief to me, to take up the pen, and write you a line; for I have had, about four o'clock this morning, one of my dreadful spasms, which has almost enervated me. It is very odd! I was hardly ever better than yesterday. Freemantle stayed with me till eight o'clock, and I slept uncommonly well; but, was awoke with this disorder. My opinion of its effect, some one day, has never altered. However, it is entirely gone off, and I am only quite weak. The good people of England will not believe, that rest of body and mind is necessary for me! But, perhaps, this spasm may not come again these six months. I

had been writing seven hours yesterday; perhaps, that had some hand in bringing it upon me. I joined the fleet late on the evening of the 28th of September, but could not communicate with them until the next morning. I believe, my arrival was most welcome; not only to the commander of the fleet, but also to every individual in it: and, when I came to explain to them the *Nelson touch*, it was like an electric shock. Some shed tears, all approved—" It was " new, it was singular, it was simple!" and, from Admirals downwards, it was repeated—" It must succeed, if ever they will allow " us to get at them! You are, my Lord, surrounded by friends " whom you inspire with confidence." Some may be Judas's; but the majority are certainly much pleased with my commanding them.'

The thing least to be looked for, and certainly the greatest curiosity in the work, is a Copy of Verses by this great commander. They are worth little for their poetical merits; and yet any one of them is worth a volume of the wretched stuff contained in Lady Hamilton's letter to Mr Alexander Davidson, beginning with

' I think, I have not lost my heart:
Since I, with truth, can swear,'

and ending thus,

' Then, do not rob me of my heart,
Unless you first forsake it;
And, then, so wretched it would be,
Despair alone will take it.' II. 128.

We extract the verses of Nelson as really much better. He calls them ' a few lines wrote in a late gale.'—

' Though ——'s polish'd verse superior shine,
Though sensibility grace every line;
Though her soft Muse be far above all praise,
And female tenderness inspire her lays:
Deign to receive, though unadorn'd
By the poetic art,
The rude expressions which bespeak
A Sailor's untaught heart!
A heart *susceptible*, sincere, and true;
A heart, by fate, and nature, torn in two:
One half, to duty and his country due;
The other, *better half*, to love and you!
Sooner shall Britain's sons resign
The empire of the sea;
Than Henry shall renounce his faith,
AND PLIGHTED VOWS, TO THEE!
And waves on waves shall cease to roll,
And tides forget to flow;
Ere thy true Henry's constant love,
Or ebb, or change, shall know.' I. 30.

We have now taken notice of the passages in this Correspondence which are the most pleasing, as well as those which are most calculated to give offence. There is nothing little or mean, however, in the failings to be remarked here, if we except the evidences which appear of the two lovers having been in a sort of plot to obtain for Lady Hamilton a legacy from the Duke of Queensberry. This scheme, which seems to have been pretty hotly pursued, is every now and then breaking out with an incongruity somewhat laughable, in the middle of his highest raptures. Thus,

'Captain Hallowell is so good as to take home, for me, wine as by the inclosed list; and, if I can, some honey. The Spanish honey is so precious, that if [any one has] a cut, or sore throat, it is used to cure it. I mention this, in case you should wish to give the Duke a jar. The smell is wonderful! It is to be produced no where, but in the mountains near Rosas. The Cyprus wine, one hogshead, was for Bonaparte. I would recommend the wine-cooper drawing it off: and you can send a few dozens to the Duke; who, I know, takes a glass every day at two o'clock. I wish, I had any thing else to send you; but, my dearest Emma, you must take the will for the deed.'

This epistle soars immediately to lighter regions. The 'Lord 'of Love,' is not scared away and made to 'spread his light 'pinions,' at smell of Cyprus wine and Spanish honey, and at sight of the ancient Duke and his two-o'clock glass;—but the letter passes quite naturally from these low subjects, and concludes about 'eternal attachment and affection,' and 'for ever and 'ever,' and 'your, only your,' &c.

Akin to this topic, is the state of Lady Hamilton's finances, to which we find frequent allusions. There is a letter from her to Mr Addington, whom she implores to grant her a portion of 'her ever-honoured husband's pension,' bewailing 'her irre-'parable loss,' stating that she is 'most sadly bereaved,' having lost not merely 'her dear Sir William,' but the enjoyment of his income. She subscribes herself (as many persons may in addressing the same worthy character), 'with respect more than 'she can *well* utter.' We have often witnessed attempts to set up for this lady, some such claim to the public bounty, as she here prefers to the easy nature of the late minister, and as Lord Nelson urged not very decorously in his last-will. It would have been an insult, however, we must say, to the country, if such a prayer had been complied with. The public feelings were sufficiently outraged by the astonishing omission of Lady Nelson, in the honours and wealth bestowed on the family at Lord Nelson's death. The Government, on that occasion, took part with his unwarrantable caprice, and neglected that amiable and excellent woman, (as all who have ever mentioned her name admit her

to be), merely because she had been most causelessly neglected by her husband. It encouraged the base and un-English feelings which too frequently lead, what is called fashionable society, to take the husband's part, because he is the powerful party; and to shun his innocent and ill-treated wife, only because she is weak and unfortunate. Instances could be given with ease, of women avoided in the world, almost as scrupulously as if they had been divorced by their husbands; and when you come to ask why, the only answer is, that their husbands have been living apart from them, to indulge in their own vicious courses, without having a shadow of charge to prefer in extenuation of this conduct. If, when Mr Pitt passed over the wife in the grants of money, pension and peerage, (in the teeth of his own last precedent when Sir Ralph Abercromby fell), he had also pensioned the other connexion—we might in vain have ransacked foreign courts for proofs of public immorality. As for Lady Hamilton herself, we see no right which she can have to complain. Her public services, we suppose, have been sufficiently requited by the public, whom she may formerly have served. The transactions in the Bay of Naples merited another kind of reward. And if she is now in want of money, she surely can find no difficulty in obtaining assistance from the distinguished friends whose letters fill up this work. They would prefer, we should think, contributing in cash, to affording her their letters. And if one Noble and Right Reverend person is no more, whose gallantry graces these pages, and who, among other things, compares her to '*Diana*'—another, equally noble, though as yet only Reverend correspondent, survives, who surely cannot have forgotten how often he was her 'obliged and faithful servant,'—called her 'his deary,'—condescended to write jocose and free letters to her of a Sunday morning, between morning and evening service,—looked to her as his 'best and truest friend' for protection and advancement,—engaged her to obtain prebends 'with six hundred a-year, and good houses;' and inclosed a list of five Deans, 'all old men.' To him, and to such as him, who are wallowing in riches, and have given her claims on their gratitude, she is certainly entitled to look for assistance; not to the public, of whom she has deserved ill, and never more so than by the present publication.

Art. VIII. *Poems on Several Occasions.* By Edward, Lord Thurlow. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 349. London. 1813.

Moonlight, a Poem, with several Copies of Verses. By Edward, Lord Thurlow. 4to. pp. 75. London. 1814.

The Doge's Daughter, a Poem; with several Translations from Anacreon and Horace. By Edward, Lord Thurlow. 8vo. pp. 66. London. 1814.

Ariadne: A Poem, in Three Parts. By Edward, Lord Thurlow. 8vo. pp. 58. London. 1814.

Our modern heroes, poetical as well as military, are endowed with a rapidity of motion and achievement which keeps gazettes and reviews continually on the alert. Indeed, so difficult do we critics find it to keep pace with the 'celeritas incredibilis' of some of our literary Cæsars, that we think it would not be amiss if each of these poetical chieftains had a Reviewer appointed expressly, *auprès de sa personne*, to give the earliest intelligence of his movements, and do justice to his multifarious enterprizes.

The Poems of Lord Thurlow—whose prowess in this way is most alarmingly proved by the list prefixed to this article—come graced and recommended to notice by two or three very imposing considerations. In the first place, the rank of the writer is not without its prepossessing influence;—'a saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn:'—and we could name but one noble Bard, among either the living or the dead, whose laurels are sufficiently abundant to keep the coronet totally out of sight. Lord Thurlow himself seems fully aware of this advantage; and we are not quite sure that he did not mean a sly allusion to it, in the following motto from Shakespeare prefixed to one of these volumes—

——— and then *my state*
(Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth) sings hymns at heaven's gate.

In the next place, his Lordship is evidently an enthusiast in his art, and loves the Muse with a warmth which makes us regret that the passion is not mutual. Indeed, we doubt whether the shrine of Apollo ever boasted a more ardent worshipper; and if, unluckily, he but seldom feels the approaches of the god, it is not for want of invocations many and importunate. At times he even contrives, by the mere force of devotion, to work himself up into a sort of mock inspiration, like that of the young

priestess Phemonoe in Lucan; *—but, like her too, we fear he will fail in passing off his spurious ecstasies, upon any one at all acquainted with the true symptoms of divine afflation.

Another peculiarity by which this noble author deceives us into a momentary feeling of interest about his writings, is that air of antiquity, which his study of our earlier writers enables him to throw not only over his verse but his prose. This charm, however, is of short duration. A mimickry of the diction of those mighty elders;—a resemblance, which keeps carefully wide of their beauties, and is laboriously faithful to their defects alone;—the mere mouldering form of their phraseology, without any of that life-blood of fancy which played through it—is an imposture that soon wearies, and, if his Lordship does not take especial care, will, at last, disgust. He must not be surprised, if some unlucky critic should fall into the tasteless error of Martinus Scriblerus's maid, and, in scouring off the rust from the pretended antique shield, discover but a very indifferent modern sconce underneath it.

The first poem, of any length, that occurs, and, perhaps, one of the best that Lord Thurlow has written, is 'Hermilda in Palestine.' We are assured, indeed, by no less an authority than Dr Busby, that the Hermilda 'has given much pleasure to the lovers of fine poetry.' † It would be scarcely fair, however, to animadvert upon this poem in its present imperfect state. We have little more than the opening of it; and the noble author has managed, in the course of a few hundred lines, to get half a dozen persons into scrapes and situations, from which twice as many thousand would not extricate them safely or creditably. At present, therefore, we shall refrain from touching this very tangled web. But, should Lord Thurlow at any time complete his design;—should he ever succeed in bringing back these stray heroes and heroines, and restoring them to their disconsolate friends and relations, we promise, in our critical capacity, to pay all due attention to his labours. At the same time, we submit, for his soberest consideration, whether a King of Ithaca, who thus traces his pedigree—

'Ye kings, and heroes, of whose race I am,
Deducing from high Jove my sacred birth,
And he indeed from ancient Saturn came,
That was the first great ruler of the Earth.'

Hermilda, p. 39.

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* Deum simulans, sub pectore ficta quieto
Verba refert, nullo confusæ murmure vocis
Instinctam sacro mentem testata furore.

Pharsal. Lib. 5. *v.* 148.

† Preface to his Translation of Lucretius.

Or a King of Pergamus, addicted to the following pastimes;

> 'For in his tender years he wont to wring
> The speckled serpents, and compel to die;
> And after in the forests he would tear
> The bloody jaws of libbard and of bear.' p. 49.

Or finally a fair Amazon, who talks in this homespun style;—

> 'This wretched man, I sleeping in the wood,
> Thought well to rob me, maugre all his fear;
> But found, at last, and to his bitter cost,
> He reckoned up his bill without his host.' p. 54.

—We submit, we say, whether such personages as these deserve that either he or we should be doomed to take any further trouble about them.

We come next to 'Verses, in all humility dedicated to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.' These are excellent. The rising Sun is, of course, the *stock* simile upon such occasions; and his Lordship thus manages his two great luminaries.

> 'As when the burning Majesty of day
> The golden-hoofed steeds doth speed away
> To reach the summit of the Eastern hill;
> (And sweet expectance all the world doth fill);
>
> With all his gorgeous company of clouds
> (Wherein sometimes his awful face he shrouds)
> Of amber and of gold, he marcheth on,
> And the pure angels sing before his throne;
>
> So you, great Sir,' &c. &c. p. 112, 113.

Now, really, if Lord Thurlow were not one of the last persons to be suspected of any wilful deviation into wit and humour;—if we did not know how he scorns to descend from upper air into the low region of those will-o'th'-wisp meteors, whose brilliancy is too often derived from the very grossness of that earth they illuminate;—we should swear, that by all these tawdry similitudes, this 'amber' and 'gold,' and 'golden-hoofed steeds,' —he meant something not over charitable to the illustrious person so typified. It requires, indeed, our utmost reliance upon the noble author's sublimity, not to suspect him of *some* little declension towards waggery, in the line, 'With all his gorgeous 'company of clouds.' This, surely, is too happy and appropriate to be the mere casual windfall of sublimity. Aristophanes had already prepared us for the allusion, by representing a 'com-'pany of Clouds' as the secret advisers of Socrates; and, in short—not to enter needlessly into particulars—we know nothing in descriptive poetry more strikingly graphical, than this motley mixture of gorgeousness and opacity, in which the Poet has enveloped his 'Majesty of day' and 'his company.'

The following is the concluding stanza of these delectable verses.

> 'The tears, which we have shed, no more shall flow;
> Your beauteous rising in our hearts shall glow;
> And hymns of praise, as we behold your light,
> Shall warble from the bosom of the night!' p. 113.

Though we do not by any means agree with Lucretius 'gig-'ni posse ex non-sensibus sensus;' yet we think a little sense might be elicited out of this last couplet, by the restitution of a single letter, which, we have no doubt, dropped out at the press: we would read, 'Shall warble from the bosom of the *Knight*,' —meaning evidently Sir George Smart, who has the honour of presiding over the royal concerts.

The remainder of this volume, to the amount of near three hundred pages, consists of poems upon various subjects, under the general title 'Sylva.' There is 'The Induction to my 'poem, which I designed to write, entitled England Triumph-'ant;' and 'The Legend of the Knight of Illyria'—another fragment of another great work—in which his Lordship thus introduces the dam and sire of a certain horse called Eupheme,

> 'Milk-white she was, as is a holy heifer,
> And bore this son, as I have said, to Zephyr.' p. 215.

Indeed, from the frequency and fondness with which this noble animal, the horse, is mentioned, we suspect that, like the famous philologer Henry Stephen,* his Lordship writes most of his poems on horse-back; which makes it the more surprizing that he should ever condescend to woo the 'Musa pedestris,' or dismounted Muse, in numbers so very near the ground as the following.

> 'His warlike spear into his hand he took,
> And paced forth into Eupheme's stall;
> Then loosed him, whereas in little nook
> That horse divine was tied to the wall.' p. 221.

Or these:

> 'But pity of that lady's sad mishap
> Did most torment him thro' the restless night;
> He thinks the slave will in a dungeon clap
> Her tender limbs; perhaps will kill outright;
> Or, since he now hath got her in his trap,
> Will quite despoil, to feed his appetite.' p. 227.

There is nothing more delightful than to be admitted, as it were, into the work-shop of genius;—to see the many unhewn masses of thought which are destined to grow beneath the chisel into forms of grace and magnificence;—to observe, too, how

* 'Pleraque sua carmina equitans composuit,' says his biographer.

much of this precious material has been wasted in wild experiments and forgotten fragments;—and then turn with delight to the contemplation of one divine work, which, after nights of thought, and days of labour, has at length risen into bright, consummate beauty, and waits but the last superficial polish, to take its place in a niche of Immortality's temple. This is no common treat; and with something like this (*how* like we will not say) the sublime Lord Thurlow has good-naturedly gratified us. We have already seen how kindly he lays open his workshop to the curious;—how many mishapen trunks, and pagod-looking things, (some with hardly a foot to stand upon), he has generously submitted to the inspection of literary virtuosi:—But, not content with this exhibition of all he *has* done, or attempted to do, his Lordship, in some verses addressed 'to the very noble and accomplished Lord Holland,' gives the following clear account of all he hereafter *means* to do.

'Perhaps, if time and grace be spar'd,
  We may prepare a flight,
Wherein the heights of glory dar'd,
  And the o'er-fabled night,
From out those adamantine gates,
  And plains of penal woe,
We may, returning to our mates,
  In blameless triumph go.

I think, my Lord, to build a verse,
  Which, *if our language hold*,
Shall thro' the sides of darkness pierce,
  And to all time unfold,
In language of thrice golden praise,
  And ever-dear delight,
What lives amid th' Olympic ways,
  And in the shoreless night.' p. 110, 111.

The public, we are convinced, will be all impatience to receive the very valuable information promised in this last couplet: and though his Lordship seems to fear that our language may break down under him, we trust that no such accident will hap-pen, but that he may perform his journey in safety to [illegible] 'adamantine gates' he talks of, and tell us all about 'th' Olympic ways' and 'the shoreless night,' on his return.

In the Appendix, or continuation of the Sy[illegible] there is a poem of no less than four hundred lines' length, in praise [illegible], who, we at first supposed, must be some allegorical personage; conceiving that nothing but a 'headstrong [illegible] from the banks of the Nile,' could run away with a [illegible] through four hundred lines together, without suffering him to [illegible] one breath

of common sense by the way: but we believe, after all, this Althea is a downright mortal mistress—though, if she knows the meaning of his Lordship's eulogy, she is much deeper in his secrets than we can ever expect to be. Menage was laughed at for writing to ladies in Greek; but we think Lord Thurlow's English has quite as little chance of being understood by them.—We defy any Greek—even *Prize* Greek—to be much more puzzling than the following stanzas.

'Then are we to this fatal passion sworn,
As innocent as is the balmy air;
Nay, often on the pinions of the morn,
The angels to her golden rest repair.
What promise I myself? this perfect praise
Of spirits, and the large adoring world,
That must upon her faultless beauty gaze,
But shows the height from which I may be hurl'd.

What virtue is in me? the way unknown,
With no diviner guide, like Hercules,' &c. &c.

Appendix, p. 10.

A fact, however, has transpired in these verses, which renders them important in a political point of view. It now turns out, that neither Moscow, nor Spain, nor even the inspired fatuity of our own government, in blundering on to success through more than twenty years of waste and failure, are to be assigned any longer as the causes (under Providence) of Napoleon's downfall, and the deliverance of Europe;—for we now find, on the authority of these verses, it was Lord Thurlow's friend Althea that did it all:

'Ah me! whatever is more soft, and pure,
Than all the world of woman-kind can show;
Whatever can to blameless love allure,
And make us with heroick passion glow,
In her, as in its native seat is found,
As light has still most splendour in the sun
The name of England is by her renown'd,
And by her charms Napoleon is undone.' p. 17.

We have heard indeed of *another* illustrious claimant to the sole and exclusive glory of these happy events;—but it is not for us to undertake so delicate an arbitrement:—Between that great person and Althea the matter rests at present.

We come now to the 'Moonlight' of the Noble author, having already had a foretaste of his lunar inspirations, in a Sonnet (Poems, p. 196) beginning thus:

'How oft, O Moon, in thy most tragick face,
The travell'd map of mournful history,
Some record of long perish'd woe I trace,
Fetch'd from old Kings' moth-eaten memory.'

'Moonlight' is dedicated to Lord Eldon. 'It is the labour,' the Noble author says, 'of *two* days, and presented to Lord Eldon on *two* accounts.' We shall try the patience and ingenuity of our readers with but one enigmatical extract from this poem;—hoping, at the same time, that Lord Thurlow is less cruelly given than that ancient dealer in riddles, the Sphinx, who made a point of devouring all those that were unable to understand her conundrums.

'No soul has flown unto the gate of woe,
Or to the blissful soil, or brush'd the shore
Of Limbo with its wings; or flown and liv'd:
But yet intelligence from these has come,
By angels, and pale ghosts, and vexed fools,
That, straying as they wont, were blown athwart
The nether world, from the oblivious pool
Scarce 'scaping, on our scornful marge to land;
Thence to be blown by every idle wind,
Their tale half told, with a new flight of fools,
Eclectick, to the planetary void.' p. 12.

On this extraordinary passage,—its blown-about ghosts, and eclectick flight of fools—and on all such extraordinary passages in Lord Thurlow, we would willingly pass no severer sentence than that which a Mufti, whom Toderini mentions, * pronounced upon some verses of the Turkish poet Misri;—'Le sens 'de ces vers ne peut être connu et entendu de personne que de 'Dieu et de Misri.'—The Noble author had evidently been reading Dante; and the same process appears to have taken place, which, from his Lordship's peculiar affinities, must always occur upon his immersion into any such writers,—he comes out incrusted with a rich deposit of their faults. Not all the authority of Dante † can reconcile us to hearing the dog Cerberus called 'a worm' with 'an iron throat.'

At length we arrive at a story, which the Noble author has condescended to finish;—one of those chef-d'œuvres from 'the working-house of thought,' which we have already said there is such fulness of delight in contemplating. 'The Doge's Daughter' was written, as we are told in the dedication, for the laudable purpose of curing Lord Eldon of the gout:—'but I thank God,' says the dedicator, 'your Lordship's pain lasted not so long as my labour:'—The poem, however, is here ready against any future attack; and we trust the Learned Lord

* De la Literature des Turcs.

† Quando ci scorse Cerbero il gran vermo—Infern. Cant. 6.—The 'iron throat' is a tasteful supplement of his Lordship's.—Ariosto calls the devil 'gran verme infernal.' To this there can be no objection whatever.

will find benefit from the application. It is a conceit of Cowley, in speaking of Ovid's writings during his banishment, that 'the cold of the country had stricken through the very feet of his verses:'—and we really fear that the feet of Lord Thurlow's verses are not wholly free from that malady, for which he thinks them so sovereign a cure;—they have all its visible symptoms of hobbling and inflation, and indeed are in such a state as to make us feel that it would be barbarous to handle them too roughly. We shall therefore be as gentle in our account of 'the Doge's Daughter' as possible.

The Poem opens with Aurora leaving the bed of that eternal old gentleman Tithonus, and Apollo

'Coming forth with all his state
From the oriental gate;
Now the Doge was at his prayers;
And her bright and golden hairs
Amphitrite combed free
Underneath the crystal sea.' p. 1.

We think *this* Doge must be quite as astonished to find himself 'at his prayers' between Apollo and Amphitrite, as his brother Doge was upon seeing himself at the court of Lewis the XIVth.

'But yet Heliodora lay,
Turning from the golden day,
Naked, on her purple bed,
Tears, like amber, she did shed,
And her bosom heav'd with groans,
Fit to melt the marble stones
That jut upon the Adrian shore.' p. 3.

This gorgeous young lady, who lies upon purple, and weeps amber, is the Doge's daughter;—and, not having her recollection very clear about her in waking, she asks her nurse

'Is not this the fatal day,
Tell me, O Caneura, pray,
When the Doge, my father, said,
I should mount the marriage bed
With the Lord Orsino's heir?
O day of madness and despair!' p. 3, 4.

The lover of her own choice is Frangipani;—she is, of course, superlatively wretched, and thus calls upon 'the golden air'—of all conceivable and inconceivable things—to pity her!

'"O pity me, thou golden air!
"For pity to my God I fly;
"O Frangipani, let me die
"If I behold thee not again
Then, overcome with sudden pain,

The maiden fell upon her back,
All her reason gone to wrack.' p. 5.

The nurse endeavours to console her,—Frangipani, she suggests, is gone; and it were 'idle pain' to sigh after him.

'"Would you with Frangipani go
"An exile, o'er the mountain's snow?
"Would you be the *windy* spouse
"Of a Corsair ——"' p. 6.

But all the eloquence of the nurse is vain;—the maiden is not to be consoled;—though her talent for sleeping, in such circumstances, is truly enviable.

'No more the hapless virgin said;
But fell again upon the bed,
And her bright and golden head
In the dews of night was steep'd;
Long time then the maiden sleep'd.' p. 8.

The nurse's heart is at length touched,—whether by the profoundness of her lady's sorrow, or of her sleep, is left doubtful; and she resolves to assist her in escaping to Frangipani.

'"I've an old head, and that can tell—
"There's nothing so impossible,
"But that this eve, ere Hesper glow,
"To Frangipani thou shalt go
"There's never a prince in Italy
"With my Heliodore shall lie,
"But I'll know the reason why:
"Unless, and I myself deceive,
"Frangipani give them leave."' p. 9.

This good old woman arranges their voyage in the same unaffected style.

'"To the Port we'll make repair:
"I have a good brother there,
"Captain of the ship Saint Mark,
"Who will take us in the dark."' p 11.

The young lady puts on sailors' clothes;—is told that 'it will not hurt her chastity' to learn to curse and swear a little; and they embark for Athens.

The Second Canto opens with their arrival in 'the Athenian Bay;'—they see the Duke Œneus and his court;

'And by his side a knight there rode,
Much in semblance like a god;' p. 18.

who turns out to be Frangipani, though shrewdly suspected at first view to be Apollo:—The Duke and his warriors depart on an expedition against the Pagans; and Heliodora, after remarking that 'battle is a sweet delight,' resolves to follow them. She applies, for equipment on the occasion, to a facetious ar-

mourer, who quotes Anacreon, sings ballads about Achilles, and cries 'Anan?' whenever he is spoken to. He accommodates her with a ready-made suit of armour; and she arrives on the field of battle at the very moment when an able-bodied infidel is attacking her lover Frangipani.

'She gave a cry, as doth a dove,
Who death will for her offspring prove;
And, soul and body, to the fight
She drove her steed against the knight:
Like Jove's divine and winged dart,
Her spear went right way thro' the heart,
And o'er his crupper he fell dead:
But Heliodore so swiftly sped,
That, falling o'er the man her steed,
She tumbled headlong on the mead.' p. 26, 27.

No sooner did the lady tumble, than

'Frangipani saw the thing;
And, making for himself a ring,
Like Ajax, with his shield and blade,
Protected the unhappy maid.

He recognizes his Heliodora in the prostrate knight; and—in short—the story ends joyously with a marriage.

'The Duke of Athens join'd their hands,
Love knit them in his golden bands,
And while the stars their lustre spent,
And to and fro young Hymen went,
The Doge's daughter gave content
For Frangipani's banishment.' p. 29.

If this does not charm away Lord Eldon's gout,* we doubt whether even 'my maid's aunt a' Brentford' could cure him; though she, too, used to 'work by spells, by the figure, and such daubery as this is; beyond our element.'

'The Doge's Daughter,' is followed by 'several translations from Anacreon and Horace.' 'The sense of the former poet,' his Lordship tells us, 'has never been poetically given except by Cowley.' He says also, 'this, at least, is due to me, that I have not wandered far from my author; nor made that evil, which I found entirely void of it.' If the noble author could have extended this last-mentioned favour to the poetry as well as the morality of his original, we might, perhaps, have been regaled with something better than the stale, musty *pot-pourri* of poor Anacreon's roses he has given us. Boileau describes one of the guests, at his well-known dinner, 'Lamentant

* The remedy is not quite new:—From Buchanan's melancholy elegy upon his Gout, it appears he sometimes took a dose of the poetry of Turnebus—'Aonii rarissima gloria cœtus.'

tristement une chanson bachique ;'—and heartily do we pity the audience, if they were doomed to more doleful 'Anacreontiques' than the following:

'What needs it then the stone t' anoint,
Special, if here you disappoint
Our greedy thirst, or on the earth
To pour down the goblet's worth?
Me rather, while I live, with oil
Anoint, and with the rose's spoil
Adorn my head, for life is short,
And call me here a maid to court.' p. 35.

The noble translator, however, is sometimes more amusing;—as in the Ode, beginning—

'Yes, I wish, I wish to love;
Cupid of old this thing did move;
But I, who had no prudent mind,' &c. &c. p. 42.

Such flights, however, are rare;—and he has even been at the trouble of inventing for himself a grave, steady sort of blank verse—'Anacreontique,' to save him from all possible risk of degenerating into the usual airiness of this species of composition:—

'Then the cup let us accept,
And our wrinkled cares dismiss;
For what benefit to you,
By solicitude disturb'd?
Have we known whate'er shall be?
Life to men is wholly dark.' p. 49.

And this is poetry!—surely, to give the name of poetry to such lines as we have quoted but too abundantly throughout this article,—merely because they are furnished with their proper quota of syllables,—is a stretch of complaisance, only to be equalled by that of Linnæus, when he classed bats with mankind, in consideration of their mammæ. Horace has fared no better under his Lordship's hands than Anacreon;—'Si flava 'excutitur Cloe,' is translated 'If *yellow Cloe* go to wrack.'

There is still another publication on the list—called 'Ariadne'—But we are so anxious, before we take leave of Lord Thurlow, to give our readers some specimen of his happier efforts, which may excuse, if not justify, us in their eyes for bestowing so many pages on such a writer, that we shall despatch this last production in as few words as possible.

The heroine, Ariadne, is left alone on a desart island by her lover—not Theseus, as in our ignorance we expected, but one 'Lord Marinell'—and

'there sits,
And with her tears augments the briny flood,
Love's prodigal and *widow of despite.*' p. 7

This 'Despite,' whose widow the unfortunate lady is, must be some relation, we surmise, to 'that vile thief Deformed,'—who, in Dogberry's time, used to 'go up and down like a gentleman:'—Amphitrite, however, takes pity on the deserted lady, and sends Ariel—But we really are unable to get through the story;—and must, like Sloth in the Lutrin, break off in the middle of our narration; happy, if good-breeding can keep us from imitating that goddess, when she

> '—— succombant sous l'effort,
> Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil et s'endort.'

We shall only remark, that it required no ordinary courage to take Ariel in hand after Shakespeare; and that his fate here very touchingly reminds us of the story of poor Ver-vert. That divinely-spoken bird, in his way to the nuns who borrowed him, forgot the holy language for which he had been famed, and learned all sorts of vulgar abominations instead; and we are sorry to say the loan of Prospero's 'bird' to Lord Thurlow, has been attended with quite as provoking a metamorphosis.

But it is time to give the more favourable specimens we have promised:—The following reflections upon 'the Sacred Islands,' are in the Noble author's very best manner.

> 'There sorrow never enters, nor sad pain
> Afflicts, but joy with youthful love is wed,
> And endless summer o'er the clime doth reign:
> There the great poets and the heroes dwell,
> And kings, who held the glorious sceptre well.
>
> 'And there too you, but be the season long,
> My * *, shall repose in soft delight;
> And feed your perfect soul with Virgil's song,
> Your temples with pure laurel chastely dight;
> Since still you sought the right, and left the wrong,
> There through the golden day, and radiant night,
> Your bliss shall be; but ah! I fable here;
> Your virtue will be crown'd in higher sphere.'
>
> *Hermilda*, p. 55.

The following extract from his Lordship's Appendix to the Sylva, contains as few of those faults which are peculiar to himself, with as many of those beauties which are common to him with thousands, as any we can select.

> 'Much pleasure yet there is, and sweetness too,
> In this pale look of the declining year;
> I know not if the golden summer's hue,
> More soft to me or lovely can appear:
> The nightingale, indeed, is flown away,
> The zephyr on its joyous wing is gone

But yet the robin pours a plaintive lay,
And a soft murmur makes the air its own!
Then thus to lie amid these mournful bowers,
To dream of joys that may again return
T' extract the worth of these declining hours,
Shall make my fancy soar, my spirit burn:
Let others love the Summer's flattering glare,
But I will sing to the Autumnal air!'

Indeed, we rather think the most respectable efforts of the Noble author's pen are to be found among these lesser pieces of the Sylva and the Appendix;—though, at the same time, truth obliges us to add, that in proportion as they grow rational, they cease to be amusing; and that we have never read poetry, which explained to us so perfectly, why that people of antiquity—the Træzenians, we believe—sacrificed to Sleep and the Muses on the same altar.

We had concluded this article, when we received, by express, *another* Poem from the pen of this indefatigable Nobleman, entitled—'Carmen Britannicum, or, the Song of Britain, written in honour of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.'—This is really overpowering; and we find we have not a moment to lose in adopting the measure suggested at the beginning of the article, and appropriating one of our brethren exclusively to his Lordship. The 'Carmen Britannicum' is admirable in its way;—and we only regret, that we have not room for abundant extracts from it. He traces the descent of the Regent in a direct line from Jupiter, through Hercules, Glaucus, the Tarquins, &c. down to Azo, son of Hugo,—

'From whom our kings the Saxon sceptre claim,
And the White Horse do in their banners place:' p. 17.

From Azo, the pedigree flows downward through several other 'sons of gods,' till it ends most satisfactorily in the Prince Regent;—whom the poet thus addresses—

'The Sun beholds thee with uprising love,
And joyous, laughs, in his thrice-golden sphere,
And does reluctant from thy presence move;
The son of Jove, thou to his beams art dear.' p. 23.

He has the hardihood, however, in one memorable line, to charge this illustrious person with a deed, of which few have ever suspected Him to be capable—

'*Thames*, by thy victories, *is set on fire!*'—

and we were agreeably surprised to find from the following couplets, that India and Africa are the birth-places of some of

those obnoxious things about Court, which we had very much feared were all of home extraction—

> 'All herbs of earth are in thy gardens seen,
> And in thy forests every glorious tree;
> The Indian world has been despoiled clean,
> And Africa, *to find new beasts for thee!*' p. 24.

One more passage, and we have done.—

> 'This is thy praise: but greater is thy bliss
> To sit enthron'd upon the regal chair,
> And see around thee what no land, but this,
> Can yield to thought of beautiful and fair;
> Ladies, whom nature for a pattern made,
> In shape, in stature, in complexion pure.' p. 25.

And now we, for the second time, take our leave of Lord Thurlow;—heartily wishing that, as he styles himself 'the Priest' of the Prince Regent, and seems to threaten many more such oblations at his shrine, he would, at once, assume the laurel in form, and emancipate the brows of the present wearer, whose Pegasus is much too noble an animal, to be doomed to act the part of a cream-coloured horse upon birth-days.

Art. IX. *Sermons, chiefly on Particular Occasions.* By Archibald Alison, LL. B. Prebendary of Sarum, Rector of Rodington, Vicar of High Ercal, and Senior Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 466. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. London, Longman & Co. 1814.

The style of these Sermons is something new, we think, in the literature of this country. It is more uniformly elevated, more profusely figured—and, above all, more curiously modulated, and balanced upon a more exact and delicate rythm, than any English composition in mere prose with which we are acquainted. In these, as well as in some more substantial characteristics, it reminds us more of the beautiful moral harangues that occur in the Telemaque of Fenelon, or of the celebrated Oraisons Funebres of Bossuet, than of any thing of British growth and manufacture:—Nor do we hesitate at all to set Mr Alison fairly down by the side of, the last named of those illustrious Prelates. He is less lofty perhaps; but more tender and more varied—less splendid, but less theatrical—and, with fewer striking reflections on particular occurrences, has unquestionably more of the broad light of philosophy, and the milder glow of religion. In polish and dignity we do not think him at

all inferior—though he has not the advantage of enhancing the simple majesty of Christianity by appeals to listening monarchs, and apostrophes to departed princes.

From the very suggestion of this parallel, it will be understood, that the strain of the discourses before us is never careless or even familiar—perhaps not always quite natural—but uniformly graceful, engaging and impressive; and at least as far removed from the parade of a frigid rhetoric, as from the rude energy of tempestuous passion or untutored enthusiasm. If they do not abound in those bursts and flashes of eloquence which constitute the sublime of such compositions, they have all the richness and warmth and softness which make up their beauty; and are intimately felt to be the works of a mind at once delicate and ardent, guided by the purest taste and the most amiable feelings—and pleasing itself with bestowing a careful finish on its expressions, not more from an instinctive love of all that is beautiful and harmonious, than from an unfeigned affection and concern for the subjects on which it is employed.

We do not know, in fact, any sermons so pleasing—or so likely both to be popular, and to do good to those who are pleased with them. All the feelings are generous and gentle—all the sentiments liberal—and all the general views just and ennobling. They are calculated to lead us on to piety, through the purification of our taste, and the culture of our social affections—to found the love of God on the love of Nature and of Man—and to purge the visual orb of the soul for the contemplation of the infinite majesty of the Creator, by teaching it to recognize the unspeakable beauty and grandeur which reigns in all the aspects of his physical and moral creation. They are not, however, sermons for profound scholars or learned divines. They contain no display of erudition, nor profess to settle any knotty points in theology. Such labours have their value no doubt, and are entitled to their praise; nor is it a light praise to have consecrated the fruits of long study and scientific research to the illustration of what is dark; or the confirmation of what is doubtful in the foundations of our faith: but we have always thought that discussions such as these could be embodied in no form less suitable to their substance than that of sermons in the vulgar tongue—or, in other words, discourses orally delivered to a promiscuous audience, the greater part of which is necessarily incapable either of following or of appretiating the merits of the reasoning—and no part of which could presume to judge of it on a mere transient recitation of the positions and authorities. There are no subjects in fact that require so patient a collation of books, and so frequent a recurrence to the early steps of our

argument, as the abstruse and weighty matters that form the topics of theological controversy,—either with argumentative infidels, or the learned advocates of an erroneous faith. Such discussions, therefore, are most properly made the subject of books, or of academical instruction: but we conceive it to be nothing less than a perversion of the great purposes of ordinary preaching, to substitute them in the place of those weekly discourses by which the morals of a whole congregation are to be improved, or their devotion awakened.

It is not easy to overrate the importance of doing this effectually and well; and when we consider how great a proportion of readers are as careless—as impatient of long dissertations, and at the same time as vacant and open to all lively impressions as the mass of an ordinary congregation, it is not easy to calculate how much good may be effected, when a pastor, who has discovered the secret of doing this, is pleased to enlarge his audience by means of the press, and to extend the benefit of his exhortations to all who are enrolled in his flock by the mere act of becoming his readers. For one man whose understanding is perplexed by the false doctrines or false philosophy, which it is the object of a Stillingfleet, a Clarke, or a Horsley, to redargue and expose, we may be assured there are at least a thousand who stand in need of the excitement and suggestions which may be furnished by the volume before us—who want to be roused to a sense of the beauty and the good that exist in the universe around them—and who are only indifferent to the feelings of their fellow-creatures, and negligent of the duties they impose, for want of some persuasive monitor to awake the dormant capacities of their nature, and to make them see and feel the delights which Providence has attached to their exercise. It is lamentable, indeed, to think how many pass through life, without tasting the highest gratification, or exerting the noblest functions of their being, from no other cause than the want of some such excitement; and how many of those who have been happily distinguished for both, are able to trace back the first dawnings of that moral and intellectual existence to the accidental perusal of some work, far less fitted to produce that effect than the least of the discourses of Mr Alison.

We are not acquainted, indeed, with any work so well fitted for the purpose; or calculated to make so beneficial an impression on the minds of those to whom such topics have not hitherto been familiar. The beauty of the style and the imagery, is almost sure to attract the attention in the first place; and the mind must be dull and sullen indeed, that offers a long resist-

ance to the stronger charm of that indulgent philanthropy—of that warm sensibility to goodness and beauty—that amiable sympathy with youth, and innocence, and enjoyment—and that holy hope and cheerful confidence in the ultimate and universal happiness of a creation proceeding from omnipotent love—which form the grand characteristics of these eloquent discourses.

Their faults—since there must be faults in every thing that passes through our hands—are, in the first place, a little mannerism and monotony—arising from the too uniform melody of the composition, and from that emphatic tone which prevails too universally, not to become, on some occasions, both wearisome and ineffective. The necessity which the author seems to have imposed on himself, of always filling and satisfying the ear, sometimes leaves the mind unsatisfied; and an harmonious close now and then conducts us to a weak or ordinary meaning. Another, and something of a kindred fault, may perhaps be ascribed to the necessary brevity of a modern sermon. Large and comprehensive views are sometimes just opened, and then deserted, or dismissed with very slight consideration;—a sort of philosophical grandeur and majestic wisdom in the beginning of a discourse now and then holds out a promise, where there is no space left for the performance. We have scarcely admired the stateliness of the vestibule, when the door of the temple itself is closed against us:—and the lofty prelude has but just summoned us to attention, when the music is broken off, or passes to a differing measure. It is quite time, however, that we should permit our readers to judge of these defects and excellences for themselves.

The sermons are mostly of an occasional nature. There is one on each of the four seasons; one on the century; one on scarcity; and six or seven on the national fasts. There are four or five without any such appropriate application. Those who have the good fortune to be familiar with the beautiful Essays in which this author has unfolded the true theory of material beauty and sublimity, by resolving them into symbols of mental loveliness or grandeur, will naturally turn with eagerness to the sermons on the Seasons, for the farther elucidation of this interesting doctrine; and they will be fully gratified;—though we can afford to make but a few extracts from this portion of the volume. We begin with the sermon on Autumn, which was preached from the text of Isaac meditating at eventide in the fields. After some introductory remarks, the preacher proceeds—

'There is an even-tide in the day,—an hour when the sun retires, and the shadows fall, and when nature assumes the appearances of

soberness and silence. It is an hour from which everywhere the thoughtless fly, as peopled only in their imagination with images of gloom;—it is the hour, on the other hand, which, in every age, the wise have loved, as bringing with it sentiments and affections more valuable than all the splendours of the day.

'Its first impression is to still all the turbulence of thought or passion which the day may have brought forth. We follow, with our eye, the descending sun,—we listen to the decaying sounds of labour and of toil,—and, when all the fields are silent around us, we feel a kindred stillness to breathe upon our souls, and to calm them from the agitations of society. From this first impression, there is a second which naturally follows it;—in the day we are living with men,—in the even-tide we begin to live with nature;—we see the world withdrawn from us,—the shades of night darken over the habitations of men, and we feel ourselves alone. It is an hour, fitted, as it would seem, by Him who made us, to still, but with gentle hand, the throb of every unruly passion, and the ardour of every impure desire; and, while it veils for a time the world that misleads us, to awaken in our hearts those legitimate affections which the heat of the day may have dissolved. There is yet a farther scene it presents to us:—While the world withdraws from us, and while the shades of the evening darken upon our dwellings, the splendours of the firmament come forward to our view. In the moments when earth is overshadowed, Heaven opens to our eyes the radiance of a sublimer being; our hearts follow the successive splendours of the scene; and while we forget, for a time, the obscurity of earthly concerns, we feel that there are "yet greater things than these."

'There is, in the second place, an "even-tide" in the year,—a season, as we now witness, when the sun withdraws his propitious light,—when the winds arise, and the leaves fall, and nature around us seems to sink into decay. It is said, in general, to be the season of melancholy; and if, by this word be meant that it is the time of solemn and of serious thought, it is undoubtedly the season of melancholy;—yet, it is a melancholy so soothing, so gentle in its approach, and so prophetic in its influence, that they who have known it feel, as instinctively, that it is the doing of God, and that the heart of man is not thus finely touched, but to fine issues.

'When we go out into the fields in the evening of the year, a different voice approaches us. We regard, even in spite of ourselves, the still but steady advances of time. A few days ago, and the summer of the year was grateful, and every element was filled with life, and the sun of Heaven seemed to glory in his ascendant. He is now enfeebled in his power; the desert no more "blossoms like the rose;" the song of joy is no more heard among the branches; and the earth is strewed with that foliage which once bespoke the magnificence of summer. Whatever may be the passions which society has awakened, we pause amid this apparent desolation of nature. We sit down in the lodge "of the way-faring man in the wilderness,"

and we feel that all we witness is the emblem of our own fate. Such also, in a few years, will be our own condition. The blossoms of our spring,—the pride of our summer will also fade into decay; —and the pulse that now beats high with virtuous or with vicious desire, will gradually sink, and then must stop for ever. We rise from our meditations with hearts softened and subdued, and we return into life as into a shadowy scene, where we have "disquieted ourselves in vain."

'Yet a few years, we think, and all that now bless, or all that now convulse humanity will also have perished. The mightiest pageantry of life will pass,—the loudest notes of triumph or of conquest will be silent in the grave;—the wicked, wherever active, "will cease from troubling," and the weary, wherever suffering, "will be at rest." Under an impression so profound, we feel our own hearts better. The cares, the animosities, the hatreds which society may have engendered, sink unperceived from our bosoms. In the general desolation of nature, we feel the littleness of our own passions;—we look forward to that kindred evening which time must bring to all;—we anticipate the graves of those we hate, as of those we love. Every unkind passion falls, with the leaves that fall around us; and we return slowly to our homes, and to the society which surrounds us, with the wish only to enlighten or to bless them.

'If there were no other effects, my brethren, of such appearances of nature upon our minds, they would still be valuable,—they would teach us humility,—and with it they would teach us charity.' p. 323—331.

The final application of this great moral of nature is as follows:

'There is an even-tide in human life; a season when the eye becomes dim, and the strength decays, and when the winter of age begins to shed upon the human head its prophetic snow. It is the season of life to which the present is most analogous; and much it becomes, and much it would profit you, my elder brethren, to mark the instructions which the season brings. The spring and the summer of your days are gone, and, with them, not only the joys they knew, but many of the friends who gave them. You have entered upon the autumn of your being; and whatever may have been the profusion of your spring, or the warm intemperance of your summer, there is yet a season of stillness and of solitude which the beneficence of Heaven affords you, in which you may meditate upon the past and the future, and prepare yourselves for the mighty change which you are soon to undergo.

'In the long retrospect of your journey, you have seen every day the shades of the evening fall, and every year the clouds of winter gather. But you have seen also, every succeeding day, the morning arise in its brightness, and in every succeeding year the spring return to renovate the winter of nature. It is now you may understand the magnificent language of Heaven,—it mingles its

voice with that of revelation,—it summons you, in these hours when the leaves fall, and the winter is gathering, to that evening study which the mercy of Heaven has provided in the book of salvation; And, while the shadowy valley opens which leads to the abode of death, it speaks of that hand which can comfort and can save, and which can conduct to those "green pastures, and those still waters," where there is an eternal spring for the children of God.' p. 338–340.

In the discourse on Summer, there is more of practical admonition. After mentioning it as the season when the great and wealthy retire from the business and the dissipations of the town to their possessions in the country, he takes occasion to make some admirable observations on the peculiar advantages and duties of great landed proprietors in a country like ours.

'Other men,' he observes, 'must struggle with the world, before they can raise themselves into distinction and influence. He, on the contrary, is born a ruler of the people; and the same laws which convey to him the title to his lands, convey to him the welfare or the wretchedness of the men who inhabit them. His opinions, in many ways, become the model of theirs;—his example is able, either to strengthen or to shake their most important principles of morality;—and his power can make itself felt, even within the walls of the lowest cottage, either in disseminating joy, or diffusing sorrow. From the agitations of the great world, the obscurity of the poor renders them happily free; and, amid the calm occupations of sequestered industry, even the influence of legislature is but distantly felt. But the influence of their landlord is felt in every day and in every occupation of their lives; and he alone, of all the various members of society, has the power of realizing the beautiful description of the Patriarch of old: "When I went out of the gate, the young men "saw me, and hid themselves: and the aged arose, and stood up. "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw "me, it gave witness unto me. I delivered the poor and the father-"less, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that "was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart "to sing for joy."' p. 200–202.

And a little after, he breaks out into the following touching and persuasive appeal—

'Seated in the midst of an obedient and humble people, how many are the blessings which even common kindness may diffuse! If it be the young who are wandering into error or folly, it is your advice which best can restrain, and most effectually warn them. If it be talents and genius which are struggling in obscurity, it is your hand which can raise them up, and lead them into the road of honour and independence. If it be misfortune which bows down the poor man's head, and makes him look to futurity with tears, it is your pity and forbearance which can give him more than wealth, and rekindle anew the spirit of industry, and the hope of better days. If it be the grey

hairs of the decayed labourer which bend before you, it is you who can give them shelter, and, in some little corner of your land, let them fall to the grave in peace.

'How well, too, is this situation suited to the exercise of female humanity! and, in the scenes far from the turbulent pleasures of fashionable life, how well may female virtue exert its noblest powers! To be the patterns and the protectors of their sex, —to cherish the purity of domestic virtue,—to guide the mother's hand in the rearing of her children, and teach to them the important lessons of religious education and domestic economy,—to awaken, by kind praise, the ambition of the young, and to sooth, with lenient hand, the sorrows of the old,—these are the opportunities which such situations afford to female benevolence; the means by which they may exalt the character, and extend the virtues of their sex; and shed upon the lowly cottage of the peasant, blessings which can compensate for all its wants, and all its poverty.

'Nor think, my brethren, that, in this detail of beneficence, there is little use, or that these simple virtues perish with the day that gives them birth. It is they, in fact, which have given its character to our land,—and which, knitting by insensible means the affections of the people to their masters, have maintained, in many an hour of danger, the rights and the liberties of all, and spread the riches of cultivation which distinguish our country. And even now the traveller, as he passes, can mark, both on the face of nature and on the face of man, whether it is by wisdom or folly,—by benevolence or by cruelty, that the district he surveys is governed;—and, while he sighs at the sterility which folly causes, and the misery which oppression has produced, he leaves his blessing on those fields which the wisdom of the landlord has made fertile, and on those men whom his beneficence has made happy.' p. 208—210.

He afterwards points out the infinite importance of the promotion of general instruction, among the duties which are enjoined by such a situation; and replies, in the following impressive passage, to the tyrannical and degrading doctrines, over which we rejoice to think that reason and humanity seem at length to have established their triumph.

'There is, indeed, a doctrine of another kind,—a doctrine which would teach us that the tranquillity of society is only to be maintained by the ignorance of the people,—which, for the sake of the few, would consign all the rest of mankind to barbarity and gloom—and which would purchase the gross repose of rank and affluence by the sacrifice of all the qualities of immortal men. To such a doctrine I need not reply. It is replied to by the indignation of every heart that is akin to humanity. It is replied to, in deeper tones, by the history of the world, and by those terrific scenes which our sister island has lately presented to our view. It is in the annals of her late sanguinary story, that you will see what are the fruits of igno-

rance and barbarity—with what facility the demagogue and the hypocrite may act upon the minds of an untutored people,—and to what lengths of savage cruelty they can go, when they burst the only fetters that restrain them. It is there, my brethren, you will learn, that, by the eternal decree of Heaven, the perfection of society is united with the perfection of the individual; that to improve the lower ranks of men, is to give stability to the higher; and that the peace of a nation can never be so securely trusted, as in the hands of those who share in its prosperity, and who are capable of knowing both their rights and their duties.' p. 205, 206.

Contrasted with the engaging picture of a beloved and benevolent chief, the preacher has also sketched, though with a more rapid pencil, the portrait of rank degraded, and power abused. Mr Alison is too gentle in his nature, and too earnest in his holy function, to interweave personalities with his pious admonitions; but it will be difficult, we believe, for his readers, not to make an application of the following odious representation.

'You have seen, even in this country, rank degraded, and power abused,—riches dissipated amid every ignoble pleasure,—influence devoted only to the dissemination of base or vicious manners,—and all the fairest gifts of Heaven, converted, as by the spell of an enchanter, into the elements of more than mortal death. On such examples, it becomes you well to pause. There was a time, when the lost beings you now behold were innocent and pure,—when life opened to them with all the prospects of usefulness and honour,—and when the promises of youth afforded no presage of the baseness of their maturity, or the ignominy of their age: and it is for you well to consider, whether theirs be the career that you would wish to run, or theirs the death you would wish to die.' p. 184, 185.

We turn now to what may be called the Political discourses; and, disgusted as we have been with the hollow vaunting and hostile imprecations with which most of our pulpits have resounded for the last twenty years—we turn to them with a feeling of exultation and delight, which neither the recollection of our past misfortunes, or of our recent deliverance, can abate or repress. They are full of heroic patriotism, christian humility, and prophetic confidence:—No more eloquent or animating exhortations were ever addressed to men arming for their country;—no more upright and temperate sentiments ever expressed, on occasions of great public interest and dissension;—no more weighty and liberal truths ever urged upon the conscience of an intelligent people. Independent altogether of their merit as splendid pieces of eloquence, we know no compositions better calculated to fix, in all youthful and ingenuous minds, an ardent and ex-

alted love of their country, and a knowledge of the reasons for which it should be loved. We begin with the fast sermon of 1801, immediately after the breaking of the piece of Amiens.

'When we look back,' says the preacher, 'upon the history of antiquity, the prospect is like that of the waves of the ocean; and nations are seen rising for the moment above their ordinary level, to fall back again into the mass from which they arose. If we search for the causes of their fall, we shall find them in their views and their policy. All of them, in their day, have had their own devices,—some of them to enslave the people whom they governed,—some to extend their power by the atrocities of conquest,—others to monopolize the commerce of the world, and to become rich by the oppression of all around them. These mighty devices are now past. The sleep of many hundred years has buried their pride and their guilt in oblivion;—and when we trace the principles upon which they acted, we rejoice, even now, at their fall; and feel the justice of that law, by which "the counsel of God alone" is destined to "stand."

'We live in times, my brethren, when these truths are not "the "hearing of the ear," but when "we see them with our eyes." We live in times, "when the judgments of the Lord are in the earth," —when nations are falling around us, and when scarcely a year passes without being marked by the dethronement of monarchs.—Do we look for the causes of these awful events? We shall find them in their national sins; in the corruption of their private manners; in the injustice or oppression of their internal governments; or in the ambition or avarice of their national policy. The period of the "de-"vices of man's heart" has arrived, and the counsel of the Lord arises to stand. The foot of guilt has long trod upon the earth, and legions of armed men are sprung up to avenge and to purify it.

'These also, with all their pride, and all their atrocity, will pass. The storm which is now raging over a suffering world, will renovate, but not destroy. The empires which perish, will perish only to be renewed in nobler forms, and under more auspicious rule. The power itself, which the Almighty hath made the instrument of his justice, will last but for the time that is appointed; and, when the devices of ambition have passed, like the storms of winter, over a suffering world, "the counsel of the Lord will stand," and awaken a nobler spring.' p. 80—83.

In the same strain of liberal and manly sentiment, he proceeds to consider the war upon which we were then entering.

'If the war we pursue, be one which is neither founded in justice, nor necessity; if it be a war undertaken to overturn the independence, or abridge the prosperity of any other people; if it be to add to our wealth by the spoils of the world, or to seek our glory by the tears of innocent, or the blood of unoffending nations; if these be our secret objects in the war, let us not think, nor hope, nor pray for success. Victory may follow victory; achievement may succeed achievement: The pulse of national vanity may beat high; but "the

" counsel of the Almighty" is against our devices. The secret vice which silently pursues its end, is undermining the fabric of all our prosperity; and the destroying angel, who comes from the throne of God to "justify his ways to man," rejoices in the triumphs which his hand is so soon to wither; and in that attitude of presumptuous elevation, which must so soon be humbled in the dust.

' But, my brethren, on the other hand, if it be a war of a different description that our hearts tell us we are pursuing; if it be a war, necessary in its nature, and just in its end; if it be to maintain the rights, the freedom, and the independence of our country; if it be to protect that constitution, which is the fountain of all our best enjoyments here, and that religion which is the source of all our hopes hereafter; if it be to continue to our children that freedom to which they were born, and that faith in which they were baptized; if these be our sole objects in the war in which we are engaged, then, in the name of the living God, let us fear not. Defeat may for a time succeed defeat; misfortune may follow misfortune, and the hearts of the weak and the timid may turn cold:—but the counsels of God are with us. Every known, and every unknown power of nature are leagued in our favour. Even under circumstances of deeper alarm than we have yet experienced, hope is never to be lost. It is not easy to conquer an united people,—it is not easy to wrest from a free land the liberty to which it was born:—it is not easy to tear from a great nation the honours which they have worn in the sight of mankind for so many hundred years, and the glories, which, in every age, their fathers have transmitted to them.' p. 85—88.

In the fast sermon for 1803, the same sentiments are followed out with the same eloquence and vigour.

' Whatever may be the evils or sufferings of war, they have yet this fortunate effect,—that they rekindle that love of our country, which the safety of prosperity, and the habits of private pursuit, are so apt to relax or to impair. But, my brethren, if this appeal has its influence even over the savage and the slave,—in no hour in the history of social life,—in no nation which has ever risen among mankind,—did that name ever summon before man, so many dread obligations as it now does before us, in this hour, and in this country. We have to defend a land, unhabituated to shame, and hitherto unknown to conquest;—we have to defend the honours of ancient days, and the splendour of present greatness;—we have to defend the opulence which the industry of our fathers has gained, and the freedom which their blood has purchased;—we have to defend that constitution which has poured the prosperities of nature over a barren land, and given to our northern isle a splendour unknown to the regions of the sun. We have to defend that faith in which our infancy was baptized, and in which we pray our dying hours may close; which was the "strength of our fathers, and of the old time "before them," and which has conducted the wise and the vir-

tuous who have preceded us, to glories beyond the limits of mortality.

'We are summoned, in the next place, my brethren, even to a nobler duty; and, in the mighty designs of Providence, the same valour which is called to defend our land, is the great means by which we can relieve the sufferings of the world around us. Amid that wreck which we have witnessed of social welfare—amid the dethronement of kings, and the subjugation of kingdoms,—amid the trembling neutrality of some, and the silent servility of others,—this country alone hath remained independent and undismayed;—and it is upon the valour of our arms, that Europe now reposes its last hope of returning liberty, and restored honour. Among the nations which surround us, whom either the force of the enemy has subdued, or their power intimidated, there is not one virtuous bosom that does not throb for our success;—the prayers of millions will follow our banners into the field; and the arm of the soldier will be blessed by innumerable voices, which can never reach his ear. If we fail,—if the ancient prowess and intrepidity of our people is gone,—there is then a long close to all the hopes and all the honours of humanity; over the fairest portion of the civilized earth, the tide of military despotism will roll, and bury, in its sanguinary flood, alike the monuments of former greatness, and the promises of future glory. But,—if we prevail; if the hearts of our people are exalted to the sublimity of the contest; the mighty spell which has enthralled the world will be broken,—the spirit of nature and of liberty will rekindle:—and the same blow which prostrates the enemy of our land, will burst the fetters of nations, and set free the energies of an injured world.' p., 142—146.

In 1806, when the prospect was more dark and ominous than at any former period, this minister of faith and patriotism still utters the words of confidence and truth.

'The world,' he says, 'has seen other conquerors and other despots. It has wept before the march of temporary ambition, and bled beneath the sword of transitory conquest. But nature has reassumed her rights; and while conquerors have sunk into an execrated grave, and tyrants have perished in the zenith of their power, the race of men have raised again their dejected heads, and peace, and order, and freedom have spread themselves throughout the world. Such, my brethren, will also be the termination of the tragedy of our day, and such is the confidence which they ought ever to maintain, upon whom "the Almighty hath lifted up the light of "his countenance." We are witnessing, indeed, the most tremendous spectacle which the theatre of nature has ever exhibited, of the pride and ambition of man. For years, our attention has been fixed upon that great and guilty country, which has been fertile in nothing but revolution, and from which, amid the clouds that cover it, we have seen at last that dark and shapeless form arise, which,

like the vision that appalled the King of Babylon, "hath its legs of "iron, and its arms of brass." Amid all the terrors of its brightness, it has no foundation in the moral stability of justice. It is irradiated by no beam from Heaven,—it is blessed by no prayer of man,—it is worshipped with no gratitude of the patriot heart. It may remain for the time, or the times that are appointed it. But the awful hour is on the wing, when the universe will resound with its fall; and that sun which measures out, as with reluctance, the length of its impious reign, will one day pour his undecaying beams amid its ruins, and bring forth, from the earth which it has overshadowed, the promises of a greater spring.

'There are limits in the moral as well as in the material system, to the dominion of evil; there are limits to the guilt and injustice of nations, as well as of individuals. There is a time when cunning ceases to delude, and hypocrisy to deceive;—when power ceases to overawe, and oppression will no longer be borne. Even now that period seems to be approaching. It is impossible that man can become retrograde in his progress;—it is impossible that the hands of the oppressed can longer beckon the approach of a power which comes to load them only with heavier chains;—it is impossible that the nations of Europe, cradled in civilization, and baptized into the liberty of the children of God, can long continue to bend their free-born heads before the feet of foreign domination, or that they can suffer the stream of knowledge which so long has animated their soil, to terminate at last in the deep stagnation of military despotism. Even the country itself which has given it birth, cannot long submit to its rule;—it bleeds in the hour that it triumphs;—it is goaded to exertions which it loaths;—its laurels are wet with the tears of those who are bereaved of their children. The virtuous man shudders when he beholds the crimes and the guilt of his country; and the heart of the pious man faileth him, when he looks forward to the "things that are coming" upon those banners which are raised against the rights of man, and which are unblessed by the voice of Heaven.' p. 270—274.

In 1811, when things were if possible still more unpromising, he sounds a still bolder note; and looks stedfastly forward to the deliverance which *was* approaching.

'Rise for a moment (he exclaims) I beseech you, from the couch of ignoble pleasure, and look with the eye of men upon the world that passes, and the world that has passed you. It has many scenes to show you of greatness and of glory;—scenes where your heart throbs when you contemplate the capacities and the energies of your nature; and where you feel that man is "indeed but a little lower than the angels," and that his nature is "made for glory and for honour." What then are those scenes?—and where is it that your eye finds with transport the examples it has wished? Oh! not in the scenes of affluence and prosperity;—not in the sunshine scenes where every virtue withers, and every energy is dissolved;—but

in the dark and stormy scenes, where freedom sprung, and patriotism glowed, and every energy of nature was called forth, and all the noblest passions of the human bosom were awakened; and where, in the midst of hardship and of suffering, a deeper happiness was enjoyed, than ever yet fell to the lot of ease and of security. It is thus that evil is only the minister of good;—it is thus that, even in its darkest aspect, the chastisements of Heaven are only the chastisements of a father; and that, amid the tears and the sufferings of his children, they are hardened only to the vigour and to the majesty of manhood.

'Look, my brethren of little faith, at the material world around you, and say, has its order, and the beneficence of its order failed;—have storms or tempests quenched the light of day;—have seed-time and harvest forgot to return;—and has the sun of Heaven become wearied in his path, and ceased to pour life and light upon a grateful world? Look to the history of the moral world, from its first feeble and barbarous cradle, to the hour in which it now resounds with the tread of hostile men, and say, has evil alone had the dominion there?—has nothing but the guilt of the tyrant and the conqueror been successful?—has no progress been made in this long period, in knowledge, in arts, or in arms?—has the cause of truth, of virtue, and of freedom never been victorious?—and has the historian of the human race only to record the progressive decay of its powers, its knowledge, and its welfare?—No, my brethren; in the whole of this review, you see, on the contrary, that there is a power in nature, by which evil of every kind is controlled; and that, under its Almighty guidance, amid all the apparent calamities of time, the march of the human mind has been steady and progressive, to "wisdom and knowledge and joy." You see the occasional visitations of war and of calamity operating upon the moral world, like the occasional visitations of the storm and the tempest upon the material world; and ending in purifying the moral atmosphere, and invigorating the powers of moral vegetation. From amid all the temporary depressions of the human race, you see them permanently emerging into firmer power, and more enlightened splendour;—the harvest of the husbandman waving over the field which conquest had wet with the blood of his fathers; the hand of the freeman pointing with exultation to the mouldering tomb where the race of his tyrants and his oppressors repose;—and the voice of the Gospel carrying glad tidings to many a people who had "long sat in darkness, and beneath the shadow of death."' p. 397—402.

We shall conclude our extracts with some passages from the Thanksgiving Sermon of the present year;—a nobler song of triumph,—a more beautiful and thrilling strain of patriotic exultation, and christian gratitude, than verse or prose has yet consecrated to the memory of those great events which have stamped this year as an era for the future history of the world.

'The great conflict of the social world is over:—The mighty are

fallen; and the weapons of war have perished.—The cry of freedom bursts from the unfettered earth; and the banners of victory wave in all the winds of heaven. Again, in every corner of our own land, the voice of joy and of gladness is heard. The cheerful sounds of labour rise again from our streets, and the dark ocean begins again to brighten with our sails. Over this busy scene of human joy, the genial influences of Heaven have descended. The unclouded sun of summer has ripened for us all the riches of the harvest. The God of nature hath crowned the year with his goodness, and all things living are filled with plenteousness. Who is there that has not felt the blessings of the year? Even the infant, while he partakes, unconsciously, of the general joy, lifts his innocent hands to that Heaven from which he sees come all the hopes of man; and the aged man, when he remembers the sufferings of former years, is apt to say with the good old Simeon in the gospel, "Lord, now let thy "servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

'But there are other, and more general subjects of thankfulness, my brethren, which ought now to occupy our minds. In this solemn hour we seem to be conducted by the hand of Heaven, like the disciples of old, unto an high mountain, from which we may look down upon the darkened world we have left, and upwards to those scenes where Heaven is displaying its glory. The images of the past, and of the future, are thronging around us; and, wherever we turn, there are new subjects of gratitude that arise before us.

'Our first subject of thankfulness on this day, is for our Country; that she has survived all the dangers which threatened her;—that she has fulfilled the lofty duty to which the will of the Almighty has called her. Dear even to the savage heart is the land of his fathers;—dear to the citizen of civilized ages are the institutions of national wisdom, and the monuments of national glory;—but upon no human heart did the claims of his country ever fall so deep and so irresistible, as they now do upon the citizen of this country. Other nations have preceded her in the road of arts and arms;—other nations have wreathed around their brows the laurels of science, and the palms of victory: But the high destiny to which she has of late been called, no other nation has ever shared with her; and all the glories of former times fade before the moral splendour which now encircles her. She has been called to guard the fortunes of the human race; to preserve, amid her waves, the sacred flame that was to relume the world; and, like the cherubim that watched the gates of paradise, to turn every way her flaming sword against the foes of God and man. These were her duties, and nobly has she fulfilled them. Through every dark, and every disastrous year;—while nation after nation sunk around her;—while monarchs bent their imperial heads beneath the yoke, and the pulse of moral nature seemed to stand still in ignominious terror.—She alone hath stood, insensible to fear, and incapable of submission. It is her hand, that, amid the darkness of the storm, hath still steadfastly pointed the road to liberty; it is her

treasures which have clothed every trembling people with armour for the combat;—it is her sons, (her gallant sons!) who have rushed into the van of battle, and first broke the spell that paralyzed the world; and, in these recent days, it is her commanding voice that has wakened the slumbering nations of mankind, and sent them on their glorious march, conquering and to conquer.—And now, my brethren, in the hour of her triumph,—now, when all that is brave or generous in the human race bow before her,—where is she to be found? And what is the attitude in which she presents herself to her children?—Oh,—not in the attitude of human pride, or human arrogance;—not with the laurels of victory upon her brow, or with troops of captives following her chariot wheels:—It is in the attitude of pious thankfulness; with hands uplifted in praise, and eyes downcast in gratitude;—it is before the Eternal Throne that she bows her victorious head, and casts her crown of glory upon the ground, and calls her children to kneel along with her, and to praise the Father of Nature that he hath selected her to be the instrument of his mercy to mankind. These are triumphs to which the history of the world has no parallel. In the long line of her splendour, what hour is to be compared with this? Which of us does not feel somewhat of her glory to be reflected upon our own heads? And what British heart is there which does not pray that such may be ever her name, and her character among mankind? p. 449—455.

We shall venture but upon one other extract. After noticing the peculiar character of the oppression from which the world had at length been delivered, he proceeds—

'Before the gigantic march of violence and of ambition, the human head seemed everywhere to bow, and the human heart to lose its energy. Kings sunk from their thrones, and nations surrendered their liberties. The occupations of industry ceased;—the intercourse of nations was arrested;—and men seemed quietly to resign themselves to poverty and to suffering, that one arrogant nation might rule, and one impious mind triumph. It seemed, to our desponding eye, as if the old age of the human race had come,—as if the Sun of Righteousness was about to set amid the shadows of evening, and one long night overspread the moral world. These days, and these terrors, are past. The spirit of God hath again moved upon the face of the deep, and the order and the harmony of creation is again beginning to appear. The dread career of guilt and of ambition hath been run; their temporary triumphs fade; and the Eternal hand hath marked the line whither they shall come, and no farther, and where their proud waves shall be staid. From every corner of the baptized world; "from the east and from the "west; from the south and from the north," the warriors of justice and of freedom come. Their sovereigns even lead the way, and place the helmet upon their imperial brows, and march with their people into glorious battle. Beneath their victorious banners kings re-ascend their thrones, and nations recover their liberties.

The fetters fall from the hands of industry; the ocean echoes anew to the song of the mariner; liberty and joy re-enter the poor man's dwelling; and the voice of the mother is no longer weeping for the children, that have been torn from her arms to swell the hosts of a tyrant. Who is there among us, my brethren, that is admitted to witness this moral Transfiguration, who doth not hear also the voice of God? and where is the country from which, in these blest days, the song of triumph does not rise, "The hosts of the guilty are "scattered, and the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth?"

'Deep as hath been the gloom which so long has settled upon the societies of men, its most appalling feature hath been its impiety; and when you trace the late miseries of mankind to their source, you will find them all to originate in that cold and cheerless spirit of Infidelity, which arose in the centre of European civilization;—which dried up, as it spread, all the fountains of greatness, or of generosity in the human soul;—and which, dissolving all the obligations, and all the charities of life, ceased not till it had extinguished both the majesty of the throne and the sanctity of the altar. It was from this dense and pestilential vapour that that terrific form arose, upon which, like the vision which appeared unto the prophet, the world for so many years has gazed with astonishment and with alarm. It was from hence that those impious hosts have issued, whose crimes and whose impieties have still more appalled mankind than their arms; who warred not with the common guilt of men, against the wealth or the liberties of nations, but against all that man holds dear, or nations think holy;—who struck the dagger of their enmity, not into the bosoms but into the souls of the conquered;—and who thought their infernal triumph incomplete, until they had overthrown every altar at which human misery wept, and was comforted.

'These days, too, are over. "He hath blown with his wind, and "they are scattered." The cross is again triumphant in the sky, and in its sign the faithful have conquered. The might of the Gospel hath infused itself into the soldier's arm; and, while the foe is prostrate upon the ground, the mild, but thrilling voice, seems again to be heard from Heaven, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest."' p. 455—460.

It is a fine thing, we make no doubt, to compose a learned commentary on the prophet Hosea, or a profound dissertation on the intermediate state of the soul;—but we would prefer doing what Mr Alison has done in the volume before us: And can hardly help envying the talents by which he has clothed so much wisdom in so much beauty—and made us find, in the same work, the highest gratifications of taste, and the noblest lessons of virtue.

Art. X. *Some Inquiry into the Constitutional Character of the Queen Consort of England.* pp. 51. 8vo. London. Ridgway. 1814.

The subject of this tract is one of considerable curiosity, in a speculative point of view, to the constitutional antiquary. In its legal bearings, it is of prominent importance; but it rises to a very exalted rank among questions of practical influence upon the wellbeing of the community, when contemplated in its relations to the peaceable and undisputed succession of the monarchy. Devoutly as all good men must desire never to see any occasion for discussing these high matters, otherwise than in a general and theoretical view, it is mere childishness to abstain from inquiries which, if successfully conducted, may so far fix the limits of the question as to prevent all necessity, happen what will, of entering hereafter into any other kind of disquisition. They are the worst enemies of good order, the true patrons of discord and confusion, who, from affected delicacy and squeamishness, or from a base submission to the caprices of present power, avoid looking such important discussions boldly in the face; and, where material doubts exist upon questions of constitutional right, seek to humour the follies of the existing Court, by putting off the inquiry which alone can settle such doubts, until it becomes no longer speculation, but rushes upon us accompanied by the actual emergency that makes every thing like calm, or even peaceful discussion, hopeless. Impressed with these sentiments, we have thankfully received the little work now before us,—apparently the production of a lawyer, but certainly of one who has well studied the constitution of his country in its best school, and who combines a practical apprehension of legal questions with an enlarged and accurate knowledge of the history of our free government, and the common interests of prince and people. Although he seems to have been directed towards the inquiry by some recent events, and to keep the possibility (a remote one we trust) of its becoming practically interesting pretty constantly in his eye, yet he very laudably abstains from all personal or party topics. Indeed, the argument is purely one of constitutional law, and can in no respect be charged with a factious tendency. Accordingly, it is managed with perfect calmness and propriety; frequently learned, almost always close, and sometimes exceedingly ingenious. For a production apparently compiled without any great research, and quite simple and unpretending, we have not often met with any thing more satisfactory. Its merits, as well as the importance of the sub-

ject, and of some points connected with it, induce us to enter upon the contents of it, and upon the question generally, without further preface.

The author begins by remarking, that there hangs a peculiar degree of uncertainty and obscurity over the limits of the high office in question, because the occasions have been exceedingly few in which it was necessary to consider the Queen as separate from the King; and these having arisen out of the violence or perfidy of the reigning monarch, may easily be supposed to furnish precedents little worthy of respect; at least where they make against the rights of the weaker party. The subserviency of the Parliament and the country to the caprices of such princes as Henry VII. and Henry VIII, deserves almost as much reprobation as the conduct of those cruel and faithless tyrants; and thus it happens that we have (to use the author's words) scarce 'any guides to a knowledge of this part of the constitution, but the most outrageous and absurd violations of it.'

Some branches of the subject are, however, pretty familiar to lawyers. In respect of all private rights, the Queen is indisputably a separate and distinct person from her husband; she is capable of sueing and being sued alone, and in her own name; she can take, directly by grant, to her separate use, without any intervention of trustees; she can take by grant from her husband; and she can herself grant, without his interposition, such estate as is in her; of which capacity Lord Coke has preserved a curious instance, in a charter made by Ethelswitha, queen of Burgred, the king of Mercia, conveying lands to one of her household, and only signed by the king as an attesting witness. In short, the Queen, with respect to her *private* capacity, is considered by the law as a single woman. It is evident that we are justified in enunciating the proposition with this restriction, if we consider the grounds upon which alone the peculiarity rests, which distinguishes the Queen from all other married women. She is so distinguished, according to Lord Coke, on the King's account only, to prevent him from being disturbed by domestic cares; 'the wisdome of the common law intending that his continual care and study should be for the publike, *et circa ardua regni.*' But wherever her interests, rights, or duties, are of a public nature, or where she is called upon to perform any functions in which the realm is concerned, the reason for considering her as an exempt and several person from the King wholly ceases; for, in all such matters, he, above every body, has a near and a deep interest. Nor is there any public functionary, after the Sovereign himself, whose importance in the state is more evident, and whose existence as a branch of the government is more distinctly recognized by law.

Our author makes a very judicious remark upon the right of the Queen to a trial by the Peers of the realm. It is mentioned by Lord Coke, under the head of *Magna Charta* and the general right of the subject to a trial *per pares*, as derived from thence;—and that great lawyer seems to deduce her right also from the same source. Now, our author clearly shows that it is a mode of trial pointed out by the necessity of the case, and at common law—and that it is in no respect of the nature of a trial *by her peers*. First, it is not communicated to her by Magna Charta. This appears clearly from the terms of the statute made in 20th Henry VI. * to remove some doubts that had arisen as to the words '*Nullus liber Homo*,' in the great charter, comprehending females, so as to include peeresses: and it declares that 'dutchesses, countesses or baronesses shall be judged before such judges and peers of the realm, as peers of the realm should be.' It has always been held that these three ranks of peeresses (by a familiar rule of construction) are put for all peeresses: indeed, at the time of making the statute, the title of Marquis was in disuse, and that of Viscount, created only three years before, had not become a parliamentary honour. But why should all mention of the Queen be omitted, if the statute was meant to reach her case? It was a title as well known then as at this day, and worn by as high spirited a princess. If then, the provisions of the great charter had been deemed to comprehend her situation, the declaratory act would have said so. Again, if it be contended that the right of all subjects to trial by their peers, is a common-law right, independent of, and antecedent to the great charter, or the declaratory acts of later times, (which we have no doubt of, nor does this author appear to deny it), the Queen's right to be tried by the peers of Parliament, must be founded upon this, that they are her peers. But this can with no sort of correctness be maintained. The privileges, as well as the rank of the Queen, differ widely from those of peerage; she so far partakes of her husband's dignities, as not merely to precede the peers, but to receive a sort of homage from them and their wives: her life is protected in a peculiar manner; she is in rank all but equal to the sovereign. Then, as his wife, she can still less be deemed a peeress, he being in no one respect a peer, nor amenable to the jurisdiction of the peers, or of any other court; nor having, in contemplation of law, any peers. In one respect, indeed, she resembles a peeress in her own right. Upon a marriage with a subject after her husband's death, she does not degrade like peeresses by marriage, but pre-

* Cap. 9.

serves her rank, name, and style as a peeress in her own right; and may maintain suits by such name and style. Yet proceed another step, and her resemblance to this species of peeress also fails; for she does not transmit these honours, or indeed any title of her own by descent; her issue by the King taking every thing as his children, and her issue by any subsequent marriage taking in like manner from the father merely. We concur then with the author in the position that the trial of the Queen by the peers of Parliament, arises merely from the necessity of the case; from her having no peers, and yet being entitled to a tribunal as high and dignified—as near her own exalted station as possible. Perhaps it is founded on no other grounds than the general and admitted rule, that high state offences, not punishable by common course of law, are triable by way of impeachment in Parliament. We allude of course to those cases not expressly referred by statute to the cognizance of this tribunal —and in which, regard being had rather to the high nature of the offence, and of the duties whereof it is a violation, than to the exact station of the offender, the common law of Parliament and the Constitution have prescribed a mode of inquiry, without either grand or petty jury, or the intervention of any process that can in most cases be called '*judicium parium suorum.*'

The ancient privileges or perquisites of the Queen, in respect of revenue, are now of little importance. Some of them have fallen into disuse, probably during the long period when there was no Queen consort, namely from the death of Henry VIII. to the accession of James I.; and from the Revolution of 1688, to the accession of George II., the former an interval of above fifty years, the latter of about forty. Indeed, all those branches of revenue, though anciently the bulk of the royal income both for the King and Queen, have, in the progress of time, become extremely trifling. The immunities of the Queen are, that she shall pay no toll, nor find pledges. Her revenues were formerly certain rents issuing out of the demesne lands of the Crown, and appropriated to her separate use, together with the *aurum reginæ* or Queen-geld, a proportional part of every voluntary offering or fine to the King, above ten marks in value for every royal favour conferred. She had also a right to the tail of certain royal fish, as whales (but not sturgeons), of which the King has the head; and lawyers, who are generally eulogists of the law, and delight in finding reasons for all its provisions, give, as the ground of this division, that it furnishes whalebone for her Majesty's wardrobe; a singularly unhappy observation, as the whalebone is well known to come from the head of the fish only. Beside these pecuniary perquisites, she has the undoubted right of appointing her own household and other officers.

But the point of view in which it is most important to regard the royal consort, is as the person through whom the royal race is to be continued, and the crown demised to a successor. The law considers her as the mother of the royal issue; and almost all its provisions respecting her, are framed with the view of keeping this race pure, and ascertaining the royal offspring beyond the possibility of doubt. The chief precaution adopted for this purpose, (one of the most important, certainly, to the peace of the realm), is, the highly penal enactments by which it guards the approaches to the royal bed. To hold any adulterous intercourse with the Queen-consort, is the highest crime known in the law,—belonging to the same description with the compassing the King's death. The most complicated acts of adultery between subjects, are, by the secular code, not punishable at all. Any such connexion with the Queen, is High Treason in both parties. Moreover, as if to diminish the chances of a failure of issue, at the same time that it adopted such precautions against the imposition of a spurious race, the life of the Queen, as well as her chastity, is protected by extraordinary enactments. To compass her death, is as criminal as to compass the King's. It must, however, be admitted, that the protection thus given to the Queen's life, may possibly be only on account of her high dignity, and nearness in connexion to the King; for the statute of Treasons, as we shall presently see, is not very consistent in its provisions with any one principle.

The life of the eldest son and heir of the king, and the chastity, but not the life, of his wife, are defended by the same enactments. No mention whatever is made of any other son; nor of the grandson, although he may be heir apparent; of which, however, Lord Hale doubts, seeming to think such grandson within the meaning of the act, although he allows it is a fit case to be referred to Parliament, according to the wise and sound directions at the end of the statute. Any collateral heir apparent is said by Mr East (1. *Crown Law*, 64.) to be clearly not within the act; but we do not comprehend how there can be a collateral heir apparent, except indeed in the new limitation of the crown in special tail. The chastity of the eldest daughter, unmarried, is protected in like manner with the queen's and the eldest son's wife's. Upon this, Mr Justice Blackstone, * and, after him, and in his words, Mr East, have observed, that the plain intention of the law was to guard the 'blood-royal 'from any suspicion of bastardy, whereby the succession of the 'crown might be rendered dubious; therefore, when the rea-

* 4. Crown Law, 81. — 1. Crown Law, 65.

'son ceases, the law ceases with it;'—and they instance the leaving unprotected the chastity of a Queen or Princess-dowager. But, with great submission to these authorities, we venture to suggest, that the reason ceases somewhat short of the law—for why is the Princess-Royal protected, and not the wives of the younger sons, all of whom, by their adultery, would endanger the succession a great deal more? Further, it has been remarked, that the words in the section respecting the Princess-Royal, is another inconsistency, because her issue cannot lay claim until she is married, they being before her coverture illegitimate, (*East*, *Cr. Law*, 65.) It may further be remarked, that the phraseology of the act is strange. The Queen is twice mentioned, but by different names: When the question is respecting her life, she is termed '*our lady his Queen*'—when of her chastity, she is called '*the King's companion*'—and when the consort of the eldest son and heir is mentioned, she is called '*the wife*' of such son or heir. From this diversity, it is inferred by the author of the Inquiry, that the law does not at all regard the Queen in the light of wife to the King,—wife implying coverture, a relationship quite unknown between the King and his consort; and he adds, that, although the Saxon etymology of Queen is wife, *yet* the meaning of the root does by no means regulate the use of the derivative; and in this view of the subject we are disposed to coincide. The distinction in the term employed is very marked. *Companion* can evidently mean nobody but the Queen,—while it is a phrase so unusual in expressing such relation, that it must be taken to have been advisedly employed. From the whole, however, we may conclude, that in whichever capacity we view the Queen-consort, whether as mother of the royal issue inheritable to the crown, or as consort, companion, or wife under peculiar limitations, of the Sovereign, she is a high dignitary in the monarchy; a public person—bearing important relations to the constitution, and performing functions of a public nature, and of great moment to the commonwealth. Another inference is equally obvious, that the law watches with especial solicitude over the purity of the succession; and guards, by every precaution possible, against whatever may taint or make it doubtful.

Now it is comparatively of little moment to inquire what may be the grounds of this solicitude. Those who praise the whole institutions of our ancestors as the perfection of wisdom, and framed with views far more refined than could by possibility be entertained in those early times, ascribe it to the desire of avoiding all disputes about the succession, and preventing the peace of the kingdom

from being disturbed. It is more probable, that the high prerogative notions of royal right, and the value set upon the real blood of the sovereign, had at least an equal share in the provisions for keeping the channel of its transmission pure. But, at all events, the object in view is unquestionable; no doubt can exist as to the object and spirit of the law; and the high and paramount purpose to which its arrangements are in fact subservient can no more be doubted,—the establishment of public tranquillity upon a secure basis, in the point most essential of all to its preservation. It can scarcely then be questioned, that whatever tends to promote this most desirable object, is peculiarly consonant to the spirit of the law, as well as subservient to the public safety; and that in construing legal rights, or customary ones, which are the same thing, we shall adopt the soundest, as well as safest doctrine, if, in any matter of doubt, we lean towards the side which favours the removal of all uncertainty from the course of the royal succession. This is in truth only giving a fair construction to the law, according to its manifest spirit.

Various usages have grown up, connected with the subject; and all, though not creatures of positive enactment, fit to be regarded as parts of the constitutional common law of the realm. Their object apparently is to give additional safeguards either to the purity or to the certainty of the succession; some of them multiplying the checks upon any fraudulent contrivances which might actually taint the royal line—others affording the means of convincing mankind that it has been kept pure. In order to prevent a supposititious issue from being imposed upon the country, the Queen, and the Heir-apparent's wife, are carefully watched during the latter stages of pregnancy, and are even delivered in the presence of many witnesses of eminence, including the great Officers of State. All marriages in the family are celebrated with extraordinary publicity and splendour. The baptisms of the issue are in like manner occasions of high solemnity and festival. To the same source we may trace the extraordinary powers given to the reigning Sovereign by the common law, in regulating the residence, education, occupations, and marriages of the younger branches of the royal family while under age, not merely his children, but his nephews, grandchildren, &c. during the lives of their own parents. The publicity of the King's own marriage, equally merits notice. It is made a public act—an act of state; and in no respect resembles a matrimonial union contracted between common persons.

Although these things are generally understood to be as we have now stated, yet we deem it necessary to bring them somewhat more in detail before the reader, more especially after the

strange doctrines recently broached respecting the *privacy*, if we may so speak, of the Royal family. It is also fit to notice these matters, because the author of this tract has omitted to avail himself of the aid which his argument derives from them.

When his present Majesty resolved to contract a marriage for the sake of having heirs to his crown, as we should say; but, as the reasoners to whom we refer would have it, when the King, being of the proper age, and wishing to settle in the world, bethought him of looking out for a wife,—he set about it in a way that must prove somewhat startling to those good gentlemen, who doubtless would expect to see him go quietly to routs and balls, or rather watering-places, to suit himself. He suddenly published, in a well-known paper (The Gazette), a statement, that 'having nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his people, 'and rendering the same permanent to posterity, he had, 'ever since his accession, turned his thoughts towards the 'choice of a princess for his consort;' and he adds, 'After the 'fullest information and mature deliberation, *I am come to a* '*resolution to demand in marriage* the Princess Charlotte of 'Mecklenburg Strelitz; a Princess distinguished by every e-'minent virtue and amiable endowment, whose illustrious line 'has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the Protestant suc-'cession,' &c. It appears from the same paper, that his Majesty had first communicated this delicate affair (his resolution to *propose* for the Princess) to certain confidants, viz. the Archbishops, Chancellor and others, to the number of fifty-four,—and that they, very unlike other confidants, instead of promising secrecy, and then telling it to fifty-four other persons who might help them to keep the secret, very frankly said it was too good a thing to be concealed; and 'made it' (says the proclamation) 'their request to his Majesty, that this his Ma-'jesty's most gracious declaration to them might be made pub-'lic;' which was the reason of its appearing in the Gazette. The whole country being now in the secret, must have been in anxious suspense, till the news arrived of the success of a courtship thus confided to them in its very infancy; and we may imagine the sleepless nights of many loyal subjects, in the fears lest his Majesty should be refused. However, Lord Harcourt is despatched to make the proposal; and, with him, three ladies, 'to take care of the Princess's person,' and Lord Anson to bring her over—evidently on the maxim, that 'faint heart never won 'fair lady.' The offer, accordingly, was accepted; the fair and amiable princess arrived; was well, though publicly received,—married, and in due time confined. Here, again, our advocates of *privacy* are a little put out; for we find, in the same reposi-

tory, so curious in recording all the little gossiping of this worthy country gentleman's family, that no sooner was the lady taken in labour, about two o'clock in the morning of the memorable 12th of August 1761, than a great assembly of gossips took place in the bed-room, viz. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Duke of Devonshire, and eight other Lords;—that the Most Reverend Prelate was in the room while Her Majesty was delivered, and the other nine in the next adjoining room, with the door open; and that a dozen or two of ladies were present also. The birth of the young gentleman was made known by the Tower guns; and a form of prayer instantly composed for him and his mother, to be used in all the churches. Before he was a week old, he showed signs of rising in the world; for he was, on the 17th, made an English Earl, and soon after christened with much solemnity. Addresses poured in, (so deluded were the people as to the point of *privacy*, and so resolved to believe it was all a matter of state); and, among others, the city of London expressed its devout wishes that the father might, 'by his instructions and example, form 'the mind of his Royal Son to the government of a free, brave, 'and generous people; and that the son might, in the fulness of 'time, succeed to the virtues, as well as to the throne, of his 'father.' * Divers other ceremonies have since that time taken place, though not connected with the succession; as the public provision for the royal babe, the payment of debts, the settlement of his household, and so forth; all indicating a great disposition to intermeddle with the money matters of this worthy family, and no kind of shyness or disinclination on their part, nor any impatience of such prying and interference. But we pass these topics over as superfluous.

The august ceremony of the Coronation is unquestionably most closely connected with our present inquiry: it bears an immediate relation to the security of the succession, as well as to the recognition of the reigning Sovereign as the person to whom allegiance is due. The author of the tract before us, as far as we know, is the first who has placed this point in a clear light. He considers, as we have already seen, the royalty of the Queen to be in the nature of an independent dignity, rather created for the security of the succession, than derived from marriage: From hence it follows, naturally, that her coronation is a recognition of her constitutional character, as essential as that of the

* There is something peculiarly unfortunate in the turn of the expression—which intimates an expectation that the Royal issue might only succeed to the virtues when he obtained the crown, in the fulness of time.

Monarch; The one is crowned, as a public and solemn recognition of his authority; the other, as an equally solemn recognition of the channel through which this authority is to be transmitted in succession to the next generation. The coronation of neither, it is true, confers any new right or title: Before that ceremony, and independent of it, the King is entitled to the allegiance of his subjects; and the Queen is the stock from whom his heirs are to spring. The times are very remote in which any actual consent of the people was asked, even as a part of the ceremony; and so entirely was it held to be a recognitory act, in all respects, that they were, in troublesome times, crowned more than once, from a desire to have the acknowledgments of allegiance repeated, after each unsuccessful attempt to shake their authority. But the ceremony is an important one, nevertheless, to the security of the monarchy; and the directory part of the statute of William III, prescribing a certain oath to be administered at the coronation, seems to preclude all attempts at regarding this as a ceremony that may be dispensed with. The author infers, from the terms of the ancient oath of allegiance, (which used formerly, and might still be administered at courts leet), that the allegiance acknowledged at a coronation, is 'to the Sovereign *and his heirs.*' † The recognition of his own authority is, at all events, a solemn part of the ceremony, and has been regularly performed at each coronation since before the Conquest. It consists in the Archbishop presenting the King to the people, as the undoubted 'King of this realm;' and asking them 'if they are willing to do their homage to him?' They answer with loud acclamations. The ceremony of crowning the Queen is equally solemn, and in all respects resembles that of crowning the King; except that no allegiance is sworn to her,—and she does not take the oath. We believe, too, her oblation differs, and she has no orb put into her hand: and there may be some further trifling variations. But she is solemnly crowned, and anointed;—she has a sceptre put into her hand;—she takes the sacrament with the King;—and although a Queen Regnant's husband does his wife homage ‡ with the rest of the subjects on this occasion, no such ceremony forms part of a Queen Consort's inauguration.

The important part borne by the Queen Consort, and her constitutional right to be crowned with the King, is still further attested by the remarkable fact, that many persons en-

† It is set forth at length in Calvin's Case, in the Report; and partially, with much praise, by Blackstone.

‡ Chamberlayne's Life of Anne.

joy by immemorial usage, the privilege of performing certain offices about her person at the ceremony, and receiving certain perquisites therewith connected. Nay, some manors and lands are holden by the tenure of rendering such services to the Queen's person on this occasion. Among the claims of this kind, preferred at James II.'s coronation in 1684, (and again on subsequent occasions), we find that of the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, to serve the Queen after dinner with wine, and to have the gold cup in which they served it. The liberties of the city being then seized into the King's hands, this claim was on this account alone rejected, or rather not discussed. The Lord of the Manor of Fyngirth in Essex, claimed to serve the Queen as Chamberlain for the day, and to have certain perquisites;—his claim was not allowed, but he was left to prosecute it at law: Nor was the answer made, which must have been decisive, had the Queen's place in the solemnity been immaterial, that she formed no such part of it as to be the ground of the tenure in question. We believe it also to be a part of the right, or the duty of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, to carry a canopy over the Queen as well as the King; at least there are two canopies in the ceremonial, and both supported by these Barons.

'Why is this coronation of the Queen necessary?' demands our author—

'It is necessary as a public recognition of that, for which alone the dignity of queen exists in the realm, the constitutional order of succession to the crown. She assumes the crown as a symbol of the right of her offspring to the monarchy; and the people (swearing allegiance to the king and his heirs, and at the same time assenting to the coronation of the queen) acknowledge her children to be those heirs to whom they swear allegiance.

'The coronation of the monarch alone would not satisfy the intent of the ceremony as to both; because the queen being uniformly considered a single woman in the constitution, (enjoying her revenue, the controul of her household, her state, and her dignities as such), her right to give heirs to the realm is not so much derived from him, as from the people's recognition of her as their queen.

'The acknowledgement of the title of the heirs to the crown, is as necessary to the peace of the realm, as of that of the monarch on the throne. The possession of the crown has not at all times of our history been considered as decisive of the right of the issue of the possessor to succeed him. Instances of the contrary doctrine are numerous. There is in early times, the curious instance of divided allegiance, which took place after the treaty between King Stephen and Henry Fitz-Empress, afterwards Henry the Second: By virtue of this treaty the whole kingdom acknowledged Stephen as sovereign; but at the same time the barons did formal homage to Henry as his successor, and Stephen's son William was living at the

time. A treaty very similar to this had before been made between Henry the First and his eldest brother, the amiable and ill-fated Robert Duke of Normandy. The stipulation however there was, "that "if either of these princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions." Still the necessity of stipulating at all for the rights of the issue in the treaty, is as strong to prove that such rights were not deemed a necessary result from the possession of the crown, as if their title had been expressly set aside. It is nothing to the question, that both these sovereigns were usurpers entering into agreements with the lawful successor; they still establish the plain principle, that the mere assumption of the crown, though it draws with it many legal consequences, such as the allegiance due to a king *de facto*, and the instant purging of all attainders, as in the case of the Earl of Richmond; still does not, of itself, without such extent of allegiance expressed by the people, make a lawful title transmissible to issue.

'If these instances are thought to lack authority, from having taken place in rude and arbitrary times, still the same principle of the power of the people to limit their allegiance, must have been acted upon by the supporters of the bill for the exclusion of James the Second; and again, in the best times of our history, at the Revolution. The act of settlement, which established William and Mary sovereigns, regulated the descent first to the heirs of the Queen, then to the Princess Anne and her heirs; and not till after default of both these successions, to the heirs of William the joint possessor of the crown and actual king. Mary was certainly not in the usual situation of a queen consort: the instance nevertheless is highly important, as evincing that the heirs of the king may claim by a title distinct from the heirs of the queen, and in this case *vice versâ*: the coronation of either cannot therefore as of course confirm a right in the common heirs of both.

'Of old, a practice sometimes prevailed of proclaiming and installing the successor during the life of the reigning monarch. King Stephen, previous to the above treaty, required the archbishop to anoint his son Eustace as successor to the realm. This ceremony has long been disused; but the principle of it exists in the acknowledgment of the queen by her coronation to be the person from whom the successor to the crown and heir to the monarch is to spring. Thus the lawful descent is still designated and proclaimed; and the contingent right of assuming the government, conditional upon answering the qualifications and fulfilling the obligations prescribed by the constitution, is vested and limited in the heir either living or to be born.' p. 36-40.

We may add to this example of Stephen, the more remarkable one of Henry II. and the controversy with the Court of Rome, to which his desire of crowning Prince Edward in his own lifetime, gave rise. The regularity with which Queens

have been crowned either with their husbands, if married at the time of their coronation, or if not, immediately after, and with the concurrence of the husband in the ceremony, is a circumstance strongly favouring the course of this argument. The author justly observes, that such a case as Henry VIIth's, who carefully deferred his marriage with Elisabeth until after his coronation, and then still further delayed having her crowned, proves nothing against the general rule. In truth, the preponderating faction of the House of York forced the marriage as well as her coronation upon him: And to have had his own sovereignty solemnly and exclusively acknowledged at the same time that she was crowned, would, in his delicate situation, have cast a doubt on his title, as well as alarmed the Lancastrians, she being almost as much a Queen-regnant as consort. But still, with every inducement from the circumstances in which he stood, and many facilities from his recent victories and great services against the usurper, he did not venture to delay the ceremony for more than two years. The history of both England and Scotland, if searched with a view to this point, shows the uniform practice of crowning both King and Queen together, if they are both within the realm, and of taking every precaution for having the ceremony, if possible, performed as to both at the same time. * Sometimes the coronation is delayed; sometimes the nuptials are forced on; and, in the last example in England, so anxious was our gracious Sovereign to have this material coincidence take place, that having appointed the coronation by the same proclamation in which he announced his intended marriage, and some delay taking place in the Queen's sailing from Germany, orders were despatched to the Admiral, to sail at all events, and make for any port the wind might render possible,—an example of eagerness which perhaps the advocates of *privacy* will find it difficult to ascribe to a lover's impatience. In a word, the joint coronation of the two royal personages, is symbolical of the Queen's being the real channel of the succession: To exclude her, is to cast a slur upon her, fatal to the security of that succession: And the following remarks of this judicious author, can never be too strongly recommended, as illustrative of the point.

'Whenever disunion, as between Charles the Second and his queen, has taken place, it becomes imperiously necessary that no jot of ceremony, no recognized symbol of dignity should be disused. The regular succession to the crown is of such high importance to the state, that it should be so confirmed and acknowledged, as to place it far above the slightest taint of rumour or suspicion. Had

* See *Pinkerton's Hist.* I. 432—& passim—also *Buchanan, Fordun Scotichronicon,* &c.—The English authorities are familiar.

Charles the Second (if opportunity had been allowed to him) denied to his queen a coronation jointly with himself; and given for it the only reason he could have stated, namely, a personal dislike to her, would this have been satisfactory to the world? Would it not have given very probable ground for suspicions, that deeper reasons existed disgraceful to his consort? Would it not have emboldened the mischievous and disaffected to give free way to any insinuations and rumours they could frame, for the purpose of disquieting the realm and interrupting the peaceful succession of the reigning family?—The coronation of the queen recognizes her right of giving heirs to the throne; her coronation jointly with the monarch places the right of those heirs (especially of preexistent ones) above all slur or suspicion. If, therefore, unhappy discord has arisen between the possessors of the throne, or it has ever been attempted to fix a taint on the chaste allegiance of the queen, and consequently on the succession, such a public recognition by the monarch and by the people, of her as queen, and of the right of her issue, of those living especially, is doubly necessary for the future tranquillity of the realm. In fact, a distinct refusal of a coronation, either by monarch or people, would be a public declaration that the party refusing does not acknowledge her as queen; and proclaims a belief and intent, which may reasonably be thought to have views far beyond the mere mortification of a hated female.' p. 44-46.

This, in truth, brings us to the view of the subject in which it strikes our minds the most forcibly. The coronation is an high solemnity: It may have originally borne the peculiar character here described; it may be the symbol which the author represents it to be. It is certainly a very ingenious suggestion, and we see no reason to question its being sound also, that the public crowning of the Queen was intended as a solemn recognition of the inheritable rights of her issue by the King; while the crowning of the King records the subjects' allegiance to him and his heirs. But the view which every man will concur in, is that which merely takes the coronation as an accustomed proceeding of a public nature, and the Queen's share in it as her accustomed privilege; from whence it follows, that to withhold this share, to refuse this privilege, is to make an exception, not merely invidious towards her, but derogatory to her character, and by necessary consequence full of danger to the rights of her issue, and the stability of the succession. No Queen in this country was ever so treated, without good cause; no Queen was ever singled out for so remarkable an insult, unless in the design of disputing her own continence, and her issue's legitimacy. 'No royal ornament,' says our author, 'was ever in England locked up from one entitled to it, but 'with a sinister motive. A coronation was never refused but

'to young Edward, by the ambitious and designing Richard 'III.' This is the ground of our firm and clear opinion respecting the high importance of the right in question. It is not a matter of civility—not a point of court etiquette—not at all a piece of respect or justice or humanity to an individual. The making of such an exception, proclaims to the world the existence of suspicions, where no suspicion ought ever to alight that is not instantly followed up by rigid investigation; where no suspicion ought for an instant to lie after that investigation has proved it groundless. The peace of the country imperiously demands this sacrifice of private caprice; even if common justice and the calls of the most ordinary humanity had not of themselves prescribed it.

These principles, too obvious to require illustration, extend beyond the mere question of a coronation. They embrace every instance of disrespectful treatment in its nature public and notorious. We may lay it down as undeniable, that no one of the usual privileges of the Queen's high station can safely be trenched upon; nor any of the ordinary courtesies of royal life be withheld from her. 'There must be some reason for it,' says the world, as often as it remarks those invidious distinctions. Now no reason is at all likely to be assigned, that does not cast a doubt upon the succession. If experience be resorted to, where have we any examples of queens treated as guilty, unless where there was a design of impeaching their honour and loyalty? and where was such a design ever entertained, without the project lurking behind it, of attacking the rights of the issue? In former times, the caprice of the monarch, a desire of other espousals, a mere dislike of his present wife, a fretful impatience of his children, and a jealousy of their growing popularity and influence, may have given rise to the unnatural project. Sometimes the interests of evil counsellors near the throne—of females desirous of a crown, and willing, for its vain possession, to be the sport of the same unprincipled caprice to which they owed it—of male relatives, whose prospects of succession were intercepted by the children—have added to the prince's fancies, or perhaps conspired to create them. In our days it is scarcely possible, (thanks to the publicity which all such matters obtain through the press), that plots of this description should succeed against rights unquestionable, title unimpeachable, and interests so high and general, that if we were to call them sacred, the epithet would not be profaned. Yet this is manifest, that wisdom requires watchfulness in all matters of this vital importance; that over anxiety here is the safe side on which to err; that only by supine confidence in the unlikeliness of the danger, can it ever be brought near; and

that he is the basest of slaves, or the most intolerable of contemptible driv'lers, who presumes to call himself a statesman, and yet fears to touch these subjects, lest he should give offence to the persons actually possessed of power. Some such vile sycophants have recently been heard to raise their cry: And, expressing a squeamishness forsooth about interfering with '*private concerns*,' with '*domestic matters*,' with '*family arrangements*,' have spoken of the highest of State Affairs as a thing beyond, or rather below, the cognizance of Parliament; and deprecated all interposition 'in matters so delicate,' as both improper and hopeless. Pass we over the indignation excited by their plainly discovered motives—leave we on one side the figure they make in their disappointment, as certain as signal—yet we must pause for a moment, to counteract, by plainly stating the question, the tendency of their attempts to raise a clamour, when they could not, by any chance, throw across the question the shadow of a reasonable doubt.

The King's royal family, as the law phrases it, is an essential component part of the Monarchy; not a mere ornament of its columns, but a substantial portion of their strength. Its members form a part, and the principal part, of the splendour which is one prop of this form of government; they secure the continuation of the royal authority in a line, unbroken by elections and changes, so perilous in other systems; and thus contribute essentially to the chief advantage which this kind of constitution possesses: They bear their part, too, in keeping the Sovereign above all rivalry with his subjects, and thus aid in securing the next grand benefit of the monarchical form. With a considerate attention to these their valuable functions, the State amply provides for their support in all the dignity of a splendid leisure; and if they ever are called upon to exert themselves, it is only in times of peril to the empire, or when they act from a laudable ambition for the only gifts which the public munificence cannot bestow gratuitously—the glory and estimation which is the reward of personal merit. As for what are commonly termed honours, titles, dignities, badges—they have these as matters of course merely on attaining a certain age. They become at that period, Privy Councillors, Dukes, Knights of the Garter; they are covered, almost as soon as they can know the value of them, with as many marks of royal favour as the two most successful generals that have appeared for a century ever earned by the greatest victories. In truth, there are but these two instances, in modern times, of any individuals gaining, by merit, as many honours, and as much emolument, as every prince of the blood is covered with the moment he leaves school, merely because he is a member of

the family which the constitution regards as a branch of the Monarchy. All these distinctions are deliberately conferred, not fondly lavished upon them, for the same reason that they are so sparingly distributed among persons even of the highest claims to public favour: The public service—the best interests of the country require it.

In their habits of life, both as regards their intercourse with the Monarch, with each other, and with the community, they are quite unlike other persons. Although the law does little to separate them from the mass of society, custom and habit, the interpreter, and oftentimes the arbitrator, in the practical part of the government, does every thing. The distinction is broadly marked; they resemble petty sovereigns in their communications with the world; they have their households and their officers, and their several circles; they are to be approached according to certain known forms; and they enjoy, by the rules of court etiquette, as well as the courtesies of society, a multitude of privileges, all tending to identify them with the head of the house they belong to—the head of the Monarchy.

When any matter of high concernment occurs to these illustrious personages, the government is seen to take an interest in it; generally indeed by the outward and visible signs of moneys voted. Their coming of age, and obtaining establishments, is communicated to Parliament; their marriages are the subjects of treaty with foreign powers, and also of parliamentary communication; they are thus the subject of national discussion, and have been even of remonstrance.

The law itself, however, most plainly regards them in a light widely different from private individuals; and, though sparing of the privileges which it gives them, it is sufficiently ready with restrictions when the public good requires; making them give recognitions, in a signal manner, of their being public persons, in return for the ample advantages which in that capacity they enjoy. They are placed by law under the controul of the Sovereign, with little regard either to their convenience, their feelings, or the ordinary relations of blood. They have not the management of their own children, as other parents have; they cannot order the place of their residence, appoint the persons who are to educate them, or regulate the important article of their marriages. Nay, they themselves, in respect of marriage, are under the severest restrictions. A prince of the blood, how remote soever from the King, if he is only a descendant of George II, cannot marry without the consent of the reigning Sovereign, be he ever so distant a relative, until he attains the age of five-and-twenty; and then, he must, if refused by the Crown, allow a

year to elapse, during which a parliamentary address (not always very difficult to be carried in such matters) may still further prevent the match. The prince's demand and the Crown's consent, when it is given, are to be registered in the books of the Privy Council,—as if still more clearly to indicate, that the whole proceeding is an act of state. We omit the well known disability under which they are laid as to religion, both in what regards themselves and their wives.

A variety of lesser examples may be given, all clearly pointing the same way. Before the statute naturalizing children of English fathers born abroad, the common law held the royal issue, wherever born, to be inheritable in England. So the law was *declared* as far back as the 25th of Edward III. (St. 2. *de natis ultra mare.*) An alien wife not being dowable of lands in England, the King's wife was excepted, *Co. & Litt.* 31. *b.*; and all the judges in 26. Ed. I. held the wife of the King's brother (the Queen of Navarre) to be dowable, *Rot. Par.* 26. *Ed. I. rot.* 1. In 1641, Charles I. communicated to Parliament the proposed marriage of the Princess Mary with the Prince of Orange. The articles were nearly concluded; but he desired the two Houses first to consider the treaty of alliance connected with the match, before he would finally conclude it (*Journ. Feb.* 10. 1641.) The Lords, in the same year, ordered the original, or a true copy of the articles to be laid before them, (*Lords' Journ. July* 3.); and a motion was discussed in the same House for an address, desiring that the King would not conclude the marriage without settling the alliance. An address was carried in the Commons (*July* 14. 1641) against the Queen going abroad; and a bill was carried through several stages, to prevent her from taking the Princess Mary with her. By the act of settlement, no King or Queen of the Hanoverian family was allowed to leave the realm without the permission of Parliament (12. *W. III. c.* 2. & 3.); and though this was repealed by 1. *Geo. I. st.* 2. *c.* 51., the principal reason assigned was, that the family was sufficiently numerous. When the bill was passed naturalizing the Electress Sophia and her issue, the reason assigned in the preamble was, that inducements might be held out to these eminent persons to study our laws and constitution, by residing here during the Queen's lifetime (4. *Ann. c.* 4.) With similar views, the act was passed for giving the House of Hanover precedence as nephews and children of the Crown (10. *Ann. c.* 4.) When the Prince of Orange was naturalized on his marriage with our Princess Royal (7. *Geo. II. c.* 4.), no clause was inserted disabling him from holding offices—an example since generally followed on similar occasions. Such acts clearly show, that the

law regards the family, as well as the person of the reigning Monarch, and makes them, as a distinct race, the subject of peculiar provisions. Thus, too, when Mary was to wed Philip II, a treaty was made, and ratified article by article in an express statute. One of the articles provides for the residence of both the Queen and her issue. It states, that the education of the latter within the realm is of great moment; and enacts, that they shall not be carried out of it but on reasons of state necessity, and then only with consent of Parliament, (*see Rymer*, *XV*. 377. and 1. *Mar. st.* 3, *c.* 2. not printed in the common editions.) In the House of Commons, in December 1699, an address to the King was debated, praying him to remove the Bishop of Salisbury, the Duke of Gloucester's governor; and though it was negatived, and, very possibly, upon arguments favourable to the prerogative, and against the necessity of parliamentary interference in such a case, we believe no man ever thought, in that day, of representing the whole concerns of the Royal family as private matters, in which the public had no share.

We cannot close these notices better than by referring to the celebrated case of George I.'s grandchildren in 1718, when the rights of the Father and the King came in conflict. The Judges there term them 'the children of England;' and say, 'they were born Princes and Princesses of England, before they had any title.' The opinions delivered by ten of the twelve Judges was to this effect; 'that the care and education of the 'persons of his Majesty's grandchildren, now in England, and 'of Prince Frederick, when his Majesty shall send for him from 'abroad, and the ordering the place of their abode, and appointing governors, governesses, and other instructors, attendants and servants, and the care and approbation of their marriages when grown up, † belongs of right to the King.'—11. *st. Tr. (fol. ed.)* 295.

Now, we confidently ask, if there is in the description of the Royal Family which we have just brought to a close, any one feature of resemblance to ordinary, private families? We desire to know, whether they do not evidently form a separate and distinct class, set apart by the Constitution for purposes of state, and dealt with, both by the laws and the customs of England, as if they were, in the strictest sense of the word, public functionaries? Other men have public and private capacities: but with them they are never confounded. They are officers or

† This seems to admit, that the common law restrained the royal marriages almost as much before the Royal Family marriage act, as they now are by force of the statute.

statesmen; and they are also husbands and fathers: The duties of these private relations are kept separate and distinct from the duties of their public stations. But not so with the family of the Monarch. They can hardly be said to have any private capacity at all: At least its duties are almost all the very duties which connect them with the State; for, it is as husbands and wives, fathers and children, that they render to the state by far the greater part of their services. Thus, if their private do not wholly merge in their public duties, the two are so mixed up together, that they can rarely be severed.

It is, indeed, truly astonishing to hear men denying or disregarding, or pretending to mistake a proposition so clear in itself, and so perpetually presented to their view in every shape of irresistible evidence. When they summon up the powers of face which it requires to assert that the management of the Royal family is a private concern of its head, and that we must not be so indelicate as to interfere in it—have they furnished themselves with a single instance of this '*private nature*,' or with one particular in which the law or the practice of the constitution lends any countenance to such preposterous delicacy? A private family, indeed! Who grants them an establishment, defrays their expenses, and discharges their debts?—Domestic questions, and arrangements among near relatives! What sort of relationship? —A husband whose wife's infidelity is punished with death;—a wife, whom to seduce is capital—a son and daughter, whose honour it is equally fatal to violate—a family, the heads of which it is death to talk about killing.—Feelings! Delicacies! Scruples! Are not the whole of these august personages sternly interdicted by law from knowing what these words mean, upon the very points where the hearts of all men are most tender? They may not love without leave from the Crown—or rather, they may devote their whole souls to the passion, but shall not gratify it unless the King in council allows them. The King himself considers it as his duty to marry a Princess he has never seen, from mere regard to the welfare of his people, and the undisputed succession of the monarchy in the Protestant line. His design is promulgated in the Gazette—the pregnancy of his consort announced to the public—and his first born actually brought forth, as the child of the nation, in a great assembly of prelates and officers of state. Finally, the relation of parent and child, in their instance alone, is utterly disregarded and annulled; and all the tender feelings that arise out of it, constantly and systematically set at nought. Such are the necessary consequences of their exalted rank, and the mighty public interests which are identified with their personal concerns—and such a part of the

many sacrifices of private comfort and individual indulgence that are required of them,—and for which their power and dignity are perhaps but an inadequate compensation. Yet this is the family of whose privacy we hear so much—whose concerns, how deeply soever interesting to the State, we are on no account to touch, for fear of rudely trespassing upon the feelings and the retirement of a domestic circle!—Really the absurdity of such pretences is too gross for serious argument.

That the Constitution entrusts large discretionary powers to the Sovereign, in the government of his family, so far from being a position contradictory to the doctrines now maintained, is in reality an important part of them. He has this trust conferred upon him, as he has the higher trust of his crown, for the public benefit—and he must perform the duties of both, himself irresponsible, through known and responsible ministers. He is the Executive branch of the government; and to him alone belongs the power of making peace, war, and alliances. Why is he, rather than the whole Parliament, invested with such high discretion? Because, from the nature of the thing, it is believed that a single branch of the government, and that branch an individual, is better fitted to exercise the power. It is a power, however, to be exercised not for his private gain or sport, but for the public good, and through known agents answerable for their acts. In the same manner, the Constitution has given the Sovereign a high discretionary power over the concerns of the royal family, partly because this is manifestly a branch of Executive government—partly, no doubt, because he generally stands related to them by the ties of blood. The grounds of selection here are extremely similar to those upon which he was pointed out in the former case: The office is held in the same manner, as a trust for the state; he superintends the royal family as he concludes a treaty, not for his private emolument, or the gratification of his individual caprices, but as delegated by the community to perform this office for the common weal. If any one can for a moment doubt in what capacity the Sovereign here acts, the royal marriage act, and the opinion of the Judges, at once decide the question. What is more a private and domestic concern than the care and marriage of a man's children under age? Yet the law, as laid down by the statute, and declared in the case, sets aside the authority of the natural *father*, nay, excludes him from all voice in the matter, and transfers the whole power to the *King*. This is absolute demonstration that he receives, and is to exercise this power, not as a private and blood relation, but in his public capacity as Sovereign.

But though such be the quality in which the Sovereign exer-

cises a superintending power over the Royal family, it is by no means to be contended, that, upon every light occasion, an inquiry should be encouraged into the manner of executing this high trust. Into the branches of the prerogative, it is not usual to examine, unless some ground is laid for the supposition that there has been maladministration: and perhaps, from the peculiar nature of the functions in question, a peculiarly strong ground should be required to justify either Parliament or the Public in interfering. But that the attention of both should at all times be awake, and that every circumstance should be deemed fit for consideration which may bear upon such high public interests as are involved in the exercise of this power, must be manifest to all who have attended to our preceding observations. It may very possibly happen that a case should not be made out which will justify public and formal proceedings against the advisers of the Crown, or even a rigorous inquiry into the discharge of the duty in question; but it never can be a sufficient answer to the complaints preferred, to deny the right of interference; to assert that the matter is private and not public; and to speak of the Royal House and its affairs, as of the domestic establishment of any private individual. On this, as on every other question respecting the exercise of the prerogative, it is the duty of Parliament to watch; always to entertain the matters propounded, as if abuse of power were possible, and further proceedings might be necessary; but only to adopt those further proceedings when their necessity is evinced by evidence sufficient to make it probable that the abuse exists.

Thus much may suffice for the present upon the general topics connected with this subject—topics eminently interesting to all who value the security of the government, and the tranquillity and happiness of their country. But we should be meanly declining the duties required of good citizens in arduous times, if we shrunk from going a step farther, and indicating some of the matters to which it chiefly imports the community, that the principles now laid down should be applied. Once for all, we desire to be understood as casting no reflection upon any person whatsoever. We do not insinuate that guilt exists; and we hope and trust that there never will be room for such an insinuation: But we say that circumstances require a jealous and vigilant attention. We complain not of what has been done, or omitted; but we assert, that the more alive the people are to their best interests, the less reason will they hereafter have for complaints of mismanagement or neglect. Without affirming that a discretion has been abused, we assert that large powers entrusted to men are liable to be misused; and the more so,

when their exercise is withdrawn from the public eye. Without so much as insinuating that any sinister interests have in fact been suffered to stand in the way of right, we venture to remind the community, that watchfulness is doubly necessary, when right, unaccompanied by power, is exposed to a collision with interests invested with the highest. We speak only the language of the Constitution. Why should we hesitate? There are precedents to bear us out; aye, down to the year before the last, and relative to the very persons now in supreme authority—precedents in which all squeamishness was sacrificed to a sense of duty. Why then should we scruple, from any motives of false delicacy, to speak out? When the regency was arranged, it was not deemed fit to commit, to the Illustrious Person at the head of the Government, the care of the King's person! Who ever thought of opposing this precaution, upon the ground that it was unhandsome or invidious towards the Prince; that it conveyed suspicions of the most atrocious kind, and such as no human being had ever harboured against him? It was enough that so tremendous a danger was in itself possible; and that the public was bound to guarantee such mighty interests against the most remote and unlikely hazards. We have in truth the highest of all authorities for vindicating the extraordinary scrupulousness manifested by the authors of the measure;—for they were speedily received into the favour and confidence of the exalted Individual against whom their vigilant cares had so recently been directed.

The anxiety of the public has been more than once very strongly excited by the peculiar predicament in which the presumptive Heiress of the Crown is placed. Arrived at the years of womanhood, and liable at any day to be raised to the throne, without the least chance of any restrictions being imposed upon the exercise of her royal functions, it is natural for the people whom she will one day govern, to be anxious that her education should fit her betimes for those exalted duties which she will then have to perform. They ask, if she is permitted to associate with the world, to become acquainted with affairs, to learn the science of practical government, to engage in that which is 'the proper study of mankind,' but the peculiar qualification of their rulers. What answer is made to inquiries so natural? First, we are told, that all this is private matter—But to this we have already replied perhaps but too much at large. Then it is said, in the same spirit, that a young woman ought not to go about, or be left too much to herself. Does any man seriously believe that such stuff can for an instant deceive or satisfy the inquirers? He must then be prepared to introduce the Salic law at once, which

excludes females from the succession; though his reasons will be very different from those of the old lawgivers,—for he must proceed on the mere fear of offending female delicacy, and running counter to a lady's habits. Such reasoners as this have no other alternative; for how can they bear even to think of a Queen Regnant's occupations? Are they aware that the '*young woman*' whom they would lock up because ordinary misses are sometimes so treated, (at least one in ten thousand we believe may be so *), is doomed, by the condition of her birth, to overcome and disregard the delicacies which all other females are bound to observe, indulge, and cherish? Do they mean to say, that Courts Martial shall, in her reign, never be held, where the evidence may wound a female ear, because that evidence must be all reported to her? Or that no offences of a nature inconsistent with decency, shall ever be brought to trial, because it may be necessary to lay their details before the Supreme Distributer of mercy? Really a single glance at the subject, is enough to demonstrate the extreme absurdity of confounding a personage so peculiarly circumstanced, with the common run of women, whose lot is cast in private stations, and who never can have any duties to discharge but those of wives and mothers.

But, perhaps the necessity of early appointing a Court and Establishment for the Heiress presumptive is, in a constitutional view, still more apparent, when we consider the fitness of affording her defence and protection against risks, imaginary no doubt as to the existing circumstances, but in the eye of the law necessarily regarded as possible. She, whose wellbeing stands in the way of many great interests, requires extraordinary protection; more especially if those interests appertain to powerful individuals. Again, we deprecate all petulant misconstructions; we are far indeed from insinuating that any danger exists: But remote possibilities are to be contemplated in affairs of such paramount importance; and they who approved the excess of caution which refused to entrust a son with the care of his sick and aged parent, cannot surely be impatient of the reasonable objections which may arise to surrounding a defenceless niece with uncles who have regiments, aye and armies at their disposal. The man who dares not speak out upon this subject, would never, by the honest discharge of his duty to the Constitution, rather than the individual Monarch, have earned the high distinctions of Princely favour, which rewarded the framers of the Regency

* We doubt if more than this proportion in London can be found who, at almost nineteen years of age, never have been allowed to see a Play!

Act, as soon as the Illustrious person whom it hampered in the most delicate particulars, out of an extreme jealousy, succeeded to the pittance of authority conferred by it. He is not dealing fairly, we may be assured, who affects not to see in the peculiarly critical situation of the Illustrious female, a more than ordinary occasion for separate establishment, household, office-bearers—in short every arrangement which can multiply checks and defences, by creating interests favourable to her protection, and bestowing on her the security which publicity alone can fully give.

Under these circumstances, we are persuaded, no difference of sentiment can exist, upon the extreme impropriety of any arrangement which should carry this exalted Personage out of the country. Such a plan would be highly unconstitutional, and, we believe, it would be pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the country. Upon this subject let a single remark suffice. Suppose her Royal Highness to be abroad, and incapable, from approaching confinement, to return at a moment's warning—But indeed it is enough to suppose her abroad. The Regent's decease, or illness, or going abroad, occasions a vacancy in the regency. We know that Parliament refused to provide beforehand, by a general law, for such an emergency: the reasons of this refusal we do not know, nor can they be easily conjectured; —but a vacancy takes place: Is it not manifest that there will be an election of a person to fill it? that there will be competitors and conflicting claims? We shall have the rightful heir absent, under circumstances likely to furnish arguments to those on the spot; the other competitors present, one with a family—perhaps the other with an army:—Can any man contemplate the bare possibility of such a contest without dismay? We are afraid of extending the right of voting for members of Parliament, for fear of multiplying contested elections; but what shall we say to a contested regency? In very truth, it would be as bad as an elective crown. Now it may be remarked, that the case, here put, imputes no criminal intent to the supposed competitors. The law, as declared by the precedents of 1788 and 1811, is, that no person has a strict right to the place; that the Heir-apparent, or presumptive, has a paramount claim, (to use Mr Pitt's distinction); but that the choice rests with the two Houses of Parliament. A principle borrowed from the anarchy of elective constitutions, is thus transplanted into our hereditary monarchy: it becomes us most sedulously to see, that it brings none of the evils along with it which so rankly infest the soil it came from. Parliament, by rejecting the proposal of a general prospective arrangement, and leaving each vacancy to be filled

up in the confusion which it creates, has given up the best means of prevention that could be devised;—but on this account it becomes the more indispensably necessary to guard against elective anarchy by all the means that are left: And surely the unfortunate state of things which those decisions of the Legislature have created, increases a thousand fold the dangers of such vacancies happening while the principal candidate, the person whose appointment alone can maintain the peace of the realm, is detained beyond the seas, and the field is occupied by powerful competitors. We have already observed, more than once, that in matters of such high concernment, it is the part of wisdom to provide against remote possibilities; following therein the example of the law, which is not satisfied with removing every solid reason that might tend to disturb the tranquillity of the realm, but seeks moreover to destroy all pretexts for discord, * as well aware, that in contentions of this nature, a pretence, and that not always the most plausible, may, when backed by force, have a fatal power to unsettle the public peace.

Having touched upon this subject, we cannot close the discussion without observing upon another intimately connected with it, the alliance by marriage with a foreign prince, by many persons so much desired, that we may plainly perceive they had never attentively considered the subject. Such a connexion appears in every view to be deprecated. Have we not had enough of continental family concerns? Must the interests of England be wedded to another part of Europe, and still more deeply entangled with its affairs? No one can doubt that this country has an interest in every thing which passes on the Continent; and they know little of our real policy who would counsel us against maintaining, by every means, our connexions with the rest of Europe. But those connexions must be the result of our interest, and not the dictates of personal or family attachments, of which we have already had enough and to spare. Accidental circumstances promise speedily to put an end to these, at least, in the person of the next Sovereign: Would it not be the height of folly, if, instead of profiting by this good fortune,

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* The Treason law affords a remarkable instance of this anxiety. It might have been enough to enact, that all the Queen Consort's children born in wedlock should be deemed legitimate. Indeed the common law makes them so: but because any suspicion cast upon their real parentage might be used as a pretence for setting them aside by a powerful pretender, extraordinary penalties are denounced against whatever may tend to excite this doubt, and to furnish such pretences.

we were again to entangle ourselves in another quarter, where the difficulties must needs be infinitely more embarrassing?

We own that, in a domestic and constitutional point of view, the objections to such an alliance strike us as being yet stronger. It is repugnant to the whole spirit of our laws, and the analogies to be traced through their provisions, in a degree, perhaps, not always clearly perceived. If there is any thing about which the English law is more scrupulous than another, it is the admission of foreigners to influence within the realm. An alien has scarcely more existence, in its contemplation, than a person attainted or deceased. He can hold no lands, not even an acre, by himself, or by trustees, or in trust for others. He can enjoy no office of trust, from the place of Minister and Legislator down to the employment of a petty constable.† Even a denizen can hold no office;‡ nor can an alien naturalized:§ and, to shut them out the more completely, it is not lawful to introduce a naturalization bill into Parliament, without a clause expressly disabling the party to hold any office.‖ Such is the law with respect to common persons, whose chance of ever holding high offices are indeed slender, and the probability still more remote of their using them against this country. But by an inconsistency somewhat startling, this rigorous spirit of exclusion wholly evaporates when a foreign Prince is to be naturalized, whose advancement to office is almost certain, and whose retaining a predilection for his own country can hardly be doubted: For the general rule is here suspended almost regularly; and the bill passes without the disabling clause. This deviation from the principle, however, is as nothing, compared with the inroad made upon it by the admission of an alien to the very highest station, one excepted, in the country; to the station which may give him all but the name of King, and most probably will give him many of the royal powers. That the law should be silent upon this point, is strange; but, since the settlement of the English government, no case has ever occurred where constitutional jealousy could be called upon to supply the defect; for Queen Anne was married some time before the Revolution,¶ when her succession was far from certain,—during a four years' intermission of Parliaments,—at a period the least favourable to liberty,—in a court the least jealous of foreign influence. We contend, however, that the whole spirit of the law and constitution, as now established, inculcates

† It has been expressly decided to be a place of trust within the statute.

‡ 12 Will. III. c. 2. § Ibid. ‖ 1 Geo. I. c. 4.

¶ In 1683.—There was no Parliament from March 1681 to 1685.

a repugnance, if not to any foreign match, at least to a match with a foreign Sovereign; who cannot fail to have interests clashing with those of England, and who cannot possibly become English by obtaining a high station amongst us. It might be going too far, to attempt the dissolution of an alliance already formed, upon the succession unexpectedly devolving. But when there is a question how the Presumptive Heiress shall contract this most important connexion, surely the time is opportune for bringing into view those constitutional principles, which are grounded in the uniform analogies of the law, and rest upon the soundest, as well as the most obvious, views of expediency.

In touching upon these topics we have avoided all details, and pressed as lightly as was possible, in order to avoid all unnecessary offence or irritation. We have omitted some subjects closely connected with the question, because there was no occasion at present for going more fully into it. Our object has been, to direct the attention of the country to a most momentous branch of state policy, insidiously attempted to be withdrawn from public discussion, and veiled from the eyes of the people, the parties most vitally interested in it, under the hollow pretext that it does not concern them at all. In truth, its importance can hardly be over-rated. How the Crown shall be transmitted—whether peaceably, or through the storms of a contested succession:—By what manner of person it shall be worn—whether by one carefully prepared for its duties, or, as it were, purposely unfitted to discharge them,—are among the most interesting questions which can occupy the minds of a free people. They involve the contemplation of the worst evils felt in political society—a civil war, and an incapable ruler. Nor can we imagine a more signal service to his country, than that man renders, who contributes to save it from the infliction of those two unspeakable calamities.

Art. XI. *Paris in Eighteen Hundred and Two and Eighteen Hundred and Fourteen.* By the Rev. William Shepherd. 8vo. pp. 280. Longman & Co., London. 1814.

Mr Shepherd, who is well known to the literary world as an accomplished scholar, and to the political as an inflexible lover of liberty and friend of the Constitution, has, in our opinion, conferred a real obligation upon the common run of readers and travellers, by the publication of this little work. It is ushered into notice without any pretensions, either in the form of the edition, or in the author's tone. He plainly tells his reasons for

printing,—which, independently of external evidence, bear the stamp of truth. His journal, kept on his first tour to Paris in 1802, according to a practice always, it seems, adopted by him when travelling, was in continual requisition among his friends for several years. When he returned from a recent excursion to the same place, it was natural that a still greater demand should be made upon his kindness; and he foresaw much trouble in superintending its circulation. Nothing could be more obvious than the suggestion of giving it at once to the public. 'In my embarrassment,' says he, 'I recollected to have heard 'of an honest Quaker, who resided in the back settlements of 'America, and who, finding himself absolutely eaten up by 'transient passengers, set up the sign of the Dun Cow; after 'which, though he made no profit, he enjoyed the comforts of 'a quiet house. Upon this hint I have committed both my 'journals to the press. If any thing more than what accrued 'to the American accrues to me, "*Lucro apponam.*" (p. viii.)

A work of this kind, putting forth no pretensions beyond those of a Diary actually kept for the traveller's own use, to point the accuracy of his observations, and record matters of information or recall agreeable recollections, ought in fairness to be judged according to those professions. Is it a good journal—apparently the work of a sensible and accomplished man—such as no well educated man need be ashamed of, if it by accident were found in his repositories, and perused by a stranger—calculated to serve its primary purposes with respect to the author, and to render future travellers a reasonable share of assistance in their journeys and observations? This is the fit question to be put; and we are enabled confidently to answer it in the affirmative; with the addition, which is not required of such a work, that it contains every where the traces of a vigorous mind, at once shrewd and bold, and of feelings and principles equally candid and pure. Political discussions, indeed, seem to be rather avoided than courted; nothing approaching to violence can be discerned; we might even say that the writer's impartiality is carried far enough to make his political bias on the questions which incidentally come in his way a matter of uncertainty.

Mr Shepherd's object, in first visiting the French capital, was wholly unconnected with party, or with political matters, except in so far as these must necessarily claim part of every man's observation. His principal object was the study of those wonderful monuments of ancient and modern genius which the conquests of France had enabled her to collect in one rich assemblage, such as never before existed within the same space. He was desirous, of viewing the pictures and marbles, and of examining

the manuscript treasures of the libraries, principally with a reference to the favourite study of his leisure hours,—the revival of Letters in Europe after the dark ages. Formerly it was necessary to climb the Alps, and wander over whole provinces, in order to gratify this learned and dignified curiosity: The spoils of Italy are now brought together almost under the same roof, and there thrown open to the whole world. Justice may indeed complain; nor is it easy to repress a regret, not wholly romantic or sentimental, that the French did not rest satisfied with opening the road to the mine, and thus enabling each curious one to explore for himself the treasures, perhaps more precious while fixed in their native soil, and surrounded, as it were, with the delightful associations of the spot. But the prodigious gain, in point of ease and convenience, which has resulted from the pillage, not to the despoilers only, but to the Transalpine world at large, cannot admit of a doubt, how little soever it may be received as an excuse for the deed. The question of restoration lately excited some attention. Granting, however, that such a wound could safely have been inflicted upon the national feelings of the French people, in circumstances eminently critical; enormous, we may say inextricable, difficulties would have presented themselves in the detail of such a measure. Nor can any reasonable doubt remain, that a portion of the treasures would have been destroyed unavoidably in the removal, while a portion was wilfully spoilt by the conquered party; and, perhaps, a portion would have found its way to other places than those they had been taken from. Probably their remaining in Paris was a matter of necessity, as the only tolerably certain means of preserving them, independently of the political obstacles to that restoration which justice prescribed.

The correct taste every where exhibited in this Journal, makes us regret that Mr Shepherd treats so sparingly of the details of the Galleries. In his first journey, he dismisses the pictures with a single sentence, and does not enter at all into the particulars of his examination. He seems, indeed, to have experienced, as we believe every visiter of the Louvre does, a sort of distraction in his first visit, which does not allow a minute inspection; and a satiety from the immensity of the banquet served up all at once, so as to prevent the enjoyment of any of the individual luxuries. All persons who have frequented those rich collections, either in Italy or France, feel the desire strongly grow upon them, of singling out a few prime specimens of art, and poring over them separated from the rest. Every one who has travelled, must have felt how much more exquisitely he relished a visit to some place, where a single first-

rate picture was to be seen,—some church, or convent, or chateau, remarkable only for this solitary jewel, than a surfeiting morning spent in devouring the richer wonders of a collection; in every compartment of which, might be found pieces of transcendent merit,—possibly as fine as the single ornament of the obscure altar, the distant refectory, or the comfortless and half-ruined chateau. We the rather ascribe our author's slight notice of the paintings, in his first tour, to some such feelings; because, in his second, when, from the novelty being past, he had leisure and self-command to pursue the plan of taking a *few* studies each time he visited the Gallery, he enters somewhat more into detail. Still, however, we could have wished for a much fuller statement;—he might at least have told us what he felt—and his remarks on the masterpieces, if not those of an artist, or a professed connoisseur, would have borne the stamp of a vigorous, original mind, and a just taste. In his first visit, the statues seem to have struck him still more forcibly than the pictures.

'Here,' says he, 'when I found myself surrounded by the works of Phidias, Praxiteles, and Xeuxis,—works which, for so many centuries before the Christian era, had excited the enthusiastic admiration of enlightened Greece, and which the bold spirit of the Romans durst not aspire to emulate,—I could hardly persuade myself of the reality of the scene which was exhibited to my view:—And when I gazed with minute attention on the Apollo, the Laocoon, the Mirmillo-moriens, and the other pieces of sculpture with which the engravings and casts that I had consulted in the course of my classical studies had made me familiar,—I soon found that no copy was adequate to represent the spirit of the august originals. What a lesson does this Collection give on the instability of human things! These breathing marbles were the splendid fruits of the victories gained by the armies of Rome over the degenerate Greeks. The Romans have degenerated in their turn; and the prize of valour has been wrested from their feeble hands, by the descendants of those Gauls, whom they once compelled to submit to the yoke of slavery. Who can deem it an impossible supposition, that, in the course of revolving years, it may be transferred by the hand of victory from the Seine to the Neva—from Paris to Petersburgh.' p. 50, 51.

The concluding sentence contains a singular anticipation, though certainly an accidental one, of an event, which, twelve years afterwards, was undoubtedly very near taking place. Before quitting the Galleries, it is fair to remark with what praiseworthy liberality they are made accessible to the world. They are open, without any fee or reward, to strangers every day from ten to four; and to the Parisians three days in the week; a distinction which, however necessary, would not, in this country, be very well relished, nor, indeed, very patiently submitted to.

With the curiosity respecting such subjects natural to all travellers, but peculiarly appropriate in an ecclesiastic, our author visits attentively the places of worship wherein he goes, and informs himself respecting the state of his clerical brethren —which is certainly far from brilliant, and their estimation among the people, which is, we are sorry to observe, somewhat in proportion to their worldly condition. In the following account of a Sunday, and the most awful solemnity of the Romish church, perhaps we are not at liberty to remark the difference between a Protestant and a Catholic observer—between Mr Eustace and the pastor of Gateacre: For a Sunday at Paris in 1802, and high mass in Buonaparte's principal church, will probably not be allowed to present the real picture of a Catholic Sabbath and Sacrament. Nevertheless, we suspect, that had Mr Eustace been at Paris, his emotions would have clothed the scene with somewhat more imposing colours; and of this we are pretty sure, that the reader will easily recognize, not merely the Protestant, but the sturdy Presbyterian, in some parts of our author's remarks. With these, it is unnecessary to observe, *we* are prepared to sympathize in an especial manner, in this land of the Solemn League and Covenant.

'On Sunday morning the 27th, we went to hear high mass in the church at Notre-Dame. On our way to this venerable Gothic edifice, we observed one half of the shops open, and the other half shut. If our observation was correct, it would of course ascertain the opinion of the bourgeois of Paris on the reverence due to the Sabbath. I was amused with a sort of compromise which some shopkeepers seemed to make between religion and avarice, by shutting their windows, and exposing their goods at their doors. On the whole, there was little of the outward and visible signs of Sunday. One distinguishing symptom was wanting,—the ringing of bells. I presume these noisy annunciations of prayers and curses, joy and sorrow, wedding and death,—were all melted into coin during the Revolution. When we arrived at the church, the procession of the host was moving up one of the side aisles. Penetrating the crowd which was assembled in the nave, we proceeded to the choir, and ascended into a gallery, where we had a full view of the whole extent of the church. Our attention was attracted by the procession, preceded by a number of boys, dressed in white vestments, and bearing tapers. These were followed by eight or ten priests, who moved on in slow and solemn state, singing as they walked;—then appeared the distributers of incense, who dispensed it from silver urns, suspended from their waists by a silver chain. 'The elegance and grace with which they managed these sacred vases, well entitle them to the appellation of clerical *Vestrises*. In the centre, was the canopy which covered the host. This canopy was surround-

ed by ecclesiastics, and followed by pious votaries, who chanted the service as they went along. The chorus which they formed was rendered more deep by the sound of an instrument like a bassoon;—the voices of the priests were in tune with this instrument;—and the harmony which they produced, had a very fine effect. The procession was flanked by a party of soldiers; who, I presume, attended for the purpose of protecting the ceremony from the insults of those who were dissatisfied with the Catholic religion. At the elevation of the host, the military commanding officer gave the word in a tone of voice, which echoed through the vaulted roof of the church. At this signal, the drums beat: and the swell of the organ mingled with the war-note. The soldiers, on one knee, fixed the butend of their muskets on the pavement; and continued in that attitude till, on the cessation of the sound of drum and organ, the word of command was given; and they rose. After the procession had made the circuit of the inside of the church, the chief priests advanced to the high altar, and performed the mass,—their voices being occasionally assisted by the organ. At various intervals, voluntaries were played upon this instrument, some of which were absolutely jigs. On the whole, our visit to Notre-Dame presented to us a strange mixture of religious solemnity, military state, and levity. In the course of the service, two collections of money occurred;—the first for the benefit of the church, the second for the relief of the poor. Of the multitudes assembled to-day in this vast edifice, I do not believe that more than 200 repaired thither for religious purposes;—the rest were composed only of persons, who were attracted by motives of curiosity.' p. 58—61.

There is nothing more striking in the observations suggested by Mr Shepherd's first visit to Paris, than the disrepute into which republicanism and every thing connected with it had fallen, although it was long before Buonaparte's power was fully established, and he could have exerted his influence in putting down the democracy, upon the ruins of which he built his despotism. At the theatres, every where a good exponent of popular feelings, but in Paris by far the best, he found unlimited applause bestowed on all passages disparaging to popular institutions. There he saw, at the Comedie Françaíse the Cinna of Corneille, which abounds in sentiments of political tendency, and applicable to the circumstances of the day. 'One solitary 'plebeian made a few attempts to excite applause of the demo'cratic sentiments; but he was indignantly silenced by the rest of 'the audience. On the contrary, the following lines were re'ceived with a thunder of approbation.

'Mais quand le peuple est maître on n'agit qu'en tumulte.
La voix de la raison jamais ne se consulte;
Les honneurs sont vendus aux plus ambitieux,
L'autorité livrée aux plus seditieux:

Ces petits souverains qu'il fait pour une année,
Voyant d'un temps si court leur puissance bornée,
Des plus heureux desseins font avorter le fruit
De peur de les laisser à celui qui les suit.
Comme ils ont peu de part au bien dont ils ordonnent,
Dans le champ du public largement ils moissonnent;
Assurés que chacun leur pardonne aisement,
Esperant à son tour un pareil traitement.
Le pire des états c'est l'état populaire.' p. 81-82.

We are sorry to find that a similar experiment on popular feeling, which our author made in the same place this year, was very far from giving a result equally favourable to the existing government. The minority was far from insignificant—notwithstanding Buonaparte's recent downfal—the eclat of a new dynasty, or still more seductive restoration the return of wished for peace, and the presence of powerful armies. The two parties, on the contrary, seemed to be pretty nearly balanced :—but of this in its proper place We anticipate it here, in order to show that the theatre does not reflect merely the sentiments favoured by the ruling powers; and that, of consequence, the observation which our author there took in 1802 of the new government's popularity, and the discredit of republicanism, was the more to be relied on. His inference from it, as drawn and committed to paper at the time, may fairly be reckoned a just one, after the events that have confirmed it. The Parisians, he observes, seemed to be ripe for the elevation of an Augustus to the imperial throne. This was written about two years before Buonaparte declared himself Emperor.

We have already spoken of what are commonly termed the Galleries; or the collection of old pictures, marbles, books and medals, so well known to every one, that we should only have dwelt on any thing new and singular in our author's remarks upon them. But there is one institution connected with this subject, of a very pleasing nature, and not at all known in this country, the Musée Nationale des Monumens Français. It owes its origin to the barbarous ravages committed upon the works of art and remains of antiquity in different parts of France during the Revolution. M. Lenoir obtained permission from the Convention to collect their fragments, and restore them as nearly as possible to their primitive state, depositing them in a large convent which was set apart for their reception. By his industry and ingenuity, upwards of five hundred French monuments are there arranged in excellent order and preservation. They are classed according to their respective ages, and thus afford the best history of the progress of sculpture in different stages of

the art. The more ancient stones are properly placed in the gloomy parts of the building; while the splendour of the modern workmanship is advantageously exhibited in the light halls; and the garden contains many tombstones, among others those of Abelard and Eloisa. The windows are enriched with the superb painted glass assembled from a thousand churches, and which could only thus be saved from the destroying fanaticism of the day.'

The scientific reader will naturally desire to know the particulars of a sitting of the National Institute; and our author has detailed them with great spirit,—underrating, however, we must remark, the effects even of the mummery which he describes, inasmuch as it depends altogether on its adaptation to the persons concerned, whether it may not afford just as powerful a stimulant to exertion as a graver or more sober method of proceeding.

'The hall in which this society assembles, is a noble apartment, the sides of which are ornamented with two beautiful pillars of the Corinthian order: between the columns are marble statues of the celebrated French statesmen and warriors. In the middle of the hall an area is railed off for the accommodation of the members. Between this rail and the wall, are several rows of benches, which, on our entrance, we found so much crowded with spectators, that we experienced no small difficulty in procuring seats. While waiting, I had leisure to take a survey of the company; among whom, my attention was particularly directed to the famous Abdallah Menou, who sat near the president's chair. In the fat stupidity of this warrior's countenance, I thought I could discern a sufficient cause for the expulsion of the French from Egypt. Whilst meditating on the wonderful scenes which the army of Egypt had witnessed, the members of the Institute entered the hall. Their costume was very odd. It consisted of a dark green coat, richly embroidered with light green lace, a yellow waistcoat and green breeches. This attire gave them the appearance of a company of old English butlers. The president having opened the sitting by a short speech, the celebrated Lalande mounted the tribune, and read a memoir of astronomical observations, which, though I am morally certain not one of his auditors understood, was received with thundering plaudits. He was succeeded by other *Savans*, who read papers like so many schoolboys. So rapid and indistinct was their pronunciation, that I found myself incapable of following the thread of their discourses, and their enunciation so monotonous, that it lulled me into a gentle slumber, which was only interrupted by the applauses that followed the termination of each memoir. In short, I found the proceedings of the National Institute as tedious as those of the Royal Society of London; and I was heartily glad to escape from an assembly which, in my opinion, was chargeable with a profuse waste of time. For

what benefit can be derived [illegible] the hearing of mathematical calculations, the detail of [illegible]ical experiments, and a long series of profound argum[illegible], the comprehension of which can only be the result of [illegible] study in the retirement of the closet? The wight who [illegible]ctorily decide, whether it is more irksome to listen to [illegible]prehensible oration, or to harangue a listless and inattentive [illegible]itude, may solve the question, whether the orators or the auditors of the abovementioned learned bodies, are doomed to the most disagreeable task? p. 100—102.

No other passage in the first tour needs detain us, except the description of the exquisite English garden at the Petit Trianon, the favourite retreat of the late unfortunate Queen. The sketch is very short; and we transcribe it willingly.

'The Jardin Anglois is laid out with exquisite taste. Here we passed through shady walks, which wind about gentle declivities, till we reached a grotto, from which a subterraneous passage conducted us to the top of an artificial mount. Descending from this, we pursued the course of a narrow streamlet, till we arrived at the Hameau, which consists of a farm-house, a mill and a church, all constructed in the true style of elegant rusticity, enveloped in trees, and almost covered with ivy, vines, woodbines, and other species of parasitic plants. Before the Hameau is a pool of water, fringed with reeds and bulrushes. Beyond is a gentle sloping lawn; and the view is terminated by trees, which conceal the winding walks. What must have been the sensations of the late owner of this retreat, when she contrasted the voluptuous days which she had spent in its seductive seclusion, with the terrifying altitude of the temple, and the fetid dungeon of the Bicêtre? Evils are certainly heightened by contrast! and though a King is but a man, and a Queen a woman, yet the woes of Royalty must be attended with an anguish peculiar to themselves. The pleasure which I experienced in contemplating the delicious scenery of the Petit Trianon, was intermixed with serious reflections. I left its shade, however, with reluctance.' p. 112, 113.

Mr Shepherd's second visit to Paris was principally undertaken with the same views as the former; but one very prominent feature of interest, of course, consists in the change that had recently taken place; and accordingly, the parts of the narrative which excite the greatest interest, are those which record the traveller's remarks upon the dispositions of the people towards their new government, and their feelings with respect to the master whom they had so recently gotten rid of. The candour and impartiality of the author's observations upon this delicate topic, are extremely satisfactory. The general result is certainly what might have been predicted;—that the majority of the people are decidedly against Bonaparte, and friendly, though not very zealously so, to the government which has put an end to his tyranny;—that the majority of the army have a leaning

towards him, and a disinclination, mingled with much personal contempt, towards the restored dynasty;—that the Marshals are unpopular with the soldiery on account of their conduct towards their favourite chief, and are thus likely to serve the present court faithfully. With respect to the question most important to foreign nations, and especially to ourselves, the disposition of France towards peaceable or hostile measures with her neighbours, the result of our author's observations rather disappoints the expectations which might fairly have been indulged. He seems to think that the national pride has been too sorely wounded to let the people rest; and that, notwithstanding all they have suffered, they would derive a consolation from any convulsion which might give them the opportunity of wiping away their late stains, and taking their revenge. To deny the fact, because of its inconsistency with our previous belief in the effects of the conscription and Russian campaign, would be rash and dogmatical. It might argue, too, an inattention to two very material points, the extraordinary love of national glory which predominates in the French character, and the perversion in their natures wrought, to a certain degree at least, by the conscription itself; for, perverted must so military a people as the French have become, before such a state of things as existed under Buonaparte could at all suit their habits and dispositions. Nevertheless, we would fain hope that the inference so unfortunate for the peace of the world, if it be well founded, rests rather upon a view of the Parisian society, in which the predominance of the military, and the lighter burdens of the conscription, must naturally diminish the horror of war. We hasten, however, to mention a few of the particulars related by Mr Shepherd, with a reference to these most interesting topics.

He travelled from Dieppe to Paris, and on his way, at a village, he met a wounded soldier, who was wandering about in search of his billet. He had been a conscript, and severely wounded at the siege of Antwerp; but he said, that if *his Emperor* were again set at liberty, (*élargé*), he would serve him as faithfully as ever. At Dieppe, however, Mr Shepherd had met four conscripts, interesting youths of eighteen or nineteen, recently taken from good families, and apparently well educated. They had served in the last campaign; but confessed their repugnance to a military life, and desire to return home. Among their most intolerable sufferings, our author justly ranks the being compelled to associate with the common run of soldiery that fill the ranks and barracks and tents of an army. The following passage is lively and interesting.

'From Souvier we went through a rich and highly cultivated

country to Vernon. Here, while dinner was preparing, I lounged into the stables, where I found a number of cavalry horses. Being struck with the beauty of one of them, I was proceeding to examine it, when I was accosted by its owner, who happened to be a captain of the Imperial Guard. We discoursed some time upon cavalry equipments; though he was not unwilling to do justice to the powers of British cavalry, he preferred, for the details of a campaign, the lightness and activity of the French. Turning from this topic, which I did not feel myself qualified to discuss, I touched him on the subject of the Emperor. This I did very gently, by observing that Napoleon was a man of extraordinary genius. On hearing his late master thus characterized, the soldier's eyes glistened with pleasure; and he requested I would do him the favour to drink a glass of his wine, which he had left to look after his horse. I told him I had not yet dined, but that if he would become my guest, I should be happy to see him. He accordingly accompanied me to our apartment. On his recurring to the subject of Bonaparte's character, I thought it my duty to qualify what I had said in commendation of his talents, by remarking, that his ambition was so unbounded, that while his power lasted, it was impossible for his neighbours to rest in security. This drew from him a vehement philippic against Talleyrand and the Senate, who he said had instigated Napoleon to every mischievous act which he had committed; and after involving him in difficulties, had basely deserted and betrayed him. "But the seizure of the sceptre of Spain?"—"that was the suggestion of Talleyrand:" "And the expedition to Russia?"—was suggested by Talleyrand; and, after all, it only failed in consequence of the premature setting in of the frost. In short, I found that Napoleon could do no wrong; and that, for every error into which he had fallen, and for every crime of which he had been guilty, his minister was made responsible. But, on the contrary, Louis XVIII. could do nothing right. He had falsified, said the plain spoken soldier, every promise he had made on his accession to the throne. He had accepted a constitution, but had violated every article of it. He had solemnly engaged to continue the constituted authorities as he found them; but he had made the most capricious changes:—he had flattered the army with assurances that he had the most perfect reliance on their support, and yet he had sent the Imperial Guard away from Paris;—he had diminished their privileges and appointments, and intended to revive the old establishment of the *Gardes Suisses.* To say all, in a word, he had given up himself to the guidance of "those rascally priests," whose evil counsel had brought his brother to the scaffold. He was also led into error by the returning *emigrés,* men who had deserted their country at a period when their services were most needful, and now had the audacity to lay claim to the most distinguished honours. With considerable humour, *M. le Capitaine* mimicked the air and manner of one of these characters, an old man of seventy, whom he had lately

heard declare his intention of serving under the new regime in a military capacity, under the idea that he could make his marches and even his charges in a cabriolet. He then asked me, what we thought of Louis in England? to which I replied, that he had lived so much in retirement, that little or nothing had been said among us of his habits or proceedings, till the late events had summoned him from his retreat. "Je vous compreads," replied he, "il a bien mangé "et bien dormi,—et voilà de grands préparatifs pour conduire les "affaires d'un grand royaume." In short, he was full of grief and bitterness of spirit; and on my suggesting to him the probability of his incurring peril in consequence of his freedom of speech, he said he had no fears on that head, for he spoke the sentiments of thousands, as I should find when I arrived at Paris; which city, he said, was very sad and very discontented. This man had undergone the horrors of the campaigns of Moscow.' p. 160-164.

The popularity of Buonaparte in the army was admitted by different persons, as well civil as military, with whom our author conversed; although the opinion appeared to be, that the opposite sentiments of the nation at large would prevail. At the theatre, he made observations similar to his former ones, during the representation of Voltaire's *Merope.* At first the majority of the audience carried it decidedly, and had such airs played as denoted considerable enthusiasm for the royal line. Great applause followed the passage—

'Vous que tant de constance et quinze ans de misère,
Font encore plus auguste, et nous rendent plus cher.'

And the application to Buonaparte was speedily made of the famous passage—

'La fière ambition, dont il est devoré
Est inquiete, ardente, et n'a rien de sacré,' &c. &c.

But by degrees, as the piece proceeded, plain symptoms appeared that the feeling evidently belonging to the majority, was far indeed from unanimously that of the audience. The partizans of Buonaparte began to rally, and were strong enough to show themselves; which we believe is always a sure sign either that the preponderance or the vehemence of the majority is not very great. They made their first stand at the celebrated speech of Polifonté.

'Un soldat tel que moi peut justement pretendre
A gouverner l'état, quand il l'a sû defendre.
Le premier qui fût roi, fût un soldat heureux.'

There seems at one passage of the piece to have been a kind of compromise between the contending parties, indicative of the unpopularity of the chiefs who have changed their sides. 'The 'most bitter sensation,' says our author, 'was manifested by 'many people in all quarters of the house on the repetition of 'a striking description of time-serving politicians.'

'Non—la porte est livrée à leur troupe cruelle;
Il est environné de la foule infidelle
Des mêmes courtisans que j'ai vu autrefois
S'empresser à ma suite et ramper sous mes loix.'

An English mercantile gentleman, who had peculiar opportunities of observation from the capacity in which he was residing at Paris (a deputy from a number of merchants who were desirous of making some commercial arrangements with the government), confirmed all the author's conclusions respecting the disposition of the army. He had himself witnessed their sulkiness in repeating *Vive le Roy* after their officers at a review, and the enthusiasm of their cries of '*Vive l'Empereur*' as soon as they had piled their arms. A similar incident was noticed by Mr Shepherd himself at a review which he attended. 'When the General passed along the line, the officers cried '*Vive le Roy.*' But this cry was reechoed by very few of the men, of whom the great majority maintained a sulky silence.

It would be a very dangerous delusion for the restored Government to discredit the statements of their dangerous rival's popularity among his ancient companions in arms; and almost equally so to rock themselves into a secure reliance upon their own favour with the people at large. The bulk of mankind, in France especially, are by no means remarkable for constancy in their political attachments; and a just regard for their real interests too frequently yields to some unwise prejudice or capricious feeling. The memory of the conscription will not very long survive its actual burthens; nor will the glories of Napoleon's reign, its foreign triumphs, its domestic magnificence, fail to strike the mind of an ambitious and vainglorious people, before whose eyes are constantly placed the trophies of the one and the monuments of the other. Nothing in politics is more true, than that a small present evil is often sufficiently irksome to make the multitude forget vast benefits which it has been the means of purchasing; and that any attempt to appease them by recounting negative advantages, or the past evils which they have escaped, seldom produces any thing but increase of irritation. The Bourbon Princes must keep these lessons of experience in their view while they have to support their very delicate character, and regulate so ticklish a nation as the French. In some most material respects they have serious disadvantages to contend with. Their accession, or restoration, was effected by foreign troops; it followed the humiliation of the French arms, hitherto triumphant beyond example; it has been attended with a permanent diminution of territory and power to the country, not easily to be concealed. They are themselves by no means men of such dazzling talents, in war especially, as to have the smallest chance of making their

mighty predecessor forgotten. The Illustrious head of the House, in particular, little resembles that bold and active soldier of fortune. It is rather by contrasts that he will remind his people of that brilliant though pestilential meteor. * When discontents recall the past times to the people's vain recollection, it is to be feared that the trophies which have been won will only shine the brighter in the gloom that will now surround them. To despise such discontents would in any princes be the extreme of folly; but in those who are deficient in so many of the means of allaying them, it would be so very insane, that we may almost pronounce it impossible. Rather let us hope that a full use will be made of the means which they do possess—that they will govern equally and mildly—keeping faith with their subjects, and shunning wars, how loudly soever the public voice may call for victory, in the conviction that defeat being in their case most likely, will also prove most ruinous.

Such are the hopes at least which the good and the wise now cherish. But it must be admitted, that the recent proceedings of the French Court are very far from holding out much encouragement to our expectations. The army being unfavourable to the Court, and the people better disposed, we might naturally have looked for measures favourable to public liberty,—to the popular cause. Free discussion seemed a safe license under a just and righteous government, which had established itself on the ruins of an iron despotism eminently hostile to all discussion. It seemed even a probable source of strength to a dynasty unsupported except by the public voice, and reduced to the necessity of appealing, though reluctantly, to the country at large, for security against the military orders. What had the Bourbons to fear from a few seditious ebullitions? The pen-

* His Majesty squares as little with Mr Burke's famous sketch of the *beau ideal* of a restored Bourbon Prince. 'Whoever claims a 'right by birth to govern there,' says that most profound writer, 'must find in his breast, or must conjure up in it, an energy not to 'be expected, perhaps not always to be wished for, in well ordered 'states. The lawful Prince must have, in every thing but crime, the 'character of an usurper. He is gone, if he imagines himself the 'quiet possessor of a throne. He is to contend for it as much after 'an apparent conquest, as before. His task is to win it; he must 'leave posterity to enjoy and to adorn it. No velvet cushions for 'him. He is to be always (I speak nearly to the letter) on horse-'back. This opinion,' adds Mr Burke, 'is the result of much pa-'tient thinking on the subject, which I conceive no event is likely to 'alter.'—*Remarks on the Policy of the Allies. Works*, 8vo. vii. 187. The whole passage is well worthy of attention in the present times.

men would generally have been with them; and their efforts, in the end, would have beaten, if they could not convert the swordsmen. Yet we have seen them patronize the establishment of a censorship upon the press. Perhaps the revival of the Slave Trade may be given as another great blunder, even in this point of view. It is a most clumsy attempt to court popular favour; it is a base sacrifice of principle, the best foundation of lasting popularity, to the supposed interests of a particular class; it is a shortsighted deference paid to a few merchants of Nantz and Bourdeaux, at the risk of alienating all the moral and religious and soundly judging parts of the community. This very false step has completely alienated the bulk of the people in this country from the Bourbon cause; and there is so much sympathy between the popular bodies in the two countries, and England is so much looked to by all the rest of Europe as 'the *public*,' before whose tribunal the conduct of courts and nations is best canvassed, that the loss of favour in this Island may seriously weaken the hands, and unsettle the security of the restored family within the realm of France itself.

If it would be foolish in that family to disregard the popular voice, and shut their eyes to the disadvantages of its situation, the error would be no less in other powers, and especially in this country, were they to reckon too surely upon lasting peace, from a presumption that France is either exhausted in her means, or sick in spirit of military sufferings and perils. We should deceive our readers into something of this prevailing mistake, were we to withhold the opinion formed on this point by so competent a judge as the author of the work before us. 'I am sorry,' says he, 'to state, that I did not perceive in the 'people of France any due sense of the blessings of public tran'quillity. The minds of the army, both officers and privates, 'are bent upon violence and rapine; and they care not on 'whom they are exercised. Their notions of warfare are not 'modified by the chivalrous spirit of modern times. They have 'even little regard for the welfare of their country. Plunder 'and promotion are the main articles of their creed; and they 'are ready to draw the sword, without inquiring against whom. 'Nor are the bulk of the people chastised into wisdom by the 'events which have lately occurred to humble them. They 'cannot be persuaded that any of the ordinary occurrences of 'war could have exposed the French arms to disaster and de'feat. Their language already begins to be lofty; and the na'tion at large seems to wish for an opportunity of redeeming 'the military credit; which, though too proud to acknowledge

'it, they are conscious they have lost. The animosity both of 'the army and people, is most inveterate against Austria, which 'power they loudly accuse of treachery and cupidity;—political 'vices which they very consistently, no doubt, avow their wish 'to punish and restrain. On England, also, they look with an 'evil eye. They cannot bear to think of our naval power; and 'they contemplate, with all the jealousy of rivalry, our com'mercial prosperity. The complaints of the prisoners of war 'whom we lately dismissed in such numbers, are readily lis'tened to, and aggravate feelings, in themselves sufficiently tur'bulent.' p. 276, 277.

We are far from thinking that the danger is imminent of a new war; but that every thing will depend on the prudence of the negotiators at Vienna, we entirely believe. No men, as Mr Shepherd remarks, ever had a more difficult or important task confided to them. We will add, no such theatre was ever open to a laudable ambition—the ambition, in the negotiators, of excelling each other in artless honesty and frankness, and all the better qualities of accomplished diplomatists;—in the sovereigns, of running that race of virtuous moderation in which they have already so far advanced, as to be in full view of the goal and the prize—a lasting peace to mankind. Towards inculcating the benefits of this moderate conduct, we conceive the remark to be very material which has just been cited: and should any of the high parties to the approaching treaty so far forget their duty and their past professions, as to press more severely upon France than the common safety requires, the knowledge of the spirit still residing there may serve the purpose of a check, and remind them that resistance is still not impossible.

The English reader will naturally be desirous of knowing what kind of legislative assemblies the French have received as their compensation for all the sufferings of the Revolution. The anecdotes of the two Chambers, contained in this volume, are interesting; and show, indeed, the wide difference between those bodies and the English Houses of Parliament. Something, no doubt, is to be set down to the account of the national character; prone to representation, pomp, and what we term theatrical effect But more, we fear, is due to defects which time only can cure,—the want of experience, the want of materials of which to form parliaments, and of a vigilant publick to watch with interest, and yet with jealousy, the proceedings of the Legislature.—From some things here related, we should rather think the Lower House, or Chamber of Deputies, had been formed on the model of the French Academy, or National Institute, than of that best exemplar (with all its defects) the

English House of Commons. The death of each member, who happens to die, is celebrated by a funeral oration, or *eloge.*—Such a ceremony must needs in most cases become bombastical and ridiculous;—in almost all it is trifling;—and in all it is destructive of its own object, by being indiscriminately performed. No such absurdity was committed during the revolutionary times. With all their faults, trifling and unmeaning mummery was not their failing;—they had far too much real business on their hands, to preach funeral sermons at their sittings. Another absurdity of the same stamp, is the receiving presents of works from authors and booksellers, and acknowledging them in the journals with formal votes of thanks.—'I have seen recorded,' says Mr Shepherd, 'with all gravity, in the *procès-verbal* of the 'Corps Legislatif, the presentation of "an *Ode on the restora*-"*tion of the Bourbons.*" And the proceedings of August 9th 'were opened by—"*l'homage d'une production destinée à l'in*-"*struction de la jeunesse, et intitulée l'Abeille Française, par M.* "*l'Abbe Cordier.*" We extracted the account of a visit to the Institute:—the following to the House of Deputies, is a fit *pendant* to it.

'On our entrance into the great gateway, we were stopped by a military guard; but on our announcing ourselves Englishmen, were permitted to proceed. We then made our way into an antiroom, when a doorkeeper told us we could not be admitted into the gallery without tickets. But on my observing to him, that my friend the Baron had informed me that tickets were not necessary, he opened the door, and introduced us into the body of the hall. Here we found two or three members of the *Corps Législatif*, and about half a dozen ladies. The hall is a very handsome room, in the form of a half oval. It is ornamented with six statues, representing Lycurgus, Solon, Demosthenes, Brutus, Cato, and Cicero. Under the president's chair are two figures in bas-relief of History and Renown. Immediately below are stools appointed for the *huissiers*. One or two benches covered with blue leather, are appropriated to such of the King's ministers as may have occasion to attend the assembly. On the entrance of several members, clothed in their full costume, a blue coat ornamented with gold lace, we withdrew into the gallery, the first bench of which was reserved for the ladies. When the president had taken his chair, he gave notice of the commencement of business by ringing a bell. The *procès-verbal* of the last sitting was read, and the presentation of two or three pamphlets was announced. A member then rose, and walking across the room, ascended the tribune, and read a speech, proposing a free import and export of commodities into France, which was received with murmurs of disapprobation. When the orator had finished by a motion, one or two members rose, and waddling across the

floor, mounted the rostrum in succession, and said a very few words; after which the question was put, and almost unanimously agreed, that "there was no room to deliberate" upon the proposition which had just been made. The president then proceeded to read the result of several ballots for committees, after which he terminated the sitting. Though this day's proceedings were far from being interesting, there was such a disposition to tumults among the members, that the president was obliged two or three times to reduce them to order, by ringing his bell. The reading the speeches has a very flat effect, and the transit from the benches, and the tribune, must tend to damp a speaker's fire. Many years must elapse before the *Corps Législatif* of France will emulate the well regulated activity and promptitude of our House of Commons.' p. 261-263.

Before concluding our account of this useful and interesting little volume, we briefly indicate a few points on which we differ with the learned author, and one or two things which we conceive to be slips. His taste is generally chaste and correct; but we can hardly agree with him in his preference of Gothic to Grecian architecture, even in churches,—to which, indeed, his observations are principally confined. This is probably the effect of early association. We suspect, too, that he undervalues the famous Venus de Medici. Persons unaccustomed to sculptures are apt to disregard this exquisite marble, as those who, for the first time, see the Raphaels in the Vatican, are not aware of the wonders before them. But the experience, even of the ignorant, and the united voice of the learned, always more and more approaches towards devotion of those masterpieces. To find so knowing an eye as Mr Shepherd's out on such a subject, surprised us. We can only account for it by his jealousy of any rival to his favourite Apollo.

Is it not inaccurate to speak of Constantinople and London (232) as the only two capitals in Europe which Buonaparte had not personally visited? When was he at Lisbon, or Stockholm, or Copenhagen, or St Petersburgh, unless, indeed, Moscow is to stand proxy for the modern metropolis? In the French, a few errors of the press have crept in, but of little consequence; as '*intends*' for '*entends*,' '*que'est*' for '*qu'est-ce*' '*crapandine*' for '*crapaudine*,' and one or two others. '*Cicisbeo*' for '*Cicerone*,' an officer of a very different description, though sometimes united with the other, is a slip of the pen. But these are trifles. We only wish the book had been larger; and such slips might have been as numerous as he chose.

We cannot better close this article than by the anecdote related of that stern and honest republican Carnôt—a man whose [illegible]c attainments, and extraordinary talents, both in war and peace, all Europe has acknowledged;—whose errors have at

least been consistent, and redeemed, as far as such errors can be redeemed, by long and various persecutions;—whose principles, how much soever we may differ from him, we must admit he has acted on, and suffered for, with the coolness of a philosopher, and the zeal of a martyr.

'Of all the men of abilities who had figured upon the stage of the Revolution, Carnôt had been most steady in his opposition to Buonaparte. He had voted against his being appointed Consul for life; and had declared his disapprobation of his assumption of the Imperial dignity. His carriage, however, had won the respect of Napoleon, who had suffered him to live in unmolested retirement. But when the Allies had entered France, and Buonaparte was surrounded by difficulties, he addressed to him a letter, in which, after reminding him that, in the days of his splendour and prosperity, he had studiously kept aloof from him; he declared he was ready to render him his best services in the season of his distress. It is an instance of the decision of Buonaparte's character, that, in consequence of this letter, he entrusted the man who had been so long his declared enemy, with the defence of the important city of Antwerp.' p. 242, 243.

Art. XII. *Some Experiments and Observations on a New Substance, which becomes a Violet-coloured Gas by Heat.* By Sir Humphrey Davy, Knight, LL D. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions. Part I. for 1814.

If we have not of late had occasion to continue our history of this eminent chemist's discourses, it has been because his papers in the Philosophical Transactions, however valuable, did not bring before the reader any such marked addition to the science, so as to render the analysis of their contents a fit object of the very sparing selection which our limits oblige us to make from that celebrated publication. But the paper now before us is important, as giving the earliest notice to the philosopher in this country of a most curious and interesting discovery lately made at Paris. The greater number by far of the gases with which we have hitherto been acquainted, are perfectly transparent, colourless, and consequently invisible. Oxygen gas, hydrogen gas, azotic gas, atmospheric air, and most of the acid gases, belong to this class. Nor is there any remarkable exception, except in the green colour of oxymuriatic acid gas, and the yellow tinge of nitrous acid gas. A new substance, however, has now been discovered, of a peculiar nature, and which, at the temperature of 212° of Fahrenheit, becomes a gas of a beautiful

violet colour. We may observe, however, that *gas*, as used in the title of this paper, has rather a tendency to mislead; for that word is generally employed to denote permanently elastic fluids, vapours incapable of condensation *per se* by any known means, and only to be obtained in a solid or liquid form by combination with water, or other bodies. The substance here in question is capable of crystallizing *per se*; and is not found in its aëriform state at the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere.

The discovery was made by a manufacturer of saltpetre at Paris, M. Courtois. In some of his processes for procuring soda from sea-weed ashes, he found his metallic vessels corroded; and, upon inquiring into the reason of it, he found that if sulphuric acid, concentrated, is poured on the ashes after the carbonate of soda is extracted, the heat produced by the combination expels a vapour of a fine violet colour, which condenses in crystals resembling plumbago. To denominate this a gas, may at first seem as inaccurate as it would be to give this name to the smoky vapours or fumes of sulphur, which often assume a blue tinge.* But, if we rightly understand this paper, the vapour from the new substance has a different appearance—not rising in opaque streaks, but in one uniform and transparent elastic medium. It is different from gases only in being so easily condensed; and may, perhaps, be termed a gas condensable at a low temperature.

Sir Humphry Davy being at Paris soon after this substance had begun to attract the attention of men of science, undertook a course of experiments, with a view, first, to ascertain whether it was in reality a new and simple body, incapable of decomposition; and next, what were its peculiar properties. A suspicion having been entertained, that the acid which it forms by its action upon phosphorous and hydrogen, is muriatic acid, from the resemblance of its properties, our author was naturally led also to the settlement of this question. His experiments have not, perhaps, added much to the knowledge of the subject obtained at its first discussion by the inquiries of Messrs Decarmes and Clement, who read a paper upon it at the Institute, (or as Sir H. Davy, writing in last January, terms it, the Imperial Institute of France), last November; and M. Gay-Lussac, who read another memoir in the succeeding month. But he has fully established the fact of this being a new and simple sub-

* If a red-hot iron is held in sulphurous acid gas, or common carbonic acid gas, where the former generally exists, fine bluish vapours rise round it by the decomposition.

stance; and his experiments are, in many incidental points, very interesting to the lovers of chemistry. We shall therefore proceed to give an account of their results,—although it is announced that a more full investigation may soon be expected from M. Gay-Lussac, who is still occupied with inquiries into the nature of the substance.

The author's first object was to ascertain its relationship with muriatic acid, suggested by the circumstance already mentioned, of its forming, with phosphorus and hydrogen, an acid resembling that hitherto mysterious substance. Having thoroughly purified the solution by distillation from lime, and then mixed it with a solution of nitrate of silver, a yellowish precipitate was thrown down. This being fused, became red; and being decomposed by hydrate of potash, gave an oxide of silver, and a matter solved, or rather suspended in the water, from which, when collected by the filtre, the exhibition of sulphuric acid produced the violet-coloured gas. When the precipitate was in like manner boiled in potash solution, it afforded the substance, if the same acid was applied: nor had it any appearance, in other respects, of muriate of silver; on the contrary, it had all the characters of a compound of silver and the peculiar substance, formed by melting them together; and may therefore be safely allowed to be such a compound.

The suspicion respecting muriatic acid being thus in a great measure removed, our author proceeded analytically, and attempted the decomposition of the substance, by means of substances having a strong attraction for oxygen and chlorine, (the term used by him, as our readers may remember, for oxymuriatic acid), and by substances having a strong attraction for the bases that attract oxygen. If, as was supposed probable, the body contained either oxygen or chlorine, these substances would either attract or precipitate the bases in question. The substances that most strongly attract oxygen and chlorine, are the new alkaline metals; and the chlorine itself is the substance chiefly remarkable for precipitating oxygen from its union with inflammable bases.

The first experiment instituted with a view to precipitate the supposed base to which oxygen might be united in the substance, is one of the most interesting that occurs in the course of the inquiry,—at least if we rightly comprehend a material part of it which the narrative leaves rather doubtful. Potassium (the metallic base of Potash) was heated in a glass tube, and the substance was passed over it in vapour. As soon as the vapour came in contact with the metal, there was an inflammation; the metal burning slowly with a pale blue light,—and no gas was disengaged. The substance formed was white, fusible, and

soluble. When sulphuric acid was applied to it, an effervescence took place, and the violet-coloured gas was evolved. Our author infers from this examination, that the white substance was merely a compound of the potassium and the peculiar body which had remained undecomposed. We could have wished that he had more distinctly stated the absence of oxygen gas in the experiment, and that no potash was formed by the process. We should suppose it was so: and what is mentioned afterwards of heating other metals 'out of the contact of air,' with the substance, confirms the supposition. An expression used further on, gives additional weight to the construction here put on the process: For the author speaks, referring to that process, of 'the combustion of potassium in the vapour of the substance.' Here, then, is a very remarkable phenomenon, not with relation merely to this new body, but throwing no small light upon the general theory of combustion. It is a complete case of combustion without oxygen. We took occasion many years ago, (see Vol III. p. 21.), to point out the exceptions to the new or antiphlogistic theory, arising from cases of light and heat, produced without the presence of the gas which that theory deems to be their peculiar formation. We could then only refer to experiments, wherein ignition, or light and heat, issuing from bodies in their solid or fluid states, was exhibited. The well-known experiment of fusing sulphur and iron in vacuo, is the most remarkable instance. Their union evolves much heat and light: The mass is in a red, or even white, heat, though no air whatever, nor any substance containing oxygen is present. The ignition of bodies which attract none of the base of oxygen gas seemed another case of the same kind. But an example was wanting of flame so produced, that is, ignited vapour; of bodies, for example, uniting in the state of gas, without oxygen, and giving out light and heat in that union. Some time afterwards we noticed an apparent case of a flame thus produced (Vol. VI. p. 100.) in the experiments of some Italian chemists: but it seemed to be of rare and uncertain occurrence in their process; and, having excited little of their attention, it could not with any kind of safety be relied on. We therefore suggested a very practicable form of experiment, by which such an effect might be produced; namely, by means of an apparatus then described, in which zinc, a volatile metal, should be exposed to heat in vacuo, and its fumes or vapour made to meet those of sulphur. Our expectation was, from the former experiment on the union of sulphur with a fixed metal, that this combination would produce a real flame without oxygen gas. Now, the experiment of Sir Humphry Davy has precisely done

so in another manner; or rather, by exhibiting vapour of a different kind to a very combustible metal, still without oxygen. The violet gas and potassium in contact, with heat applied to them, unite, and there is a flame formed during their union. In one respect this is more contradictory to the new French theory, than the process suggested by us: for we intended that the heat should supply volatility to both the solid bodies: whereas, here, one of them only is made aëriform by heat; and its contact with the other in a heated state also, but not volatilized by the heat, increases its disposition to take the state of gaseous fluidity exactly as oxygen gas does; and light and heat are given out during the combination of the two bodies, both in vapour. This is therefore as complete an example as could be desired, of inflammation produced by a vapour or gas different from oxygen gas, and in the very same manner in which that gas produces flame.‡ But we return to the more immediate subject of investigation.

Chlorine united with the substance, and did not at all decompose it: oxygen gas and oxymuriates did not at all affect it. The formation of metallic oxides by its union with metals, mentioned by the French chemists, appears to be entirely the effect of moisture, or other accidental admixture of bodies containing oxygen; for when metals, as iron, zinc, tin, mercury, &c. were heated without any air, and thus exhibited to the new substance, they united without any violent action; and when the compound was examined by reagents which contained no oxygen, as ammonia, there were no traces found of oxides.

This substance unites readily with phosphorus; and their combination evolves an acid gas of a pungent odour, and peculiar properties. Its smell resembles that of muriatic acid; but on examination it is found to contain no such acid, nor any other. It is a compound of the new substance and hydrogen. Hence arises the question, how the hydrogen is furnished? Does it come from the new body, or from the phosphorus, or from some water present in the experiment? By distilling the substance through quicklime, almost all moisture was separated; and in this case the acid gas gave much less hydrogen than before, until moisture was added, when the hydrogen again became abundant. From some other particulars related by the author, it seems improbable that any sensible supply of the hydrogen could come from the phosphorus; although certainly electrical experiments detect a minute portion of it in that body.

‡ Potassium inflames in muriatic acid gas; but this being, according to the French theory, an acid, and supposed to contain oxygen, would be deemed no exception.

But no part of this inquiry deserves more attention than the experiment repeated after the French chemists, on a solution of the substance in potash, which rapidly unites with it, forming a brown compound. When this is evaporated, and the residue heated to redness, there remains a substance seemingly the same with that formed by uniting *potassium* with the substance. In this process oxygen is given out, evidently the oxygen of the potash, as the author observes. But it is singular that he does not observe, that his own great discovery of the decomposition of the alkalies might thus have been made in an easy and simple way, had he never succeeded in decompounding those bodies by the electrical process. The accidental circumstance of the saltpetre manufacturer finding the new substance among his pots and kelp, would have led to this, one of the most brilliant scientific exploits in our times, by one or two simple steps. One of the first experiments which the chemist would have made, must have decomposed the alkalies;—for M. Courtois had accidentally stumbled upon a substance, which happens to have so extraordinary an affinity for inflammable bases, that it unites greedily with them, and precipitates the oxygen with which they were previously combined in apparently indissoluble union.—This is perhaps the only instance in which mere chance, without any investigation, was even very near leading to a grand philosophical discovery: but it is not, by a hundred, the only case in the history of science, in which satisfactory proof is afforded, that if one man, or one accident, or one inquiry, had not led to a discovery at a particular time, the step would have been made soon after by other means. The history of maritime discovery especially, is full of such examples.

The union of the new body with potash, led the author to discover a class of substances, exactly resembling hyperoxymuriates in their qualities, and formed in a similar manner. The oxygen of the potash unites with a portion of the substance and a portion of the metallic base, while the remaining portion of that base unites with the remaining portion of the new substance, without any oxygen. The reader will easily perceive the close analogy between this process, and the decomposition and recomposition by which hyperoxymuriates are formed. The triple compound crystallizes, detonates when thrown on burning coals, and deflagrates with charcoal; its taste also resembles that of hyperoxymuriate of potash. The binary compound does not crystallize or detonate; and is indeed the same body as that formerly described to result from uniting potassium with the new substance. When sulphuric or nitric acids are exhibited to the triple compound, part of the oxygen unites with the

metal, so as to form potash, which unites with the acid, and the violet vapour flies off. When muriatic acid is used, a substance resembling the compound of chlorine and the new body is formed. With the binary compound this acid forms the peculiar acid formerly described, as resulting from the union of the substance and hydrogen.

The French chemists having discovered a highly fulminating compound, on exposing the substance to ammonia, our author endeavours to show, by two experiments, which however are not quite decisive, that the hydrogen of the ammonia is in part driven off, while the azote belonging to that part unites with the substance. It must, however, be observed, that in other bodies, which, like this, are known to explode on the lowest degrees of heat, or even on the least friction being applied, derive that property from the presence of azote. The experimental part of this paper concludes with some trials, (admitted by the ingenious author not to be satisfactory), in order to ascertain the proportion in which the substance unites with hydrogen, so as to form an acid, as compared with the proportion in which other substances unite with oxygen, chlorine, &c. to form other acids. He also gives some rather loose approximations to the specific gravity of the new acid which it forms. Such inquiries, if not accurate, are really worth nothing:—the whole question is with regard to numbers and proportions; and it is far better to wait a little longer, than to put up with the wrong numbers in the mean time.

This paper then states several inferences, drawn from the experiments, chiefly as to their detailed results: but as we have already given the results, rather than the steps of the experiments, we need not recapitulate these. We acknowledge ourselves still somewhat inclined to hesitate about the only general inferences to which the author points, viz. that the substance is quite simple, and separate from all others, as well as new. There does certainly appear to be a strong analogy, or rather resemblance to, and connexion, with, muriatic acid. It is strange that this similarity in character should meet us so constantly,—breaking out as it were at every turn of the investigation, both in the qualities of the body itself, and its different compounds with other bodies. We cannot help still suspecting, that a more intimate connexion will be discovered.

Sir Humphry Davy is always (and, if we rightly remember, has always, from his first essays, been) a dillettanti in nomenclature. Above a page of this tract is devoted to naming the substance and its compounds. The author is not indeed the discoverer; but he seems to claim the right of naming (one of the few perquisites of the philosopher's trade), as the importer of the disco-

very. The French chemists have called the substance *ione*, from ἴον, *viola*,—and its acid *hydroionic acid*. Sir Humphry is apprehensive that in English this word would lead to confusion when compounded, because it would form such doubtful adjectives as *Ionic* and *Ionian*; and therefore he will have a *d* inserted, to avoid all confusion between geography or architecture, and chemistry!—that is to say, we presume, lest a person talking of Ionic particles should be supposed to mean fragments of the Ionic order; or, when mentioning Ionian salts, or Ionian solution, should peradventure be thought to speak of the Ionian Sea! It is lamentable to think that the poor French are still in great danger from this ambiguity; for our author must surely have learnt at the Louvre, that *Ionique* and *Ionien*, are the French for what we call Ionic and Ionian. We must allow, indeed, that he has asked but little when he begs for a *d*; and moreover, he deduces his title legitimately from the Greek ἰώδης, *violaceus*,—whence he would say *iodine*. He then disports him pleasingly in various compounds; and propounds a method of using the vowels as a kind of artificial memory to aid in classing the combinations.

ART. XIII. *Reflections on the Present State of Affairs on the Continent, as connected with the Question of a General and Permanent Peace.* 8vo. London. 1814.

We certainly do not propose, in the two little pages that are left of this Number, to enter at all upon the great and comprehensive subject announced in the title we have transcribed; but we cannot come again before the Public, without saying one word upon that branch of it which not only touches the peace and happiness of a great part of Europe more nearly than any other;—but involves—more than they have yet been involved in the whole history of her connexion with the Continent—the honour and the ultimate interests of this country.

At the approaching Congress of Vienna, the fate of POLAND—a great part of which is actually left without any legitimate government in the mean time—will necessarily be decided:—as far as the resolutions of the powers there assembled are able to decide it: And England, a leading party in that Assembly, must, *for the first time*, take an active, deliberate, and solemn part in the decision! There never was an occasion on which it was so important to herself, and to the whole civilized world—we may even say to mankind at large—that she should take her part wisely, and well.

We shall say nothing of the manifest injustice of the subversion of this antient and interesting State—nothing of the degradation, and actual and complicated misery, to which it has reduced every one of its inhabitants: But it is impossible that we should ever cease to speak of the tremendous evils which have been generated by *the example*—and which must continue to be generated while that example is allowed to remain. The fabric of European polity has just escaped from that dreadful concussion which it so lately sustained from the torrent of French conquest and usurpation: And now, when the owners and the architects are assembled, in anxious consultation, to ascertain what damage it has suffered, and how it may be most effectually repaired, it is impossible that our eyes should not be turned to that fearful and gaping breach, in the very keystone of the arch, which was made by the partition of Poland! We live now in the days of retribution and atonement. Domineering ambition has at length been cast down in the pride of its havoc. Nations have banded together in the name of Justice—and in that name have conquered—and a new and a happier order of things seems to be beginning, with the restoration of national independence, and the proscription of all systems of oppression. The avowed principle of the grand confederacy, which has so recently delivered the world, was, that all should be united for the protection of all—that the independence of each state should be secured by the combination of its neighbours—and that henceforward they alone should be put in jeopardy who attempted to violate that mutual paction of defence by which all were defended. Is it not *natural*, in such a moment, to look for the restoration of Poland? Or shall we see no restorations but those that are accomplished by force?—and shall those by whom that force was used, and who have claimed and obtained such unexampled glory for the ends they professed to have in view in the use of it, give the lie to their professions by their conduct?—And while, with an air of generous detestation, they wrest all his usurpations from the vanquished foe, quietly retain for themselves possessions as foully usurped, and only to be retained through still greater crimes and sufferings? Shall *they*

'Who smote the foremost man of all this world
But for protecting robbers—shall they now
Contaminate their fingers with base spoils,
And sell the mighty space of their large honours
For needless cities and rebellious plains?'

What a scene of triumph must such a consummation afford to those who make audacious mocks at the professions of Sovereigns, and insolently represent all established governments as essentially

false and oppressive!—what a fatal mortification to those who had dared to hope well of human nature—and to look forward to the rise of a higher and a firmer structure of society, founded upon a more generous and enlightened loyalty to Princes no longer the victims of jealousy and suspicion, but willing to trust both their glory and their security to the gratitude and affection of their people!—On the other hand, what a noble proof would this spontaneous and heroic act of Justice afford of the sincerity of those professions, under which so much has been already done, and so much held out to the world—what a solid and delightful assurance of the actual progress which this age has made in happiness and virtue—and how vast an encouragement to all who, in public or in private life, wait only for high example to decide for liberality! What a glorious contrast too would it furnish to those schemes of selfish and unrelenting ambition under which the world has so lately suffered, and how great and salutary a discredit would it throw on all those acts of unprincipled aggression which have hitherto received but too general a sanction from the proceedings of powerful governments! What never dying honour, finally, and what incalculable additions of substantial influence and power would be gained by the Illustrious Individuals who should thus seal their high professions by a solemn sacrifice of all unjust acquisitions—and, nobly treading back the erroneous steps of their predecessors, should freely restore to an injured and generous nation, the independence of which they have been despoiled! The time is now come, we are persuaded, when such an expiation is likely to be made—for the time is come when it is not only wished for, but expected. In this country, at least, the sentiments which we have just been attempting to express, are universal;—and, in a matter where we have no partial or peculiar interest, the impression and the voice of this country, may fairly be taken for those of enlightened Europe in general.

It is not, however, for the sake of again expressing those sentiments, nor merely for that of calling the public attention to them at this critical moment, that we have been induced to close our present publication with this mention of Poland. It is chiefly for the purpose of urging upon the people, and consequently upon the government of England, the important consideration that they have never yet given any positive or direct sanction to the subversion of that unhappy state—and that they are now called upon for the first time to express their sentiments with regard to it:—that the moment is now come when they must either redeem, or incalculably aggravate, the sin of their original neutrality or passive acquiescence in that flagitious pro-

ceeding; and either dishonour themselves by a spontaneous and solemn accession to the greatest successful crime which stains the annals of the world,—or expiate the guilt of their first neglect by a vigorous attempt to redress the mighty wrong which was then inflicted,—not on Poland only, but on the general cause of national independence in every quarter of the world. Circumstances, we think, are now eminently favourable for the accomplishment of this great work; not only from the general posture of the great drama of European affairs, and the character of the leading Actors, but from the situation of the different parties who are immediately concerned in the project.

The consummation of this memorable outrage—the actual subversion and annihilation of a state which long ranked as the fourth in the European commonwealth, did not take place till late in 1795—more than three years after January 1792—the period to which it is the professed object of the great powers allied against Bonaparte to bring back the condition of all those countries which had been ruined or overthrown in the disorders which succeeded each other after that period. The destruction of Poland, therefore, is a more recent event than the destruction of the French monarchy,—and is coeval with the destruction of Dutch independence; both which have been restored without the least surmise that the claim for such restoration had become obsolete by the lapse of time, or that the intermediate state of things had become the settled and habitual one of either country. In point of fact, it will not be disputed that Poland has manifested her impatience and suffering under this new state of things, far more violently and constantly than either France or Holland: and there are even circumstances in her recent history, that would render its continuance still more cruel and intolerable. Though the kingdom of Poland was suppressed in 1795, the nation was again restored to something of a separate existence, by the erection of the Grand Dutchy of Warsaw in 1807; and the national pride and patriotic feelings of its ardent population have, ever since that time, been in some measure gratified by this partial restitution, and at once soothed and inflamed by perpetual hopes and promises of a more complete emancipation. It is now generally understood, that by the secret articles of the treaty, concluded between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Austria in March 1812, provisions were made for the restoration of the kingdom of Poland—and compensations adjusted for the cessions which were consequently to be demanded of Austria. It was by this lure that Bonaparte attached to himself those brave and illustrious Poles, whose valour gilded and retarded his final struggle for dominion; and whose unextinguishable love for the

honour and the name of their country, will ever lead them to pour out their blood, like water, in any contest which holds out the most distant hope of its redemption. Poland, therefore, is in that state in which the refusal of its complete reestablishment will be more bitterly felt, and more dangerously resented, than at any period since its subversion; and in which its reduction to the state in which it was before 1807 would actually be an outrage, and a crime not less enormous than that which was consummated in 1795. The new state which was then created under the name of the Grand Dutchy of Warsaw, has been recognized by all the parties to the original partition—and indeed by every one of the powers who are now to sit in judgment on its destiny, except England alone—who never recognized the original partition, and is not bound, therefore, to acknowledge one foot of soil which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Poland, as the territory of any other kingdom. The condition of Poland itself, therefore,—as recently suppressed—partly restored—and filled with recent hopes and promises of complete restoration,—is unquestionably such as to hold out the strongest inducements to extend to it also the benefit of that great principle of restoration which has been so proudly proclaimed, and so nobly realized in other instances, by those very Sovereigns in whose power it is to make its best application here.

With regard to the condition of those powers themselves, again, we have already said that England has never disgraced herself by any accession or direct recognition of any one of the successive acts of rapine by which this monstrous crime has been accomplished;—and the same thing may be said of France. Both these great powers were guilty no doubt of a base and fatal desertion of their duty as guardians of the general interests of civilized Europe, when they stood quietly by and saw one of its greatest and most antient states thus torn to pieces and devoured by its neighbours: But they were no sharers in that disgraceful proceeding; they had no participation or concern in it whatsoever; and their hands and tongues are still free and unfettered, therefore, for remonstrance and resistance—which, if not interposed at the moment, never could be so effectually interposed as at present. They are not only *free* to remonstrate and resist—but they are at last *called upon* either to do so, or to take an active and willing share in crimes with which they have not yet been contaminated—and wilfully to dishonour themselves in the eyes of the world by a deliberate accession, after the fact, to atrocities from which they can derive no benefit!—Of the dispositions and feelings of the people of England no doubt can be entertained—and none we hope and trust of the conduct of its Govern-

ment.—On the cooperation and good wishes of the Court of France we think a similar reliance may be placed. No other Government ought to be so zealous in the cause of restorations—and the whole course of its antient and of its modern policy runs in the same direction. These two, however, are almost the only neutral and impartial parties who are to assist at the approaching deliberations;—and as the pretensions of the rest will probably be in a good degree balanced against each other, *their* concurrence, in a measure so strongly recommended by every consideration of justice and sound policy, can scarcely fail to be attended with effect.

Even of the interested parties, however, we are disposed to presume favourably. Of the Emperor Alexander, by far the most important of the whole, it is impossible to presume otherwise. He has given the world a right to expect from him a strain of conduct, above the little views and low ambition of ordinary politicians; and is bound, as we cannot doubt that he is disposed, to exemplify at home, the high maxims which he so magnanimously supported and enforced abroad.—Austria, which participated in that glory, shares also in this obligation: and besides, her recent compact in 1812, ought to debar her from all pleas of secure and undisturbed possession, and be held still more binding upon her under the more favourable circumstances which have since occurred; unless she chooses to avow, that she was willing to yield more to Bonaparte, by whom she was oppressed and insulted, than to the more powerful and magnanimous Allies, by whom she has been delivered from his thraldom, and restored to her ancient place and dignity.—The claims of Prussia will, on all accounts, be still more easily disposed of.

If these States, indeed, are rightly awake to their own interests, they can scarcely fail to see and feel that their substantial power and security will be increased, instead of being diminished, by the relinquishment of those ruined and disaffected provinces, which constitute a part, not of their strength, but their weakness,—and are at once the perpetual occasions of hostility, and the points through which it is most likely to penetrate to their vitals. By the reestablishment of a lawful and friendly state, bound, by the very event of its restoration, in ties of gratitude to them all, and yet jealous of too close an alliance with any, each would, in fact, obtain a far more secure frontier against the others, than can ever be constituted by the dejected and wasted provinces which now gird their borders with a population perpetually on the eve of a justifiable insurrection, and affording but slender resources, even if they were sincerely attached to their interest. Some new arrangements on their respective

frontiers will, no doubt, be required; but none which can occasion any serious embarrassment to parties sincerely desirous of a fair and amicable adjustment.

Looking even to their immediate and peculiar interests, therefore, we conceive that those states will be great and certain gainers by that act of Justice, for which, at the same time, they will receive and deserve the praises of high and heroic generosity.—But, looking to that larger, and more important interest which is common to them with us, and with all the members of civilized society, the advantages which they will reap, will be great beyond all calculation or example. Such an act, we conceive, concurring with the other memorable events of the same critical season, will at once secure and ameliorate all the established monarchies and existing governments of Europe. It will fix for ever, and in every country, the opinion which the people is to entertain of the principles and policy of their rulers:—And considering what a preponderating influence already belongs to that opinion, and what additional force it is obviously destined to acquire, we do not think that we say too much, when we add, That upon their decision of this great question, it depends—whether Europe is to continue, for centuries yet to come, in a course, on the whole, of peace and improvement, under its present constitution,—or whether, at the close of no very great number of years, it is again to be agitated with revolts and revolutions, and plunged through a series of still more extensive disorders, into the same hazard of universal despotism, from which it has so lately escaped

It is impossible to await the issue of those most momentous deliberations, without great anxiety and some apprehension:—But we confess that our hopes preponderate, and that our anticipations, upon the whole, are favourable. Whatever may be the result, however, our earnest prayer, and most confident assurance is, that England at least will be found in the place and the posture that becomes her name and character; and that, as the body of the nation is, and has always been, unanimous in its reprobation of those proceedings on which its government has too long been silent, so no consideration will ever induce its representatives, now that this silence must be broken, to belie those feelings of which it is impossible they should be ignorant—or to dishonour the British name, by a deliberate and unprofitable accession to a crime against liberty, humanity, and policy.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

In a preceding Number, (vol. XIX. p. 19.), we intimated to our readers, that the Publishers of this Work were ready to receive contributions for the support of that great system of Education for the Poor, which was first set on foot by the patrons of Mr Lancaster, and is now carried on upon an improved and far more comprehensive plan by persons of all religious persuasions. We now beg leave to repeat this offer and invitation; and to submit, for the information of those to whom the subject may not be familiar, the following short statement of the present state of this undertaking.

The importance of the British System of Education to the best interests of mankind is so universally acknowledged, that no arguments are now requisite to recommend it to public notice.

The British and Foreign School Society is established for the promotion of schools in all parts of the world; and as it is apprehended that many benevolent persons, who would be gratified with its success, are not acquainted with the pecuniary burthens which retard its progress, the following particulars are respectfully stated.

During the first ten years of the labours of the founder of the British System, by reason of having no established committee nor funds adequate for the building of school-rooms, training of masters, and making the requisite preparations for the diffusion of his plan, he became involved in debt, and experienced difficulties which threatened the absolute ruin of his affairs, and the entire suppression of his method of instruction.

At this juncture, in 1808, he was extricated by the prompt exertions of a few persons, who at sundry times have advanced above 6000*l.*, and have also devoted much of their time and personal exertion to support so useful an establishment, without which it is probable that the world would not now have been in possession of this valuable Institution.

By these exertions a great number of schools have been established in England, Ireland, and Scotland; and the system has been introduced into Asia, Africa, and America, by persons trained and qualified at the Parent Institution. In less than seven years many thousand children of both sexes, have been rescued from ignorance, and have been directed into the paths of virtue and piety.

At this important period the most unexpected facilities pre-

sent themselves for the spread of the British System throughout Europe. The anxiety of benevolent persons on the Continent ought to be regarded as an imperious call upon the sympathy and assistance of Britons, to furnish the prerequisites of qualified schoolmasters, and lessons in the various European languages. * It must be obvious that so great a burthen for the public good ought not to be suffered to press on a few disinterested individuals, and that some effectual means ought to be taken to place the funds of so important an Institution on a respectable footing, and enable the Committee to extend the blessing of universal education to every part of the world.

Hitherto no active steps have been taken to accomplish this desirable object. Those who advanced their property to save the plan from destruction, have waited in patience, and have laboured to promote the general good, in the fullest confidence, that when the public should be convinced of the importance of the work, they would then liberally contribute to place it upon a firm foundation. That period is now arrived. Persons in

* The Rev. Dr Schwabe, the Foreign Secretary of the Society, is now in Germany establishing correspondences. Hopes are entertained for the introduction of the system into Russia: And the following extracts of letters received from France, exhibit the anxiety which prevails in that country for a mode of instruction, which this Society can supply.—

Extract of a Letter from the South of France.

" I return you thanks for your very agreeable present of a stereotype New Testament of the edition of London 1807, printed at the expense of the Bible Society.

" Among us, the scarcity of copies of the Holy Bible is not so great as of those capable of reading it. It is a deplorable evil. It is true that a great part of the people in our southern provinces is deprived of the Bible, because they cannot read it. The principal desire of the friends of religion is, that there should be established among us a greater number of inferior schools, where they should teach at least to read, and where children might be admitted gratis."

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman near Bourdeaux.

" It is then absolutely necessary, if we have not the guilty project of annihilating all the fruits of our bloody sacrifices, to make known to the paternal Government of France the necessity which exists for the establishment of primary schools for children of both sexes, in which they should be taught to respect religion. For this purpose, a foundation should be obtained from the Government for a seminary, where they should prepare young people for the important work of schoolmasters."

general are convinced of the great utility of the British and Foreign School Society; and it is presumed, that an appeal to their generosity will not be fruitless, when it is considered that far larger sums are easily raised for objects of inferior importance.

The sum required to relieve this society from its difficulties, and place it upon a respectable and efficient foundation, is estimated at 10,000*l.*; and it surely would be thought an unwarranted reflection on British liberality to say that for such a purpose it would be difficult to raise such an amount. The plan now proposed is, that 100 individuals should each of them undertake to raise the sum of 100*l.* among their friends, to be applied to the firm establishment of the British and Foreign School Society. If this can be accomplished the annual subscriptions of the public will be sufficient to carry on the Institution; and no impediment would remain to the most active exertions for diffusing the blessings of knowledge to the population of the whole world.

The Finance Committee strongly recommend to the friends of universal education the adoption of this plan; and will be happy to receive the names of such gentlemen as may be willing to unite in this effort.

It is proposed, that as the money shall be received, it shall immediately be invested in the public funds in the names of SAMUEL WHITBREAD, M. P., JOHN JACKSON, M. P., SAMUEL HOARE, jun., and WILLIAM ALLEN, as trustees; and if in the course of two years, reckoning from 1st Jan. 1815, it does not, with accumulated interest, amount to the sum of 10,000*l.*, the contributors shall receive their principal and interest, if they desire it, or it shall be applied in such way as each shall direct.

CHARLES BARCLAY,
R. H. MARTIN,
DAVID RICARDO,
ROBERT SLADE,
S. W. TRACEY,
SAMUEL WHITBREAD,
SAMUEL WOODS,
} Finance Committee.

Communications will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, Mr WILLIAM ALLEN, Plough Court, Lombard Street; and the Secretary, Mr JOSEPH FOX, Argyll Street.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,
from May to August 1814.

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INDEX.

INDEX.

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